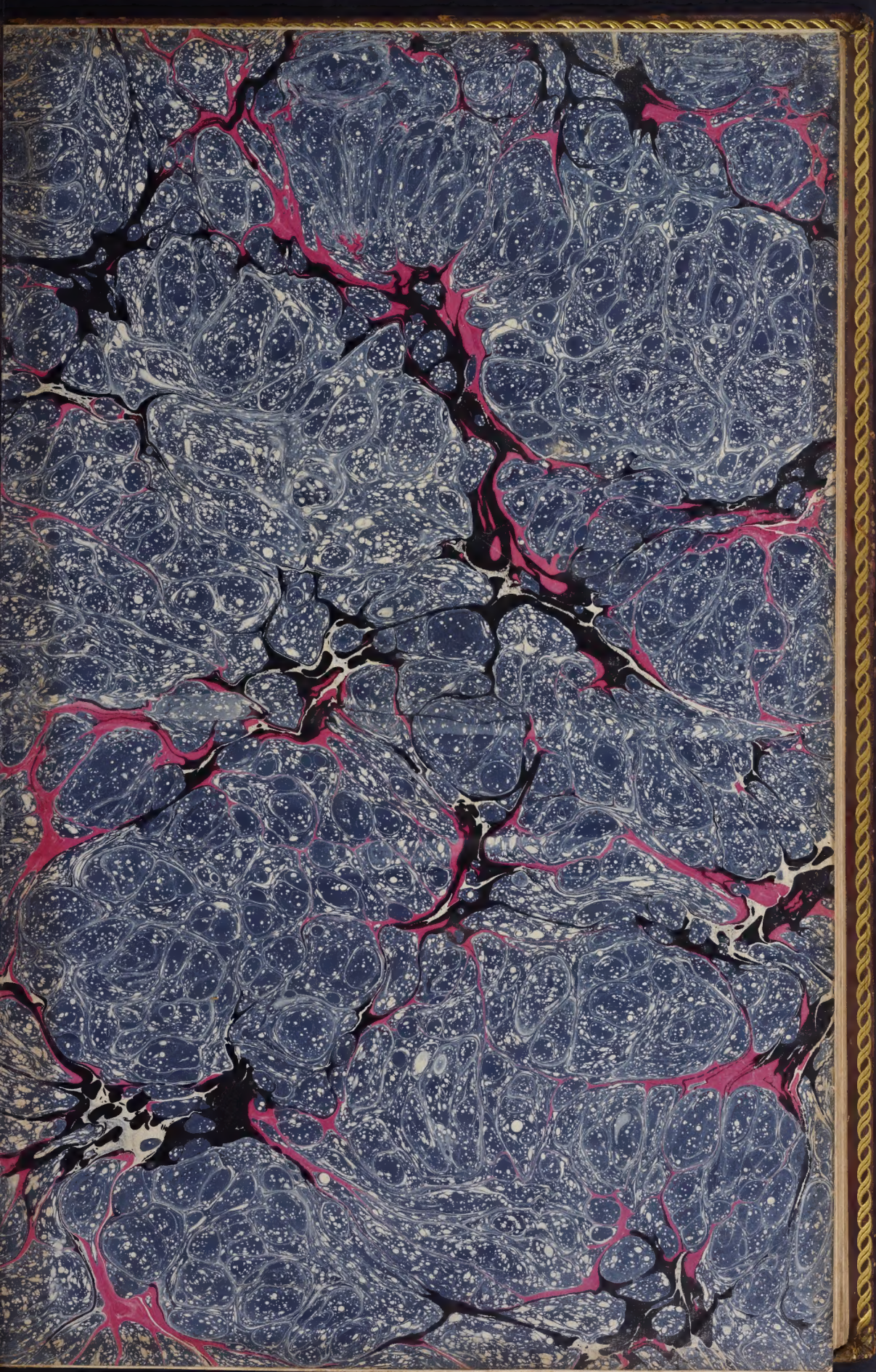


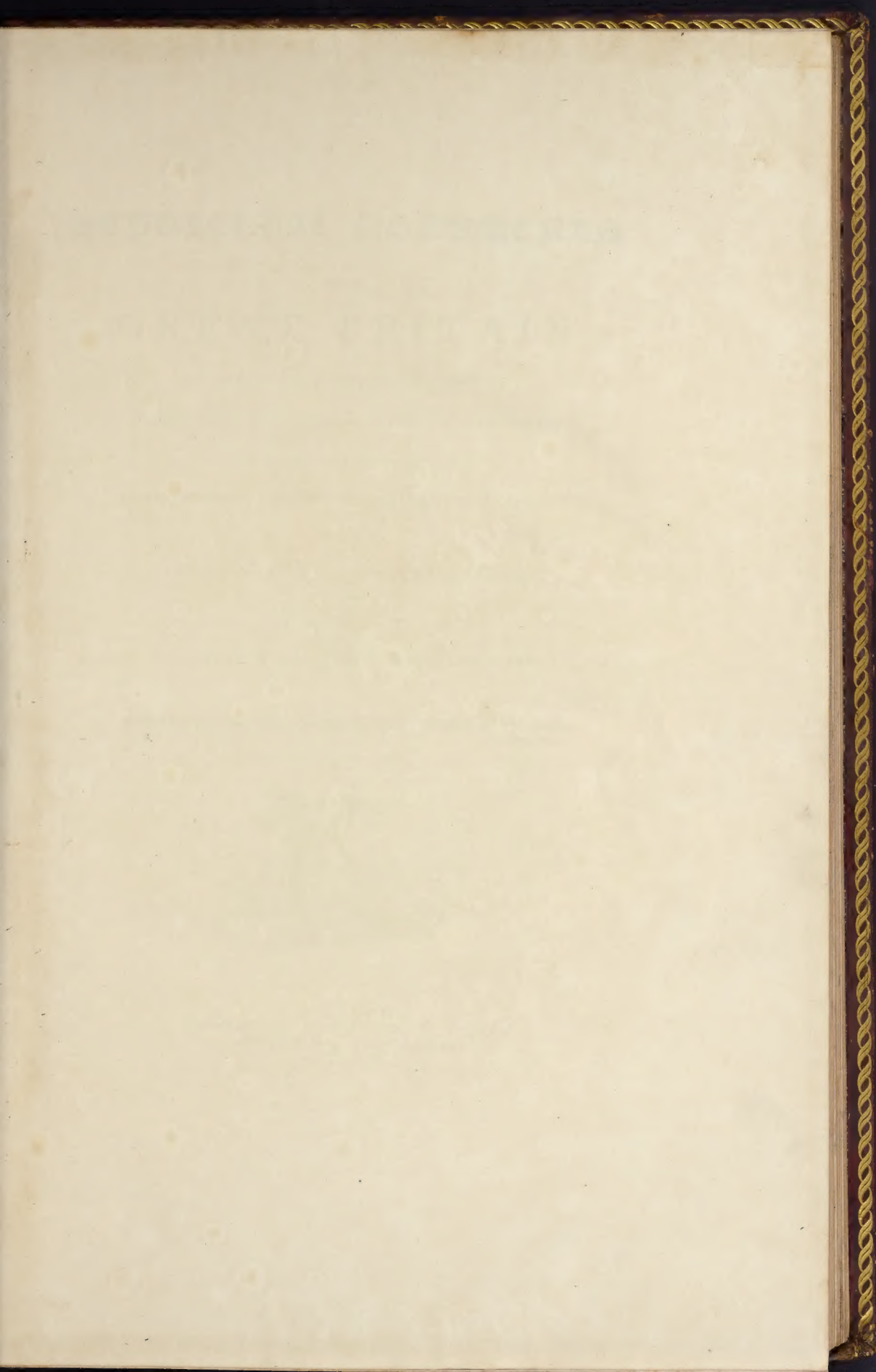


EDWARD HENRY SCOTT



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2 vols in 5

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SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS

I N

GREAT BRITAIN

APPLIED TO ILLUSTRATE THE HISTORY OF
FAMILIES, MANNERS, HABITS, AND ARTS,
AT THE DIFFERENT PERIODS
FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

W I T H

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

P A R T I.

CONTAINING THE FOUR FIRST CENTURIES.

La Sculpture peut aussi fournir les Monumens en quantité : la plupart sur les TOMBEAUX.
MONTFAUCON.



L O N D O N,
PRINTED BY J. NICHOLS, FOR THE AUTHOR;
AND SOLD BY T. PAYNE AND SON.
MDCCLXXXVI.

P R E F A C E.

WHEN Pere MONTFAUCON first undertook his inimitable Work, "Les Monumens de la Monarchie Françoisé," he professèd to give the Monuments of the respective reigns detached and unconnected. But apprehending there would be too many vacant intervals to pass over, and more books to be consulted by his readers to fill them up, he was induced to take on himself the trouble of supplying this void. His intimate acquaintance with the history of his country enabled him to do this properly. The innumerable monuments either actually existing or preserved in drawings in the cabinets of the curious demanded such connection.

His work contains, in five volumes folio, the History of France, with all the monuments relative to her sovereigns, princes of the blood, nobility, the king's household, and the great officers of the crown. He intended to add four more volumes: two of ecclesiastical monuments, and two of private life, coinage, military matters, and *funerals*, on the same plan; with a supplement at the end, of all that had escaped his observation, or been discovered since.

Such was the extent of this learned Antiquary's views. Whether his life or his encouragement proved unequal to the complete execution of them does not appear. His design has been in part resumed by Monf. le Grand Aussy; who has so fully illustrated the history of the private life of the French, from the earliest period to the present time. The three volumes already published in octavo comprize a very small portion of his extensive plan, only what concerns the *table*, and its various appendages and pleasures; in which husbandry, gardening, hunting, &c. are included; but he promises, from his valuable collection of drawings, copied from tombs, painted windows and fronts of churches, and other antient monuments, a complete history of dresses and fashions in all parts, and among all orders and ranks in Franks. And it is only from these sources that we can deduce such parts of the history of past times, and our acquaintance with those who lived before us.

The plan of these two writers includes the whole of what among us has been divided into different parts, and attempted by different persons.

A

How

How much must we regret the failure of that well-concerted plan, which would, under the direction of its first promoter, have furnished a body of monuments of English Monarchy. Mr. Walpole cannot be displeased at the circulation of his own most laudable intention, as I find it in a letter addressed by him to the late Mr. Cole of Milton, in 1769.

“ With regard to an History of Gothic Architecture, in which Mr. Effex desires my advice, the plan I think should be in a very simple compass. Was I to execute it, it should be thus : I would give a series of plates, even from the conclusion of Saxon architecture, beginning with the round *Roman arch*, and going on to shew how they plaistered and zigzagged it, and then how better ornaments crept in, till the beautiful Gothic was arrived at its perfection; then how it declined in Henry VIII's reign; archbishop *Warham's* tomb at Canterbury being, I believe, the last example of unbastardized Gothic. A very few plates more would demonstrate its change. Hans Holbein embroidered it with some morsels of true architecture; in queen Elizabeth's reign there was scarce any architecture at all; I mean no pillars, or seldom; buildings then becoming quite plain. Under James a barbarous composition succeeded. A single plate of something of Inigo Jones in his heaviest and worst style should terminate the work; for he soon stepped into the true and perfect Grecian.

“ The next part Mr. Effex can do better than any body, and is perhaps the only man that can do it. This should consist of observations on the art, proportion, and method of building, and the reasons observed by the Gothic Architects for what they did. This would shew what great men they were, and how they raised such aerial and stupendous masses, though unassisted by half the lights now enjoyed by their successors.

“ The prices and the wages of workmen, and the comparative value of money at the several periods, should be stated, as far as it is possible to get materials.

“ The last part (I don't know whether it should not be the first part) nobody can do so well as yourself. This must be to ascertain the chronologic part of each building; and not only of each building, but of each *tomb* that shall be exhibited; for you know the great delicacy and richness of Gothic ornaments was exhibited on small chapels, oratories, and tombs. For my own part, I should have wished to have added detached samples of the various patterns of ornaments, which would not be a great many, as, excepting pinnacles, there is scarce one which does not branch from the trefoil, quatrefoil, and cinquefoil, being but various modifications of it. I believe almost all the ramifications of windows are so, and of them there should be some samples too. This work you see could not be executed by one hand. Mr. Tyson could give great assistance. I wish the plan was drawn out and better digested. This is a very rude sketch, and first thought. I should be very glad to contribute what little I knew, and to the expence too, which would be considerable; but I am
sure

sure we could get assistance, and it had better not be undertaken than executed superficially.

"Mr. Tyfon's History of fashions and dresses would make a valuable part of the work, as in elder times especially much must be depended on Tombs for dresses. Pray talk this over with Mr. Tyfon and Mr. Effex. It is an idea worth pursuing."

Mr. STRUTT first among us attempted any thing like resuming Pere Montfaucon's plan, and, with little assistance but his own application, gave us, from our antient MSS. a curious selection of portraits, habits, manners, and historic facts. He has succeeded best in his "Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities;" but has not, in his "Dynga Angel-cynnan," sufficiently discriminated the subjects of the different periods, nor the correct and original one of each.

Mr. GRANGER has discriminated still less, and has transgressed the very argument he alleges¹ for a collection of portraits "that is principally useful, as the more important direction and settlement of the ideas upon the true form and features of any worthy and famous person represented." For he has thrown together every picture of every person that deserved or pretended to any connection with Great Britain, and has omitted the best collection of such pictures, the original portraits themselves, which he might have traced in their galleries, from whence many of them are now for ever disjoined. We smile when he refers us for the improvement in the knowledge of *personal* history to the coins engraved in Speed's Chronicle, or in most books of coins. To such personification, even if it could be depended on, few collectors or engravers have attended.

It would not be altogether impossible to draw up a list of pictures, including those enumerated by Mr. Walpole, in his *Anecdotes of Painting*, relating to the History and Antiquities of England, in the manner of Montfaucon, from the Conquest to the present time, beginning with the Tapestry at Bayeux, of which it is a reproach to us, as a nation, that we have not procured most accurate drawings and illustrations, but have left the latter to Monf. Lancelot, and are content with the former on the small scale in which he has given them, for the larger in Montfaucon take in a very small part; nor is it clear to me, that the whole has been copied. The late Smart Lethicullier drew up a long account of this tapestry different from Lancelot's, which was in the hands of Mr. Tindal of Doctors Commons, and printed at the end of Dr. Ducarel's "*Norman Antiquities*." The difficulty of completing such a list has been considerably increased by the dispersion of so many private collections, and by the inattention of our Antiquaries in tracing what remains: so that in a few years more we shall

¹ Mr. Granger, l. 10, gives a whole length of Philippa by Faber, which he says was engraved from a painting at Queen's College, Oxford, and the face of an antique stone head of her over the back gate of that College. My copy of the print says it is a *centaure*, in *monast. Westmon.* It is curious to hear Hearne observe, that the statues made Edward the Third's queen, *Philippa*, and the most beautiful lady models for the Virgin Mary. Gloss, to P. Langtoft, p. 549, 550. Warton, Hist. of Eng. Poetr. l. p. 255. He should have said, Henry III's queen *Eleanor*, of whom see Langtoft, l. 213.

have

have no foundation left for such a work. The two statues of Henry I. and his queen, on the West door of Rochester cathedral, are crumbling away without having been drawn. The picture supposed of the Crusades in Canterbury cathedral has been whitened over, and the arras in the antechamber of the House of Lords has never been examined with sufficient care to determine whether its subject be the same*.

But without appearing to lessen the merit of preceding attempts to fill up the great Plan of National History, let me explain the design of the present work, which concerns that part of it relative to Sepulchral Monuments, from which Montfaucon derived so much assistance.

Shall I then borrow the lively pen of the author beforementioned, who is engaged in the same undertaking at this time in France, and say: It is not an HISTORY of ENGLAND that is here presented to the public. After the number of histories already in print, what prospect of finding readers of a new one? I have neither the object, the plan, nor the method of an Historian. Our materials are different, and my plan adopts only what his excludes. Great events, great personages, great characters, good or bad, are all that he brings upon his stage.

I talk of graves, of worms, of epitaphs,
And that small portion of the barren earth
That serves as paste and cover to our bones!

Here is a stay
That shakes the rotten carcase of old death
Out of his rags.

Mine are subjects rejected by the historian to the end of each reign, among the prodigies that distinguish it. Yet is this detail not uninteresting. It is a picture of private mixed with public life; a subject in which my countrymen have been anticipated by their neighbours; and if it is here treated without the patronage of religious or literary societies, it wanted not the encouragement of friends who have left the scene before the completion of a work which they some years ago pointed out and would have assisted. I avail myself of their friendship and their hints, as well as of what has been already published abroad on a similar subject.

A series of excursions to gratify an innate curiosity after our national Antiquities furnished the variety of observations and materials, which yielded renewed satisfaction in reducing them to order, and thus travelling the ground twice over, when memory was relieved and refreshed by the observations of others, and my library supplied what a solitary traveller had wanted on the spot.

* Henry III. ordered this History to be painted in the garden-chamber or summer-house at his palace at Westminster, near what is now called the King's Jewry, perhaps his treasury for receiving the sums levied on the Jews, and which, when he ordered to be thenceforward called the *Antient Chamber*, originally, probably, what is now styled the Jerusalem Chamber. Walp. I. 11.

As opportunity offered I have travelled the ground over actually a third time; and what wonder if I have seen with different eyes! At an interval of that leisure which is my inheritance, I formed the bold design of a new edition of CAMDEN'S BRITANNIA; in the progress of which unexpected assistances have arisen. Coeval with this presented itself the idea of illustrating the SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS of this kingdom from the occasional minutes of my excursions. I soon found these outlines were to be filled up from books, and the observations of others. What a business is that of a compiler! His industry is estimated at little; but he deserves better fate than he often meets with. I took courage, and in time brought my materials into some regular arrangement. Under this distribution new matter was easily introduced in the additions, improvements, and new dispositions which every day suggested. The dryness of the subject and the scantiness of the materials required decoration and anecdote to set them off. A trait of history, a pertinent digression, due comparison of one age with another, and of antient with modern times, are all required to compose one general and pleasing picture. These are the difficulties to be surmounted. In endeavouring to surmount them I have the satisfaction of reflecting that I have described little beside what my own eyes, or those of judicious friends have examined, or what has been brought home to all by faithful representations. Perhaps after traversing more ground, prying into more churches, and engraving more monuments, curiosity once awakened would have been inquisitive for more. Unbounded as the plan is, I claim the merit of having executed it within certain limits.

Should the scantiness of materials be objected, I must apply to myself, with due alteration, the answer of Pere Montfaucon, in the preface to his third volume: "The monuments of England are so few in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and even in the thirteenth, that after the most diligent search there are periods which do not furnish any. The reigns of Henry III. and the two first Edwards afford no small number, but it was under Edward III. and Richard II. that they multiplied so fast that new ones are continually presenting themselves, and the number increases as we come nearer our own times."

Notwithstanding the dissolution of the religious houses when so many series of family monuments were involved in the destruction of the monastic church which their family had founded; notwithstanding the devastation of false zeal and fanaticism¹ in the two last centuries; the depredations of time, caprice, ignorance, interest, and false taste, and a variety of accidents for above a century since; we have a sufficiency of monuments left to illustrate our history on the plan here proposed. It is perhaps too weak a hope that this design may induce more attention in future to preserve what remains from immediate ruin, the defacement of the whitewasher's brush, the rude hands of school-boys and the vulgar, and various other unfavourable circumstances; or that this work should be

¹ Whoever requires a specimen of these ravages let them read the achievements of Dowling, in the county of Suffolk, just published.

taken up and improved by abler hands. It may be enough if it survives the national taste for such pursuits. Then indeed might one say with the poet :

Exegi monumentum ære perennius,
Regalique situ pyramidum altius;
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum series, et fuga temporum.

Since the tombs assigned by every sexton, and, on no better credit, by some antiquaries and describers of counties, to *Lucius, Ethelward, Ofric, Ina, Gutbrum, Althelm, Aldred, Alfred king of Northumberland, Redowald, Anna* and his son *Firminus, a daughter of Canute, Harold*, and more that might be named, if really belonging to them, are certainly not of their age, and the number of such whose genuineness we may depend upon is so small in the preceding centuries; one may date the æra of authentic sepulchral monuments in Great Britain at the NORMAN CONQUEST, and from thence to the SEVENTEENTH CENTURY deduce a series from whence may be derived to the knowledge of the Antiquities of this kingdom no mean accession to the labor of Genealogists and Epitaph collectors, no little degree of light on our manners, habits, arts, national taste, and style of Architecture, no contemptible catalogue of British worthies.

It is not forgotten how many specimens of monuments have been drawn by different persons on the several visitation-books in the Heralds' College, and others engraved by our country historians, many of them by the masterly hand of HOLLAR. Of the former I cannot praise many for fidelity, and it will be no reproach to Hollar that the drawings which he engraved are extremely incorrect. He worked as modern engravers for publishers, and was obliged to take up with such draughts as were put into his hands: Suffice it to compare those in Sandford with some in this work. Neither likeness, proportion, nor any kind of truth, has been observed in many of them. Hollar was more excusable than *Schynvoet*, who has erred unpardonably in the monuments of Canterbury, which he drew to be engraved by *Cole*, who has not been more faithful in those at Westminster. Those at Ely are not on a scale favourable to exactness. If we look at the foreign monuments that have been engraved, not one of them which has come under my observation has so good a title to exactness. Those in Montfaucon, where so much was to be expected, are very inferior. Those in the "Theatre sacré de Brabant" are worse. Reyher's "*Monumenta Landgraviorum Thuringiæ et Marchionum Misniæ*;" the "*Nobilitas Daniæ ex monumentis curante T. de Klevenfeld*," as well as those of the "*Vitruve Suede*," are not more faithful. Those in Lobineau's "*Histoire de Bretagne*," and a few other topical works published in France, must be excepted. And it is to be remembered, that I am speaking of the monuments properly called Gothic, which reach nearly to the reign of Elizabeth. I should pay a very indifferent compliment to Mr. BASIRE if I gave such foils to his engravings, which may serve as models for these works, and as incitements to patronage,

while

while the times are favourable; before the caprice, or the avarice; or the indifference, or false taste⁴ of Deans and Chapters, suffers and authorizes a havock; less rapid it may be, but not less ruinous, than that which with the axes and hammers of Reformation brake down the carved work of antient art⁵, and before a variety of other circumstances conspire to lessen the number of these valuable records of antient story.

But as some may think indifferent representations, even those in the History of Northumberland and the Antiquarian Repertory, better than none at all (though I must ever beg leave to hold a different opinion), and they may not be displeased with verbal descriptions, it may be worth while to supply the great deficiency of such descriptions, and to suggest certain rules and examples for this method of preserving monuments⁶. Not to guard against the romantic anachronism of honest Lydgate, who represents *Hector* buried in a *Gothic cathedral* in a chapel and tomb of the 12th century; or the inexperience of one modern author⁷, who mistook two angels at a lady's feet for *two cherub like babes*; or the barbarism⁸ of another, who christened a pilgrim *Jupiter Tonitruans* or *Silenus*; and a lion at a knight's feet a *water curled dog*⁹; or the mistaken fancy of a third¹⁰, who speaks of two sisters kneeling *band in band* before a cross; or that of a fourth¹¹, who talks of monkish *pleureurs*, as the parish clerk of St. Mary's church at Warwick does of *weepers*, at the sides of tombs; or of Dr. Salmon, who did not distinguish *confeſſors* in the hands of angels from *fiſhing nets*¹²; or a leopard and hedgehog from a *cat* and a *rat*¹³; or the tradition of the good people of Kirkby Stephen mistaking the Wharton crest for a *vanquished devil*¹⁴; errors less pardonable than that of Dr. Plot¹⁵, who, in the last age, mistook a cairn of stone for a natural production; or the German¹⁶, who made the same blunder about urns; or the Scot in the Western Isles, who thought sand hills could be fixed by art. * Such inaccuracy also leaves the *habits of the times* and a *knicht of the holy voyage* without further light. But to point out the general cha-

⁴ Witness the choirs of Westminster and Salisbury, and let the practice of antiquity be pleaded—if it can.

⁵ The act of 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 10, was probably the ruin of many of our sepulchral as well as other ecclesiastical monuments, though the former were expressly excepted, where the parties had not been *reputed saints*. All images and paintings taken out of or standing in churches and chapels, as well as Popish service books (which many persons doubtless would extend to the MS records of religious houses) are strictly enjoined to be destroyed, under penalty of ten, for the first; 4, for the second; and for the third offence imprisonment at the king's will. Hence the inscription under a Bible placed by bishop Beauchamp in a niche in St. George's Chapel at Windsor for public reading was eagerly defaced, with the same eagerness, as the painting of the last judgement on the opposite pillar: and *oratio pro anima* hatched out of brasses as the name of a *Pope* or *Becket* was erased out of Missals and Primers.

⁶ So inattentive are the *resident* describers of our monuments that archdeacon Bateley mistook for archbishop Islip's in the nave at Canterbury an altar tomb or slab, robbed of its brasses, which represented a *man and wife*. Gossling, p. 205.

Maitland says, the duke of Exeter's monument at St. Katherine's, near the Tower, is one of the antientest in London, except those in the Temple-church; forgetting that that of Rahere in St. Bartholomew's church by Smithfield is much older: unless he disputes the date of its erection.

⁷ Antiquities of Northumberland, II. 335.

⁸ View of Northumberland, I. 97.

⁹ Ib. II. 313.

¹⁰ Margate Sketches.

¹¹ Tourin Wales, I. 286.

¹² Hertfordshire, p. 47.

¹³ Ib. 208.

¹⁴ Burns's Westmorland, I. 540.

Montfaucon (Diar. It. c. 21.) mentions, in the chapel of St. Erasmus at Gaeta a figure under whose head is an eagle, at the feet a dog, and at the same place a snake rolled up, as they commonly represent *Esculapius*. I have my doubts if this be not a *Gothic* monument, perhaps like that at Pelham in Hertfordshire, mentioned p. lxxviii. and as much misunderstood by Chauncy and Salmon. Mabilion himself was misled, by not distinguishing the right or left hand, or the *epistle* and *gospel* side of a church or altar. Descri. de la haute Normandie, II. 259.

¹⁵ Staffordshire, p. 402.

¹⁶ Munster Cosmogr. III. c. 49. p. 698.

rather

rafter of figures as to expression, attitude, and habit; or of tombs, as to style and ornament; or of epitaphs, as to turn and language; or of letters, as to cut and form; or of heraldry, as to shields or bearings; whereby to form a common standard, approaching somewhat nearer to accuracy and comprehension that seems to have been yet unattended to, and to fix certain criteria that may prevent us from confounding the æras and owners of our sepulchral monuments, and falling into the absurdities of that marvellous collection of family monuments made by Mr. Camden's friend John lord Lumley, from Liulphus, the founder of the family, to John the third lord in the reign of Elizabeth.

I have elsewhere observed, that "sepulchral monuments have their several æras from the coffin-fashioned tomb, with no figure at all, or only a crossier, and seldom inscribed, to the most ornamented canopy or chapel, which ended at the Reformation, and sunk in the next reign into the universal disguise of architecture."¹⁷ Mr. Tate wrote, or intended to write, of the Antiquity of tombs in England¹⁸. What he left unfinished was done by Maurice Johnson the founder of the Spalding Society, whose memoir is here inserted at large, and more slightly by Smart Lethieullier, whose notes are also borrowed from the *Archæologia*.

The learned Montfaucon, though he has given the monuments, assigned them their dates, and detailed the history of their proprietors, has not made so material use of them for illustrating national manners or modes, as might have been expected, or as he probably would have done, had he completed his design: nor has he entered into any comparison of one monument or figure with another, or those of one age with those of another; nor laid down any rules for judging by. Not that the fashion of one age does not in this, as well as in other points, extend itself into the succeeding, so as frequently to create a difficulty in the inquiry; or the style of the 8th or 9th centuries may be borrowed by the 13th or 14th, to give an air of antiquity for a particular purpose. But still the chance is that the copy betrays its originality, and discovers some internal marks of premeditation and fraud. Such are our monuments of Saxon times, and the Lumley series beforementioned, and among our neighbours the succession of regal monuments before St. Louis.

The age of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth was the æra of the restoration of the polite arts in Europe. Italy began to be decorated with a species of funeral monuments unknown to Heathen or Christian Rome before the house of Medici gave a candidate for St. Peter's chair. From that time one may date the influx of sepulchral vanity which contrived monuments without appropriating mausolea, and crowded our churches without regard to proportion or propriety, lavishing the wealth of commerce on posthumous pride, thrusting out silent merit and

¹⁷ Preface to *British Topography*, p. xxxv.

¹⁸ His History of Heads and Collections were in Mr. Anstis' hands. See Hearn's Preface to *Curious Discourses*, p. 114.

simple taste for opulent elegance and false panegyric: memorials rather of surviving pride than of departed merit. A single monument was now equal to a family chapel: a laboured cenotaph of more value than a grave. Hence the costly funeral chapels of bishops West and Alcock at Ely, and of their sovereigns at Westminster, compared to which the Mausoleum of Augustus, the Moles Adriani, the Pyramid of Cestius, the tower-like tomb of Metella, and many more in ancient Rome were massive piles built for immortality, while the more modern monuments can hardly find an artist capable of repairing the smallest fracture, or by replacing a key stone, saving the whole from instant ruin. Hence we find the Cecil monuments executed by Florentines, as those of our sovereigns had been ages before, and we may trace the vanity or skill of foreign artists far back in some of the more accomplished performances of their kind.

After the impeachment here brought against most of the *draughts* of monuments now existing, which may be extended to most copies of inscriptions, whether by fac simile or otherwise, the public will not be displeased to have a set of prints, epitaphs, and descriptions, entirely new laid before them. Where it is absolutely necessary to touch on others, the subjects already published and engraved are referred to. But the greater part of the monuments and epitaphs are such as it is believed have not been generally, if at all, noticed before; and of which I have procured or been favoured with faithful copies. The lowest merit such a work can pretend to is, to be deemed a supplement to Weever.

Far am I from being insensible of the difficulty of procuring accurate drawings of monuments at a distance from the capital. This I have experienced too often when I have been obliged to borrow an inferior pencil, and have frequently been left without any help at all: where, had a *Vertue*, a *Grimm*, a *Carter*, or a *Basire*, assisted, the monuments of distant cathedrals might have been rendered as familiar as those of Westminster. Nor is it only the distance of draughtsmen from the spot, but the little practice of the subject. The walk of fame for modern artists is not sufficiently enlarged. Emulous of excelling in History, Portrait, or Landscape, they overlook the unprofitable, though not less tasteful, walk of Antiquity, or, in Grecian and Roman forget Gothic and more domestic monuments. The unfrequency of the pursuit enhances the price. I must except from this reproach my friend BASIRE, whose praise it is to be faithful in his transcripts and modest in his prices, though it is almost a perversion of his burin, which shines so much in living portraits, to employ it on Gothic ones.

Nor must I forget how many specimens are contributed to this collection by Mr. JOHN CARTER, whose rising talents I had hailed with predictive applause, and to whose merit I am always ready to do justice.

It would be the highest ingratitude not to acknowledge what obligations this work is under to the hand of friendship. To Mr. TYSON I am indebted

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for

for several drawings, and had he lived to enjoy his long wished for retreat, I should have received many more. To the exertions of CRAVEN ORD, esq. are owing the impressions of some of the finest brasses, as well as many valuable descriptive hints. I am happy also in testifying my acknowledgements to Mr. KERRICH for several highly-finished drawings; and for many useful particulars to the late Sir JOHN CULLUM (*O si fata aspera rumpas!*) who lived not to see the success of his labours and those of his excellent coadjutor in my behalf. The hon. HORACE WALPOLE, with that readiness of communication which marks his character, indulged me with the free use of a number of drawings by Mr. Vertue or Sir Charles Frederick, which he purchased among a vast fund of others at Mr. Lethieullier's sale. And should this work attract the notice of the curious enough to induce any person of taste and liberality to communicate correct drawings of such monuments in this period as have escaped or been omitted by me, I shall be ready to engrave them for a new edition or a supplement.

Since I first conceived the present design some events have happened which render the candour of the public of very serious concern to me. The Society of Antiquaries have published engravings of five monuments in Westminster abbey, with an accurate description by the Montfaucon of England, the late Sir JOSEPH ATLOFFE. When I reflect on his intimate acquaintance with every part of that venerable structure, and the opportunities he had for pursuing his enquiries there, I am at a loss whether to lament his reluctance to continue what he had so happily begun, or my own presumption in attempting to supply his knowledge by vague conjectures. He closed a life devoted to the study of our national antiquities before three sheets of this work had passed the press; and it can only pay a tribute to his abilities. Had my ingenious friend Mr. Tyson been living, his taste in drawing, and his knowledge of these subjects, would have corrected innumerable errors which now obtrude themselves. It is enough for me to bewail my loss by his death, and to add to it, and the instances of mortality I am here contemplating, those of our common friend Mr. James Essex, and the Rev. Sir John Cullum, bart. Deprived of these aids,

*Ferimur per opaca locorum,
Et me quem dudum non ulla injecta movebant
Tela, neque adverso glomerati ex agmine Graium,
Nunc omnes terrent auræ; sonus excitat omnis,
Suspensum, et pariter comitique onerique timentem.*

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INTRODUCTION.

Tombes upon tabernacles, tyde opon losse,
Housed in hornes harde set abouten
Of armed alabaustre, clad for the nones,
Paad opon marbel in many manner wyse,
Knyghtes in ther constance clad for the nones,
Alle it semed seyntes ysacred opon erthe
And lobely ladies ybroughte leyen by her sydes
In many gay garnemens that weren gold beten.

PIERS PLOWMAN'S CREDE.

THE sepulchral memorials erected to eminent men in every age and nation have made no inconsiderable objects of curiosity and inquiry. Taste and Vanity have been competitors for perpetuating their votaries in the Temple of Fame—from the Druid tumulus on the Wiltshire downs to the latest tenant of Westminster abbey or a village church-yard. Dr. Stukeley's discovery of a skeleton on the top of *Silbury hill* proves that we have our pyramids as well as our Irish neighbours at *New Grange*; and such is every barrow in the world—whether of PATROCLUS at *Troy*, of HALYATES in *Ionia*, of the SCYTHIANS on the *Borysthenes*³, or the TARTARS their successors in their great deserts⁴, or the many unknown chiefs and bards in *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Britain*⁵.

BARROWS are the most antient sepulchral monuments in the world: but their contents are as various as the different people that occupied the globe, or the different circumstances of those people.

Homer is very particular in describing that of Patroclus. It was first marked out with a circle; the foundations were then laid round the very spot where the pile was still smoking, and earth was thrown up over them:

Τορνωσαίῳ δὲ σημά, θείμελῖα τε προβαλοῖο
 Ἀμφὶ πυρην εἶατο δὲ χυλὸν ἐπὶ γαίαν ἐχέουαν.
 Χευαῖες δὲ το σημά, πάλιν κιν.

Il. Ψ. 255—257.

The remains of the body were collected in a golden urn, which was not lodged under this barrow.

Among the distinguished barrows of Greece may be ranked that of Epytus in Arcadia, which Pausanias describes as not very large, and surrounded by a margin of stone: Γῆς χώμα ἡ μέγα, λίθῳ κρηπίδι ἐν πυλῶ περιεχόμενον¹. which Homer admired, as not having seen a finer². That of Icarus was a small one, on a headland where he was cast away³. That of Achilles was in a similar situation:

Λίη ἐπὶ προχρῶσῃ ἐπεὶ παλᾷ Εὐλαστοῖν
 ὧς κεν τῆλε φανῆς ἐκ πονήοφιν ἀνδράσιν εἶη
 τοῖς οἱ νῦν γεγάασι καὶ οἱ μεῖσι σθένος εἶναι⁴.

The brothers Amphion and Zethus lay under one common barrow, ἐν κοινῇ γῆς χώματι ἡ μέγα⁵.

¹ John Fowler told him, that in digging there he found at top bucks' horns, a human jaw and teeth, all very rotten; Roman coins, an iron knife with an handle. Stukeley, MS. pen. ms.

² Herodot. Melpomene, 71.

³ See Archaeol. II. 223. Memoires de Toti, P. II. p. 50.

⁴ Mr. Forster (Observations, p. 369.) met with but one tumulus in the South Seas. This was in New Caledonia, on the sea-shore, four feet high, surrounded by an inclosure of sticks, and on it other sticks with turbins on them. Dr. Sparrman (II. 264.) describes innumerable heaps of bones of the sepulchral kind in the uncultivated plains to the North of the Hottentots' country.

⁵ Arcad. c. 16.

⁶ Il. B. 603. yet Il. B. 349. he celebrates the μῆνος σῆμα of Ilus near Troy.

⁷ Pausan. Arcol. c. 11.

⁸ Odys. A. 36.

⁹ Pausan. Arcol. c. 17.

Memnon's tomb seems to have been a great barrow; for Pausanias says the birds Memnonides swept and watered with their wings that part of it on which no bulbes or grafs grew; *οποσον τε μνημῆϊός δένδρων ἐστιν η ποσας ψιλόν*¹.

It was an antient custom at Athens from the time of Cecrops to sow the spot where the body was buried with corn².

The lovers of Hippodamin, who lost their lives with their race, had a high barrow (*χωμα γης υψηλόν*) near the ruins of Harpinia, and afterwards Pelops erected a monument (*μνημα*) to them, on which he solemnized yearly³.

The Messenian pentathlete Lycus had a tomb of earth; *χωμα γης*⁴; such also was that of Lycurgus the father of Opheltes⁵.

Dr. Chandler, p. 24. misrepresents the tomb of Euripides on the road from the port of Phalerum to Athens, as a *barrow of earth*; for Pausanias expressly calls it only *μνημα*⁶. Pausanias carefully distinguishes between *χωμα* a barrow, *ταφος* a tomb, and *μνημα* a monument. That of Euripides was of the latter kind, and it was without his ashes; *κενόν μνημα*, a cenotaph. Mr. Chandler, by the same misapprehension, points out a large barrow by the side of this road, as the cenotaph of Euripides. *Ξεσος ταφος* in Euripides as cited by Mr. Williams, Phil. Transf. 458. p. 471, may be an altar tomb; also *τυμβος ξεσος*. What the Greeks called *τυμβος* Cicero⁷ explains *hustum*.

The slain in some battles were buried under cairns, *στωροι λιθων*; which had no inscriptions to distinguish them⁸. These are the *λαϊνοισι τεξογωνμασι* of Euripides, as cited by Mr. Williams⁹. The altars by barrows or tombs, not in temples, were so many cromlechs.

Laius and his servant were buried under cairns, *λιθοι λογαδες σεσθρευομενοι*¹⁰.

That of the sons of Iphitus, at Anticyra, seems to have been of the same kind, *αποδομνημενον λιθοις τοις επιτυχουσιν μνημα*¹¹.

And such was Amphion's, said to have had a circle of stones round it, rough hewn; *παρὰ Ἀμφιονος μνημα λιθοι καθ' ὅθεν υποδέσθηται, μήτε ἀλλως εἰργασμενοι πρὸς το ακριβεσζον*, said to have been drawn thither by his lyre¹². Such also was Hector's:

Ἀψα δ' ἀρ' ἐς κοίλην καπέλον θέσαν· αὐτὰρ ὑπερθε
Πυκνοισιν λαεσσι καίεσθ' ὅρσαν μεγαλοισι
Χευαίης δὲ το σῆμα πάλιν κιν.

Il. Ω. 797. 801.

Homer makes Priam call this *τυμβος*. Ib. 666.

Under this were deposited the burnt bones in a golden case, *χρυσειη λαοναξ*.

Jacob set a pillar on Rachel's grave¹³.

Three great stones marked the grave of Tydeus¹⁴.

Pittacus forbade the placing on the tumulus any thing but a little pillar, three cubits high, or a table (*mensa*) or a little vessel (*clabellum*¹⁵);

Solon forbade adorning graves *opere teliorio*, or setting *Hermæ* on them¹⁶. Dr. Potter¹⁷ understands this properly enough of the statues of Hermes; but Mr. D'Ancarville¹⁸ strangely of *heaps of stones*. As Solon further decreed, that no tomb should be made of more work than ten men could do in three days, he had respect to simplicity, that monuments should not be set off with arched roofs, like buildings or inclosures, or with figures of Mercury, like way posts.

The roads to Athens were lined with tombs of heroes and illustrious persons intermixed with temples. Pausanias¹⁹ enumerates a long list, including those of Thrasylbulus, Pericles, Chabrias, Phormio, and other citizens who had fallen in battle for their country, eminent artists, &c. with inscriptions on pillars, setting forth their name and tribe. This was the Westminster abbey of Athens; but violence and the plough have levelled all distinction.

¹ Pausan. Phoc. 31.

² Cic. de Legib. II. 175. Ed. Davies.

³ Pausan. Eliac. II. 21.

⁴ Corinth. 7.

⁵ Corinth. 12. Chandler's Travels in Greece, p. 233.

⁶ Attic. 2.

⁷ Ubi sup. p. 178.

⁸ Pausan. Arc. 13.

⁹ Ubi sup.

¹⁰ Phoc. 5.

¹¹ Phoc. 17.

¹² Bæot. 17.

¹³ Gen. xxv. 20.

¹⁴ Pausan. Bæot. 18.

¹⁵ Cic. de Leg. II. 26.

¹⁶ Cicero, Ib.

¹⁷ II. 224.

¹⁸ Recherches, II. 260.

¹⁹ Att. I. 29.

The monument of Mardonius was shewn by the road side near Platea, and near the entrance of that city the tombs of those who fell fighting against the Persians; the rest of the Greeks had a common monument, but the Lacedæmonians and Athenians distinct ones, inscribed with elegies by Simonides ¹.

"In gentili Domitiorum monumento folium porphyretici marmoris superstante
"Lunenſi ara circumſeptum eſt lapide Thafio:" ſays Suetonius, ſpeaking of the ſepulchre of Nero ². Is this an altar tomb?

Trajan's pillar was the only inſtance of a ſepulchral monument within the walls of the city before the enlargement of Rome by Aurelian. "Solusque intra
"urbem ſepultus eſt ³."

The work on ſarcophagi is ſeldom or ever good, becauſe the uſe of them was diſcontinued at Sylla, and not revived till after the Antonines. During this interval was the riſe and fall of fine ſculpture. Alexander Severus and Julia Mamaea are ſaid to have been among the firſt exceptions to the cuſtom of burning. They were buried in a ſarcophagus, which remains to this day in the capitol ⁴. How can this be, when the Barberini vaſe was ſuppoſed to contain the Emperor's aſhes? But D'Ancarville calls it the tomb of his father Varius.

The connexion between ſepulchres and places of worſhip is of the remotest antiquity in three quarters of the globe. The Aſiatics ſeem to have adopted the Jewiſh mode of burying.

Inſtances of tombs near and in temples are not unfrequent among the Greeks.

The tomb of the ſons of Medea was not far from the temple of Minerva Chalcinurus at Corinth ⁵.

That of Arcas, near Juno's altar, at Mantinea, on a ſpot called the altars of the ſun ⁶.

That of Trygon, the nurſe of Eſculapius, was in his temple ⁷.

The two daughters of Antipænus were buried in Diana's temple at Thebes, becauſe they died for their country ⁸.

That of Cecrops was *near*, and Erechtheus was buried *in*, the temple of Minerva Polias in the citadel at Athens ⁹.

That of Epimenides was *before* a temple of Minerva at Argos ¹⁰.

That of Hypermneſtra and her huſband Lynceus had an altar near it ¹¹.

Pausanias mentions one *before* the gate of a temple; another juſt on coming out of a temple ¹².

That of Epopeus was *before the altar in the temple* of Minerva at Corinth ¹³.

That of Eacus *under an altar* in a ſquare incloſure called Eaceum at Egina, and the barrow of Phocus near it ¹⁴. It was ſurrounded by a fence, and had on it a rough ſtone. Dr. Chandler thinks he ſaw it on the coaſt of Egina ¹⁵.

The bones of Pyrrhus king of Epirus, after his body was burnt, were buried in the temple of Ceres, at Argos ¹⁶.

That of Demotheues *in the court* of the temple of Neptune at Calauræa ¹⁷.

That of Tyndarus *before* the temple of Jupiter at Sparta ¹⁸.

That of Anchifeſ *near* the temple of Venus near mount Anchifeſ in Arcadia ¹⁹.

Hyacinthus was buried *in the pedefſtal* of Apollo's ſtatue at Amyclæ ²⁰.

Agamemnon's monument was ſaid to be *in* the temple of Alexandria or Caſandra there ²¹.

Certain beautiful pillars in the temple of Ceres, *ἧλαι περιφανείς ἐπὶ Δημήτρει*, to which they turned as they ſung the praifes of Aras, were ſuppoſed to be his children's tomb ²².

¹ Pausan. Bæot. 2.

² Nero, c. 53.

³ Eutrop. in Traj. Viſgiana, p. 63.

⁴ See Nieupoit de rit. Rom. 376. Viſgiana 71.

⁵ Un tombeau qu'on decouvrit dans Herulanum étoit décoré extérieurement de piedefſaux d'un bon genre; l'intérieur étoit un caveau de briques ayant 12 pieds ſur 9 de large, avec des urnes funéraires; tout étoit reſſé ſen plane au point que la brique même poſée ſur chaque urne n'étoit pas dérangée: la cendre y avoit cependant pénétré & tout rempli. Voyage en Italie, 1766-6. VII. 106.

⁶ Pausanias, Cor. 4.

⁷ Arcad. 9.

⁸ Bæot. 7.

⁹ Chandler's Greece, p. 53.

¹⁰ Pausanias, Cor. 21.

¹¹ P. 15.

¹² Paul. lib. 21.

¹³ Ib. 33.

¹⁴ Lac. 17.

¹⁵ Arc. 12.

¹⁶ Ib. 19.

¹⁷ Ib. 22.

¹⁸ Ib. 11.

¹⁹ Ib. 29.

²⁰ Cor. 12.

What

What are these but so many prototypes of the disposition of monuments in Christian churches? As Christians had family chapels, so the pagans (*ἡρώα μνημεία*) heroic monuments had altars, where they paid honours to the memory of the deceased¹. So Pausanias describes the *heroic monument* (*ἡρώων*) of Aratus², of Perseus³, and even of women, as of Hymetho⁴; Andromache⁵; Iphigenia, at Megara⁶. The tomb of Opheltes, at Nemea, stood in an inclosure of stone, *Θοιγίλος λίθων*, with several altars⁷.

Epiniondas was buried on the field of the battle of Mantinea, and a pillar (*κίον*) with a shield, bearing a dragon, denoting him to be of the family of the Spartans, was immediately set over his grave. There were also remaining on it in Pausanias's time two pillars (*στήλαι*) one antient with an inscription in the Boeotian dialect, the other with an inscription set up by the emperor Adrian⁸.

The *ταφός* of Thyestes had on it a marble ram⁹.

One of white marble, with *paintings* on it, by Minas, just without Tritia¹⁰.

The monument of the slain in the battle of Marathon was a *ταφός*, terminated with pillars (*στήλαι*) inscribed with their names and tribes; another for the Plataeans, and a third for the slaves, who were enlisted on this critical occasion. Miltiades had a monument (*μνημα*) alone¹¹, which Count Caylus had engraved¹² from a monastery at Athens, VI. xlviii. 3. A trophy of white marble was erected on the spot. The Persians were also carefully buried, but Pausanias could find no *ταφός* for them; no *χομα*, nor any other token (*σημείον*); whence he concludes they were cast into the first pit¹³. After this minute description of a traveller on the spot fifteen centuries nearer the event, how is one to account for Dr. Chandler translating Pausanias's *ταφός* a *barrow*; and adding, that "it is likely "it still towers above the level of the plain, being of light fine earth, and having "a bush or two growing on it? At a small distance Northward is a square base of "white marble, perhaps part of the trophy." The other *barrows* mentioned by Pausanias are probably among those extant near *Brauron* now *Vronna*, where are one large and three smaller, and another a little out of the line, opened for a furnace or lime kiln: a lofty barrow, nearer the sea, was in view¹⁴. The barrow of Iphigenia which Dr. Chandler furnished here was an *ἡρώων* at Megara¹⁵.

BEFORE we enter upon the monumental appendages of our ancestors, it may not be amiss to premise a few words on the modes of sepulture, which have prevailed among them.

Barrows were also *their* oldest tombs. But their contents in this island differ at different periods.

Urn burial was a druidical and antient British fashion; but not universally: for we find many skeletons under barrows, without urns; and in many instances both. In this last case the parties were probably slain in battle; or were Danes or Saxons. See Borlase's *Antiquities of Cornwall*, 2d edit. p. 220. 234, 235. Wright's *Louthiana*, b. III. p. 12. though the Doctor inclines to refer the skeletons to the Saxons and Danes, p. 221. as Camden¹⁶ does the barrows round Dorchester. See also Hutchins's *Dorset*, II. 499. additions; where the human bones are probably remains of some battle. A skeleton and urn were found together with a spear-head under a barrow, at Durnford near Salisbury, 1732¹⁷. By the road side near Breech-down, Kent, lay several skeletons, one of which had round the neck a string of beads of various forms and

¹ Gedyon's Pausanias, vol. I. p. 53. n.

² Att. 43.

³ Cor. 18.

⁴ Att. 32.

⁵ Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries.

⁶ Cor. 15.

⁷ Ach. 22.

⁸ 161—216.

⁹ Cor. 8.

¹⁰ Boet. c. 2.

¹¹ Attic. 32.

¹² in a more finished style, 1b. Pl. fig. 1.

¹³ F. 43.

¹⁴ 1b. 28.

¹⁵ Dorset.

¹⁶ Attic. 22.

¹⁷ Attic. 22.

sizes, from a pigeon's egg to a pea; and by his side a sword, dagger, and spear; the rest lay in good order, without any thing to distinguish them¹. In a barrow opened at Muckleford was found a skeleton that had been interred in an erect posture². In those a mile from Bradford Peverel are found urns, ashes, burnt bones and leather money³. Five urns were found under a barrow in Kemaes, in the last century⁴. Some human bones were found near Abury temple without a barrow⁵. Seventeen urns, with bones and ashes, in one barrow, on Farnham down, Dorset, were in a cell of flints, perhaps the principal⁶. Bodies often lay on the surface, and not under the level of barrows, at High-crofts, Leicestershire⁷.

Those opened at Stevenage have been found to contain only bits of wood and gravel, and therefore are concluded to be rather boundary marks. The seven hills, as they are called, on the road from Bury to Thetford, about six miles from the former, may be of the same kind, though the number of barrows about Bury bespeaks them sepulchral⁸: "*monticuli illi ex egesta terra conglobati*," as Leland elegantly describes the barrow on Salisbury plain⁹. Hubba the Dane was buried in Devonshire, under a *cumulus*, called *Hubbelowe*¹⁰.

In a round barrow removed to erect fort George at Ardescroon point in Scotland, 1750, was found a skeleton, and a brass spear head 14 inches by 3. One near a camp in Dorsetshire contained four human skeletons¹¹. A large one on Charborough-down, in the same county, had two skulls, and other human bones, not burnt¹².

The great number of barrows on the Downs near Woodyates led Mr. Aubrey to a singular conjecture, that Westward of the rampart and ditch near West Woodyates had been a terrible fight. There are but a little within the line nineteen barrows, and some of them very large. Here are also two or three circular trenches, with a tump or two, which, in all probability, were places *pro combustione cadaverum*. There are many barrows between this and Pentridge, and in the chace is a coppice, called Barrow-coppice. One may plainly see here the chace of the victory was Westward. He observed at least 100 barrows *sparsum* on the downs and in the enclosures from Woodyates towards Blandford, and thence to Dorchester several¹³.

Still less will the form of the barrow ascertain to which people it belongs. It is either long and ridged, or flat, campaniform, pyriform, or round; with or without a cavity at top; of different heights; single or surrounded by a ditch; or set round with stones; or disposed in rows, in groupes, or several within one common ditch¹⁴. Some have a small circle of stones at the top, others round the base¹⁵.

One of the double barrows south of Stonehenge being opened 1722, was found to be composed of good earth quite through, except a coat of chalk, of about two feet thick, covering it quite over under the turf. At the top or centre, not above three feet below the surface, was the skeleton, perfect, of a reasonable size, the head lying toward Stonehenge, or Northward. Another double barrow North of Stonehenge, consisted of a layer of chalk, as before, under the turf, then fine garden mould, then a layer of flints about a foot thick on a layer of soft mould another foot in thickness, in which was in-

¹ Gent. Mag. 1758. p. 551.

² Hutchins's Dorset, I. 445.

³ Ib.

⁴ Lloyd, in Pembrokehire.

⁵ Stukeley's Abury 31.

⁶ Hutchins, ubi sup. I. 527.

⁷ Stukeley, Jr. Cur. I. 104.

⁸ Blomfield, I. 3 Salmon's New Survey, p. 161.

⁹ De Script, v. Meilin

¹⁰ Bromton, p. 809. A. D. 873.

¹¹ Hutchins, II. 499.

¹² Ib. 155.

¹³ Aubrey's Mon. Hist. Hants, II. 221.

¹⁴ They are supposed to be the Saxon cromlechs, of which three are mentioned in the charters of Wilton monastery Mon. Ang. II. 861. though the word is not in the Dictionary. See Hutchins's Dorset, I. 115.

¹⁵ Williams, Phil. Trans. N^o 458. Three ditch barrows by the camp on Warren-hill, by Icklingham.

closed an urn full of bones, made of unbaked clay, of a dark reddish colour crumbled to pieces. It had been rudely wrought with small mouldings round the verge, and other circular channels on the outside, with several indentures between made with a pointed tool. The bones had been burnt, and crowded all together in a little heap, not so much as a hat-crown would contain; and, by the female ornaments, appeared to have belonged to a young girl of fourteen years old. There were beads of all sorts, and in great numbers, of glass of divers colours, most yellow, one black. Many single, many in long pieces, notched between, so as to resemble a string of beads, and these were generally of a blue colour. There were many of amber, of all shapes and sizes, flat square, long square, round, oblong, great and little. Many of earth, many large and flattish like a button, others like a pulley. But all had holes to run a string through, either through their diameter or sides. Many of the button sort seem to have been covered with metal, there being a rim worked in them wherein to turn the edge of the covering. One of these was covered with a thin film of pure gold. All had undergone the fire, so that what would easily consume fell to pieces as soon as handled. Much of the amber was burnt half through. If this person was a female she was a heroine; for there was a brass spear head, having at bottom two holes for the pins that fastened it to the staff. There was also a sharp bodkin, round at one end, square at the other, where it went into a handle. The next barrow to this, within the same ditch, contained, at fourteen inches deep of mould, mixed with chalk, the entire skeleton of a man, lying North and South, the skull and all the bones exceedingly rotten and perished; this Dr. Stukeley supposed the husband or father of the former, and the barrow of the latest sort.² Westward, among a groupe of barrows, whence Stonehenge bears E. N. E. was a large barrow, ditched about, but of an antient make. On the side next Stonehenge are ten lesser, small, and as it were crowded together. East of the great one another larger than those in the groupe, but not equaling the first. It would seem that a man and his wife were buried in the two larger, and that the rest were of their children or dependents. In one of the small ones a child's body appeared to have been burnt, and covered up in the centre, where was a little hole cut. From three feet deep they found much wood ashes, soft and black, some little bits of an urn, and black and red earth, very rotten, some small lumps of earth, red as vermilion, and some flints burnt through. Towards the bottom a great quantity of ashes and burnt bones. From this place could be counted 148 barrows in sight. One of those, which Dr. Stukeley calls Druid's barrows, being opened, he found in the centre a squarish hole cut in the solid chalk, three feet and a half by two feet, pointing directly to Stonehenge, covered with artificial earth, not above a foot thick from the surface, containing all the burnt bones of a man, but no signs of an urn. The bank of the circular ditch was on the outside. In another barrow of like dimensions was found a burnt body in a hole in the chalk. In some others large burnt bones of horses and dogs along with human; also, as seemed, of other animals, as fowl, hares, boars, deer, goats, &c. In a great and very flat old fashioned barrow West from Stonehenge, among such matters, bits of red and blue marble, chippings of the stones of the temple, from which the Doctor concluded the deceased was one of the builders. Homer tells us Achilles flew horses and dogs at the funeral of his friend Patroclus.³

Dr. Stukeley³ describes the barrows of *kings* as of different shapes, and some set round with stones. The long barrows he refers to the *arch-druids*

² Stonehenge, p. 44, 45.

¹ Ib. 45, 46.

³ Abury, 5.

from their paucity'. Wormius seems to give the long barrows, like ships reversed, to kings. Such are Shipton hill, Dorset, 749 feet long, 150 which is more than Silbury; Shipley hill, in Leicestershire¹. Others in Suffex, on the Downs near Aldrington. One near Pimpenn, c. Dorset, called *Long Barrow* is 224 feet in length, and 10 feet perpendicular². Perhaps that described by Mr. Pennant in Denbighshire, called *The Giant's Grave*, may be another instance³.

A great tumulus 63 paces from the Roman camp at Oldborough 42 feet high and 14 perpendicular, and 250 in circumference, called the *King's Burial Place*, consisted of different strata of clay and clods, with roots of fern and heath, and at the bottom bones of an ox, and wood ashes, but neither urns, burnt bones, nor coins⁴.

At the bottom of one at Otterbourne, Northumberland, 1729, they found a rude stone, like a grave stone, and several smaller wedged in where there were any interstices. Under this a grave, six feet by four, and near four deep. At the top lay fine mould for two feet, and then some ashes laid on fine white sand for above two feet, and with them mixed what were taken for small pieces of burnt bone, very black, and burnt wood like charcoal⁵.

In a low or barrow near Elford in Staffordshire, opened 1680, was found level with the surface of the ground about it a moist blackish sort of earth, without any mixture of gravel or stones, about two yards diameter, and a foot and a half deep in the middle, lying much in the same form with the tumulus itself, on the edge whereof were ashes and charcoal in their true colours, and in the middle of it several pieces of bones so friable that they would crumble betwixt the fingers. The low itself, which covered these ashes and black earth, being made with gravel mixed with pebbles, as the soil itself thereabouts is, and so it was also under the black earth⁶.

In cutting through the largest of those on Sandford-moor, Westmoreland, 1766, at a considerable depth below the surface they found a short broad sword, fragments of another, and a helmet, two spear heads, umbo of a shield, bones, charcoal, and a mass of such moss as grew on the outside of the stones laid over the above articles⁷.

In some cases the body lay near the top as at Silbury, where Dr. Stukeley was beforehand, and the late discoveries produced only some rotten wood and a rusty knife or sword.

Bishop Lyttelton shewed the Society of Antiquaries, 1768, a piece of network, composed of ringlets of iron scarce $\frac{1}{16}$ ths of an inch diameter, each ring rivetted and foldered, and seemingly whitened with tin: to these were affixed here and there several other ringlets of brass of the same size, supposed for ornament, being fastened to the other network by their bases, as triangles. It was found in a barrow in Dorsetshire, and is perhaps the only instance of the kind⁸.

Under Bartlow hills were found a stone coffin, containing two bodies, one lying with the head to the others feet; two other stone coffins, with pieces of bones in them, and many chains of iron, like those of horses bits, or perhaps links of mail⁹.

In the largest of the barrows on Winsore common, c. Derby, were found two glass vessels, eight or ten inches high, with wide round mouths, and containing

¹ Stukeley, Abury, p. 44.

² Stukeley, Itin. I. 102.

³ Hutchins, in Gent. Mag. 1768. p. 113.

⁴ Wales, I. 382.

⁵ Arch. II. 56.

⁶ Horley to R. Gale, A. S. min. and among Gale's Letters, p. 259.

⁷ A. S. Min. X. 766.

⁸ Plot's Staffordshire, p. 405.

⁹ Hollinshed, p. 176. Letter to the compiler of Magna Britannia, I. 670. Morant, Essex, II. 539.

about a pint of clear greenish water; a silver bracelet, about two inches in breadth, and an ornament of filigree work, gold or silver gilt, with red glass beads, and remains of a wooden box, and clasps and hinges¹.

In the Gentleman's Magazine, September, 1752, p. 408. is an account of a bas relief in alabaster, of the Virgin Mary, Trinity, and angels, found in a barrow on Salisbury plain, and fixed over an alehouse-chimney at Shrawton; which is more likely to have come from the religious house at Ambresbury.

One of the tumuli on the side of the Icenig-street leading over Hogmagog-hills being levelled in the summer of 1778, there were found in it several bodies laid from N. to S. and one perpendicular to them, like a T, with six tops². These Mr. West of Furness conjectured to be Roman, differing from the others as that of the Megarensians from the Athenians, by which Solon determined the island of Salamis to have belonged to the latter *ab origine*³.

In the parish of Llanarmon are abundance of tumuli. Mr. Pennant was present at opening one, which was composed of loose stones and earth, covered with a layer of soil about two feet thick, and over that a coat of turf. In the middle were several urns of a sun-burnt clay, of a reddish colour on the outside, black within, being stained by the ashes they contained. Each was placed with the mouth downwards, on a flat stone, another lying on it, to keep off the weight above. Mixed with the loose stones were numerous fragments of bones of the thigh and arm, and even a scull⁴.

Mr. Freebairn, who discovered two Roman forts not hitherto noticed in the country from Duntocher Westward, saw an unusual mode of burying. On opening a tumulus for the high road they found on the level of the surface of the ground 12 urns, six and six, parallel to each other, made of unburnt clay, 13 inches deep, and part of a frustrated cone, seven inches diameter, at the mouth, four and a half at the bottom, full of burnt bones and pieces of the native stone of the country, about two inches long, one inch broad, half an inch thick, with a notch thus,



as if for tying a string round the middle; the notch was the only semblance of art in them. The urns were all inverted, upon a flat stone of the same kind, being a greyish freestone, full of talc, not hard. Immediately under these urns was a stone chest, of the same sort of flaggs, constructed for a person in a sitting posture, on opening which a human skeleton appeared in that posture, whose bones were exceeding large; but he saw none entire, except the Os Ischium, which indeed seemed double the size of any skeleton he ever saw, and none of the bones appeared to have suffered fire. It was said the workmen found a piece of gold; but it could not be traced⁵.

The downs about Aldfriston, c. Suffex, are covered with barrows: the chief part are of a bell fashion, some single, some double, and others treble, and a few of the long kind. One at Aldfriston is fifty-five yards long, with three sinks, one at each end, and one in the middle, with a deep ditch on each side. With another added of another nation, whose sepulchral position differed as much. On opening one of the circular barrows, 1763, the skeleton of a man was found lying on its side in a contracted form with the head to the west, the

¹ Arch. III. p. 274.

Walce, I. 381. See more, *Ib.* 383.

² Ex inform. M. Tyfon.

³ Plutarch in Solone.

⁴ Letter to Mr. G. Paton, dated Freeport, in *Ila*, May 18, 1778.

bones very hard and firm, owing to the nature of the ground on which they lay, which was a bed of chalk. During the course of digging were found ten knives of different make, iron spikes, charcoal, a thin piece of yellow metal, bones of beasts, &c. In the middle, under a pyramid of flints, an urn, of unbaked clay, the verge rudely adorned; holding about a gallon, full of burnt bones and ashes, carefully placed in the chalk rock, with about four feet of earth over it¹.

Dr. Knight, in a letter to the Society of Antiquaries, described barrows on a heath bordering East of Ipswich, three or four miles off, in Walton; a member of Clare-priory; one larger in the middle, the rest in a circle round it. Here are ruins of an abbey, and an old cross, with a date, 612; cut on it, but suspicious. Some distance East of the town are ruins of a round wall on the ridge of a cliff next the sea, between Landguard fort and Woodbridge river; or Bawdsey-haven. It is 100 yards long, five feet high above ground, twelve broad at each end, turned with an angle, and composed of pebbles and red bricks, in three courses: supposed to be one of the Roman fortifications built on the coast against the Saxons in the time of the lower empire. All round are footsteps of buildings, and several large pieces of wall cast down on the strand, by the sea's undermining the cliff, all which have red brick at low water mark. Very much of the like is visible at some distance in the sea. There are two entire pillars with balls; the cliff is 100 feet high.

Mr. Pownall mentioned a glass urn found in a barrow East of Lincoln, on the Roman road, which was in the possession of the late Dr. Primrose, after in his, and given to Mr. Folkes. Another of curious make, of red earth, with letters, and a stag on it.

Many tumuli are scattered all over the isle of Purbeck. The nine barrows near Corfe are probably British. Those round Pool and Studland-bay Danish. Some in other parts of the island may be Roman. They are generally some round, some single, some in groups; mostly on hills, rising ground, or long ridges on the heath². On the downs to the N. E. of Bincomb are a great number, of different dimensions, some in groups, and some single; so that here seems to have been the scene of some remarkable action³.

Barrows lie by dozens and scores all the way between Everly and Ambresbury. Above this last are seven, and seven on Mendip hill, seven in Burghclere parish. In three in Winterburn-stoke Mr. Holland found nothing: the biggest thereabouts had eighteen inches under the surface a single body. They are composed of pure earth, or chalk, without stones; but some have stones. Some are 100 feet diameter. Lord Winchelsea on opening some Roman burying places found sometimes an urn by the neck of the body. In the very old barrow said to be Ambrosius's grave on the left hand, was found a large brass weapon of near 20 pound weight, like a pole-axe. In another a brass sword; and in a third a celt⁴.

In most parts of Wales and the Highlands, and sometimes in Cornwall, Northumberland, and Scotland, the barrows are heaps of stones of all sizes thrown together in a round form. These are called *Karneu*, *Karnedben*, *Cairns*. Though often applied to cover the bodies of malefactors as a mark of contempt and notoriety, they are generally the burial places of the country, of the remotest antiquity: for Mr. Llwyd says Hector had a Cairn for his tomb. He adds

¹ Gent. Mag. vol. XXXIII. p. 396.

² Stukeley, Stonehenge, p. 46.

³ Hutchins, I. 172.

⁴ Ib. 336.

one or two instances, in which these contained near their summit a rude stone coffin or chest'. The great barrow at New Grange is made of pebbles or toggle stones'.

The heaps of stones were often surmounted by crosses, to which they served as a base, and consequently were rather sacred than infamous. See Llwyd in Gibson's Camden, Glamorgan-shire, Margam: one at Lilford, c. Northumberland.

I reckon among Cairns certain concentric circles in the Orkneys described by Mr. Lowe¹, composed of an outer ring of loose stones, and three within it of earth, surrounding a nucleus, or mound raised of earth, sometimes surrounded by stones; and the whole diameter from 20 to 50 feet. Tradition indeed assigns no use to these monuments; but it is hard to form any other conjecture than that they were sepulchral.

An entire skeleton was found between flags of proportionable size, near Llanarmon parish; as was another in one of the Orkneys, and others in the shire of Murray; and with one of the last an urn, with ashes, and several pieces of charcoal².

A barrow opened by Mr. Williams, on St. Austle Downs, had a small circle of stones on the top, four feet high and fifteen broad at bottom; the body was composed of adventitious earth, and near the centre was a pit a foot deep and wide, dug out of the natural soil, and having two flat stones on it. In another similar one was a cylindrical pit, two feet broad and one and a half deep, covered with three stones set edgeways. In the centre of another barrow was a layer of flat stones covering a large heap of others, as those did more laid in a conical form, and covering a cylindrical pit two feet broad and two and a half deep, whose sides were lined with flat stones, under which was black unctuous matter about an inch thick. A fourth, surrounded by two inches of stones, had in its centre an oblong square pit one foot and a half deep, two broad, and five long, whose bottom had the same black greasy matter. The outermost circle, or heap of stones, concealed an urn standing in a pit on a flat stone, and covered by two other flat stones, and wedged in by many small stones. This urn was thirteen inches high, diameter eleven inches, of hard burnt earth, half an inch thick, very black within, having four little ears or handles, and containing seven quarts of burnt bones and ashes³. See an urn in a barrow in Anglesea⁴. Dr. Stukeley⁵ has indulged a strange chimæra, from Dr. Plot⁶, about a tumulus of earth converted into a heap of stones, and of fortifications become solid cliff on St. Vincent's rock near Bristol. This is of a piece with his conjectures, that a quarry of stone in Lincolnshire and Norfolk, where many British skeletons were found, was once mould.

Barrows continued in use to the 12th century. The plain about Fornham in Suffolk is covered with those thrown up over the Flemings slain under Robert earl of Leicester, 19 Henry II. Seven of them being larger than the rest, and probably covering the bodies of officers, are still known by the name of the *Seven Hills*, on the road from Thetford to Bury⁷.

I might add, that the officers and private men slain at the battle of Culloden are laid under two separate and similar barrows, near the Frith of Forth river. Yet I doubt if the many that overspread the field of battle fought at Otterburne in 1488, are of that late date.

¹ Britennis, Radnorshire.

² Archæol. II. 250.

³ MS. Hist. of Orkney.

⁴ Pennant's Wales, I. 387, 388. Mr. Lowe, ubi sup.

⁵ Phil. Trans. 458.

⁶ Rowland, p. 49, 11 edit.

⁷ Phil. Trans. N° 360. p. 966.

⁸ Oxfordshire.

⁹ Blomefield's Norfolk, I. p. 3.

In one layer of the barrows near Kingsgate the skeletons were found doubled together in graves cut in the solid chalk, together with urns, ashes, and bones. These two barrows are supposed to contain only the officers, most of the common men having been cast into the sea from the cliffs, either in the battle or when slain.

Mr. Davis of Anglesea described to Mr. Barrington a Kistvaen he saw in Llangaer parish, discovered by the plow. It was in the clear two feet nine inches by one foot nine, and three feet deep, composed of four rude slabs of grey marble or lime stone, and covered by a fifth, three feet nine inches by three feet five inches. It lay near North and South, the skull at the North end. The body being so disproportioned to the coffin, it was questioned how it could be laid straight in it, unless it was put in some time after death, at the period when the limbs recover their flexibility again. He sent him another account of a very extraordinary catacomb discovered in the neighbourhood of Sir N. Bayley. In a vault on Muckleford Down, Dorset, was opened a barrow, containing a skeleton, that appeared to be interred erect¹.

In one of the tumuli opened close by Stromness was found the entire body of a man inclosed in a stone coffin, about four feet and a half long. The body had been placed in a sitting posture, and when the chest was found was fallen down between the thigh bones: the other bones supported each other, so as to shew the original position. In another coffin discovered in the same hillock the body had been laid on its side, the knees to the breast, and the hands to the cheeks. At a small distance another hillock was opened, in which was first discovered a small stone chest about a foot square, containing a small quantity of discoloured earth. Nearer the centre a large coffin in which was an urn wrapt up in leather with a small stone cover containing ashes and bits of bones. The urn was made of a very gritty clay much discoloured, and split from near the top to the bottom. This, with all its contents, is now in the possession of my good friend Mr. George Paton of Edinburgh.

In the island of Sherneſs, or Salla, without the dykes of Hamna, is the *Giant's Grave*, a monument of standing stones, originally three, one now much shortened of its original dimensions, another broken short off at the ground. Tradition is quite silent about it. The stones have been brought from the neighbouring sea rocks.

Mr. Lowe² imagines the range of stones and ditch marked the sacred ground, and the hillocks nearly corresponding with the four points might be for the altars, as the neighbouring stones might have supported a table, though this is now gone, for preparing the sacrifice; all particulars necessary about a heathen temple. Probably their shape may be of use in pointing out their intention, and give us to understand that in the circle was performed the worship in honour of the Sun confessedly an idol of the Germans³; while the semicircle was dedicated to the moon. If this is the case, and it is very probable, as they are both excellently situated in the openest and plainest spot in the mainland, where the fullest view of these bodies could be had from their rising to their setting, these certainly are the circles of Loda, and the mossy stones of power mentioned by Ossian in his Carriethura; but alas the echoing woods "bending along the coast," are now no more. Near the circle is a series of tumuli of a much less size than the four abovementioned, being entirely sepulchral; many of them have been searched into, and possibly it has been here Wallace's fibulae were found.

¹ Hutchins, I. 445.

² MS. Hist. of Orkney.

³ Værtegan, p. 75, 76.

Near Termiston is a vast tumulus, probably sepulchral; but this is not ascertained; for though Lord Morton caused several people to dig in it, they gave over too soon, before they came within a great way of the centre or the bottom. Among the arable land of Ireland in this parish, we observe a circular space, surrounded by a deep ditch, but without stones; the like is to be seen at Westbutter in Sandwich parish. These perhaps may have been the places of justice in antient times; and if they have ever been surrounded with stones, these must have been small, and carried off for building.

In the moss of Kennes numbers of corpses are dug up, supposed to be Cathneffmen, killed at the battle of Summerdale, which was fought between the earl of Cathneff and lord Sinclair on the one side, and Edward Sinclair of Strome, who commanded the Orkney-men, on the other.

In the links of Skail the tumuli are composed either of stones surrounding the coffins, and covered with sand, or of entire sand; some of them contain one, some more coffins, even to six placed in rows, one above another. The bodies are all naked, though in some which Mr. Lowe had seen opened, coarse bags full of bones were found placed at the feet of the principal skeleton. Beads of stone and a species of Lithanthrax were found in one, with several other little particulars, but no arms; which may hint to us that there were the graves of those who died at home. In one was found the body of a child of about seven years of age, as the second crop of teeth were beginning to make their appearance. In another an old man with the teeth worn down to the gums, the stumps full of tartar, with a woman's bones put up in a bag at his feet. On the hard and dry brakes we see numbers of tumuli placed for the most part either close by the highways or common files. In the construction of these the coffin was first set upon the live earth, and heaped round with stones and earth to the bulk they designed it; and as some of them are very large, Mr. Lowe imagines the whole community might join, as we know in time of war the whole army did, to make up the hills raised over the slain. If at any time they had occasion to bury in the same tumulus, they opened the side of it, and placed a lesser coffin, in which are laid bones or lesser bodies. They seem never to have stretched their corpses to their full length, as we never see any of the coffins above four feet and an half long, and many less; the body with the knees to the breast, and the legs along the thighs. We see yet another species of tumulus in this parish, which is entirely without a coffin or urn. Here however the body has been burnt, and that in a very fierce fire, and the whole almost vitrified, something like the clamps thrown out of forges. In one which Mr. Lowe opened, the whole cover of the tumulus was composed of such clamps, with pieces of human bones unburnt, and sticking in them, the matter hard congealed about them. In one lump was half a jawbone, in others bones of horses¹, and dogs, which had been consumed in the funeral pile, together with their master. The tumulus here, he imagines, has been raised immediately over the funeral pile, as many of the lumps that are hollow are much discoloured, as if they had been covered while yet smoking. In many of these stone coffins we observe a pretty large quantity of animal *humus*, especially about the bones of the thighs. The bags for enclosing the bones before taken notice of seem to have been made of rushes. One of these was full of a small beetle, called *Dermeestes*, both the bag and beetles intirely black and rotten. Some of these tumuli on the moors are surrounded with stones; others, and by far the greater part plain.

Mr. Lowe, in his way over the hills of South Ronaldsha, saw several tumuli, which the old men call *Ern Couligs*, but which they could not explain.

¹ So Balder was buried; Saxo Gram. 23. A. See also Northern Antiquities, p. 344.

A few tumuli have been dug up in Forfar parish in Kirkwall, and some plain urns found in them, made of a very sandy kind of clay, rather dried than burnt.

Several circles without stones, or with very low ones in the Orkney isles, may have been *tings* or courts of antient times. Several tumuli are scattered up and down Rendale, to which tradition has handed down names, which is seldom the case. One is called *Enerow*, another *Disherow*, both no doubt corrupted from the original words.

In one of the tumuli opened close by Stromness, was found the entire body of a man inclosed in a stone coffin.

In Birla, at the East end of the hill called Revè, near some large tumuli, are three upright stones at unequal distances, in a strait line. Tumuli are scattered all over the moors, which plainly shew this side of the country to have been well inhabited from the earliest time. In one of them, called *Stone Randy*, are stones set upright on the top, which is uncommon, and shews that *Randy*, or perhaps *Randolf*, was a person of no mean note among his countrymen. This tumulus had been dug up long ago.

Sanda on every sandy point discovers antient graves, all of them stone coffins under tumuli. In the sandy grounds of Stronza where they are blown, particularly about Rousholm links, graves have been discovered. These are all tumuli, and contain stone coffins, wherein are deposited the bodies entire.

In Dunrosness parish in the mainland of Shetland the blowing of the sand discovers tumuli, which are very rare in Shetland. Mr. Lowe opened one¹, in which he found no less than nine skulls, or their remains, but the corpses had not been laid in any order, but thrown together as chance directed, which seems to confirm the tradition of Foula, that they are the *Lewismen's* graves.

The shifting of the sands in Westram has laid open antient burying places, which in some places were above twenty feet under ground, and are either of stones and rubbish, or the grave simply set round with a tire of small stones on end. The last are generally in clusters, and even with the sand. In examining the latter we find, besides the bones of men, those of cows, horses, dogs, and sheep, besides warlike instruments of all kinds then in use, as battle-axes, two handed swords, broadswords, helmets, swords made of the jawbone of a whale, daggers, &c. knives, combs, beads, broches, and chains, a round flat piece of marble about two inches and half diameter, several stones shaped like whetstones, but no marks of such use, a very small iron vessel like a head-piece, only four inches and a half in the hollow, much wounded, as if by a sword or ax. In one was a metal spoon, and a neat glass cup, so rusted that it now appears of a pearl colour, and may contain about two gills Scots, or half a pint English. In another a great number of stones formed into such whirls as in Scotland were formerly used to turn a spindle. In another a gold ring encircling a thigh bone. Q. How put on. Whence arise such differences in the tumuli of the same nation, and in the same island? The Welsh Highlanders, at a certain æra, used the tumulus, but it seems to have been after the Norwegians settled among them; for in Ossian's poems we find four stones rising on the grave of Cathbar. We find them buried with their arms, dogs, and deers' horns, as symbols of a hunter. The tumuli may be memorials of the many battles between the Orkney-men and the Highlanders, and may be graves of invaders in very early æras from the Western isles. A stratum of clay covers the bones, as the translator of Ossian observes, that "the bottom of the grave was lined with fine clay, whereon they laid the deceased, if a warrior, with his sword and the heads of arrows by his side; if a hunter, a deer's horn; covering the whole with fine mould, and four stones on end, to mark the extent of the grave." As to the number of

¹ Mr. Lowe ubi sup.

stones they do not seem to be fixed, as we see the graves marked sometimes with one, sometimes with two, and oftentimes, no doubt, with more than four grey stones. I should be very far from placing the æra of these graves so far back as Ossian's time, though we learn that his father made some visits to Inistore; but if we consider the pertinaciousness of the Western Highlanders to old customs, we need not wonder to see them adhering to these.

"The dead were interred at some distance from the houses called Picthish in Caithness shire. The cemeteries were of two kinds. In some the deceased were placed within great circles of stones of 100 feet diameter, and the corpses covered with gravel. In others they were interred in cairns of a fugar loaf form. Sometimes bones have been found in them, sometimes urns with ashes. Sometimes the corroded remains of iron weapons, and in one a brass spear nine inches long¹.

Dr. Stukeley, perhaps too hastily, concluded that a piece of ground just without the old city wall at Cirencester, which goes by the name of the *Querns* or *Kairns*, full of heaps of stones now by length of time covered with herbage, among which large monumental stones have certainly been dug up, was the common burying place of the antient *Corinium*. Mr. Rudder rather inclines to think them heaps of rubbish made by digging of stone for the purpose of building².

Pillars (*στήλαι, cippi*) were sometimes contemporary with barrows. Jacob set a pillar on Rachel's grave; and we have seen some instances among the Greeks in Pausanias. These were either rude stones, or inscribed with fret work, figures of men and beasts, or crosses. This last circumstance bespeaks them Christian, which their being in churchyards alone would imply. But they are not confined to churchyards. They served on fields of battle, both as trophies and tombstones; as at *Forres*, and elsewhere in Scotland.

On a monument called *Mikneint*, in Merionethshire, Mr. Llwyd describes 30 graves, about two yards long, and each distinguished by four square pillars, about two or three feet high, and nine inches broad at the corners, supposed to be erected after a battle³. One Mr. Vaughan opened one of them, but found no marks of human interment⁴.

At Chedworth, c. Gloucester, on a hill a little above the site of a Roman hypocaust, about a mile on the North West of the Fosseway, is a large tumulus, which had a huge rough stone set upright on its top, supposed to have been raised by the Britons or Saxons. Not long since some of the farmers removed the stone with a double team of oxen, and so exposed great quantities of human bones lying near the top of the barrow⁵.

On the top of Silbury-hill Dr. Stukely found a skeleton, with the fragments of a bridle.

The pyramid of earth at New Grange contained two human skeletons, as Molyneux, or, as major Vallancy, one, laid on a large stone in the middle, and black ashes in three cells.

At Chatteris, in the isle of Ely, 1757, was found, two feet and half under the turf, a skeleton, with a sword at the right side, spear at left, and umbo of shield on breast; at the head a large urn of black earth unbaked, containing probably the wife's ashes, and a glass vase of singular pipe-like projections⁶.

On Barham downs was found, 1759, a skeleton with a sword and spear, and round the neck a string of glass beads⁷. Dr. Stukeley pronounces all these British.

¹ Pennant's 2d tour, App. p. 29.

² Gibson's Camden, 791.

³ Rudder, p. 334.

⁴ Rudder's Hist. of Gloucestershire, p. 349.

⁵ Wyndham's Tour in Wales, p. 131.

⁶ Gent. Mag. March, 1766.

⁷ *ib.*

Lord Harley digging a canal at Wimpey, near the Ermine-street, found sixteen bodies, mostly laid in heaps on each other, but some single: near them were several pieces of rusty iron, which seemed to have been fragments of swords, or other weapons¹.

At Holkham in Norfolk, on digging one side of a hill, 1722, were found many corpes, with many beads, like amber, as big as a hazel nut, more of the size of a pea, pierced through in order to be strung; some iron spear-heads, some pieces of brass, &c. These were thought British. Mr. Hare brought to the Society of Antiquaries that year several brass fibulæ, curiously wrought, washed with gold, found at Holkham, supposed Danish².

Dr. Knight gave the Society of Antiquaries an account of a large skeleton found near Chippenham, c. Cambridge, with maffly chains and fetters dug up near him 1717³. Mr. Henry Johnson shewed them, 1750, a large spear-head a foot long, with the rivets that fastened it to the staff, found at West Mead, Hants, within a stone circular wall, on the estate of Henry Foxcroft, esq. within which circle fifty yards diameter were found several bones of men and horses, and adjoining are three hillocks of earth, supposed Danish burying places⁴.

A copper ring was found round the arm of a human skeleton at Druton, near Cave, in the East Riding of Yorkshire. It was quite black and bright, and not in the least corroded except a little in the inside where it touched the arm.

At Lidden, near Canterbury, two men, July, 1760, grubbed up a very large ash, above fifty feet round at the root. In the centre were two skeletons almost entire, of large proportions, and by them lay a dagger. Their heads lay very near together, but the bodies one to the East and the other to the S.E. and each had a head-stone⁵.

Some labourers digging chalk in a bank thirty feet high, near the N.E. corner of the glebe and yard of St. John's church at Lewes, which had formerly been a fort against the Danes, and is surrounded with natural banks and ditches, the former here lowest and most accessible from the water, which formerly brought up the Danish boats close under this fort at every spring tide, though now dry, except in land-floods, found a brass fibula, of a circular form, which had been gilt and studded. It was composed of two thin plates of brass somewhat more than $\frac{1}{10}$ ths of an inch broad, united by a small concave hoop, the upper circular plate less than the under, which is $\frac{1}{10}$ ths diameter. The studs were cut off to come at the inscription, which is in old English characters, on the upper circle, and appears to be "Ave Maria gracia plen." About 15 feet to the right of the spot where the fibula was found, but within five feet of the top of the bank, was found a human skeleton, whose skull the labourers carried away, and it is now in the hands of Mr. Puxty of Bright-helmstone⁶.

In digging a vault or cellar near Gold court, in Wareham, 1753, were dug up above 30 skulls, but other bones scarce proportionable to three or four bodies. These skulls, except three or four, were placed with the face downwards, the top of the head to the East, and inclosed between flat stones set on edge. These might be Danes, perhaps thus distinguished from Christians, as St. Ambrose distinguished the Arians from the Orthodox, after a battle at Milan⁷.

At Ripatransona, the antient Cupra of the Picentes, was found 1727, an antient monument, containing the bodies of two soldiers, and round about them various earthen lamps, and other vessels: they had bracelets on their arms,

¹ Stukely, A. S. Min.

² A. S. Min.

³ Ib.

⁴ Ib.

⁵ Newberry's Description of England, V. 75.

⁶ A. S. Min. XV. 217.

⁷ Hutchins, Hist. of Dorset, I. 36. See another instance in the same volume, p. 574. Keyser's Travels, I. 346.

little chains or links, phaleræ, bullæ, fibulæ, helmets, and spearheads¹. The author of this account understands Virgil's description of Misenus's tomb², that the arms, oar, and trumpet were put *into*, and not *upon* it: and mentions a sword and other singular weapons found in an antient sepulchre at Fiesole.

There were found skeletons in the Pavillia vault at Cuma³.

"At Northburne, Kent, was the palace of Edbald, Ethelbert's son, and a few years syms in brakng the wall of the hall were found two children's bones that had been mured up as yn buriall yn tyme of Paganite of the Saxons. Among

"one of the children's bones was found a stiff pin of laten⁴."

"A glasse with bones in a sepulchre found by Dodington church in the high way. Pottes exceeding fine nelid and floryshed in the Romanes tyme diggid out of groundes in the fields of Dodington. A yerthen pot with Ro-

"mayne coines found in Dodington felde⁵."

The custom of burning the dead obtained among the Northern nations from the remotest period⁶. The Danes distinguished by this a particular period, called *Røjfold* or *Brende tiid*, which seems to have ceased with Paganism. Of course the Danes, being latest converted, retained it longest. Among us, when the Britons laid it aside the Saxons took it up. The *Hoigold* or *Hoilse tiid* was the Danish zera of barrows, under which the corpse was placed entire, with all its ornaments, arms, horse, and even wealth and plunder⁷. The last period of interment in Denmark was called *Christendom's old*, when Christianity introduced the present mode.

Yet on rebuilding, 1747, Fairwell church, in Staffordshire, supposed to be the chapel of the nunnery founded there by Roger Clinton, bishop of Litchfield, 1142, they found in the South wall, about six feet from the ground, three ranges of coarse earthen vessels of different sizes, and unglazed, the largest capable of containing two, the smaller one quart: the larger were four inches and a half over at the mouth, twenty-four round, and near a foot high: the small ones three inches one-eighth at the mouth, sixteen and a quarter round, and six and a quarter high. They lay on the sides, in one direction, their mouths placed towards the inner side of the church, and stopped with a thin coat of plaister⁸.

At Yoxall, c. Staffordshire, were found, near Mr. Wright's house, near forty urns of coarse brown soft earth, almost full of ashes, and fragments of human bones⁹.

The Kistvaen, or coffin composed of rough stones set edgeways at the sides and ends, and covered with one or more flat stones, was another receptacle of the dead antiently used in Britain, and may be called the early altar monument. These are frequent in Wales; but seldom found to contain skeletons, or remains of bodies in them. See Dr. Stukeley's Abury, p. 13, of one on a barrow at Rowldrich; another, p. 49, similar in Monkton-field, near Abury. Two that were found in Purbeck, on making a turnpike road to Corfe, had skeletons in them¹⁰. These one may venture to pronounce British. Those

¹ Saggi di Dissertazioni di Cortona, tom. I. diff. V. p. 56, tav. I. 11.

² Aen. VI. 233.

³ Phil. Trans. XLIX. art. 66. Gent. Mag. 1756. 555.

⁴ Leland. It. VII. 127.

⁵ Leland. It. VI. 75.

⁶ Tac. de mor. Germ. c. 27. Mela III. 2.

⁷ Mela, lb. Wormins Mon. Dan. 40. Bartholin. Antiq. Dan. 438.

⁸ Mr. Green, Gent. Mag. Feb. 1771. p. 59. Bp. Lyttelton, in A. S. Min. 1747.

⁹ Gent. Mag. Aug. 1774. p. 358.

¹⁰ Mr. Hutchins's Letter to bishop Lyttelton, 1768.

stone cells which gave name to *Kerig y Druidbion*, in Denbighshire, but are now removed, were of the same kind. Some of these rude sepulchral receptacles Mr. Pegge has seen in Derbyshire, and others may be found described in Camden¹.

Of this earlier kind and date were the rude stone chests under barrows in Orkney, which contained entire bodies². In one of these Mr. Lowe found with the body a bag of some coarse vegetable stuff laid at the feet and containing the bones of a younger person, which seemed to have been a woman³. This bag might be the *bulga*, which Lucilius describes as the *ail* of the person he satirizes⁴,

"Cum bulga coenat, dormit, lavit; omnis in una

"Spes hominis bulga."——

and hence Macaulay⁵ derives the name of *Firbolg*, the old Irish having scarce any thing more desirable than their bag.

On the field of Luncarty, where the Hays beat the Danes, are several tumuli, wherein are found bones deposited in loose stones in form of a coffin⁶.

On a farm called *Hondre*, in Milne parish, Pembrokehire, some labourers hedging came to a number of stones of different sizes, some thrown together promiscuously, but the uppermost lying over one another, like tiles on a roof. At about nine feet depth they came to a very large stone, about seven feet long, four or five broad, and twenty inches thick. At its East and West end were placed two stones on edge, and others under the sides and in the middle was a cavity of about two, or two feet and a half high, and of the length of the stone, containing only a little black earth. Over the whole the soil had been somewhat raised in a circular form as a barrow; but the field having been in constant tillage had much reduced its height. In the same or neighbouring parish, on a high mountain, called, from its fugar-loaf form, *Voel dri gam*, are three cairns of loose stones, very near each other, and on the same mountain vestiges of a camp double ditched, and the sites of the tents hollowed out very visible⁷.

On Eglwys Ilan common, two miles from Caerphylly, several tumuli were opened 1753, when burnt bones were found in urns, inclosed in a square cavity of flat stones⁸.

Kryg y Dern in Trelech parish, c. Caernarvon, is a Karned of stones, covered with turf, circular at bottom about sixty paces, height about six yards, rising with an easy ascent, and a hollow at top. In the centre of this cavity was a vast flat oval stone, three yards long, five feet over where broadest, and about ten or twelve inches thick. Mr. William Lewis of Lhwyn Dern having caused it to be opened, found, after removing a large quantity of stones, that it covered a kistvaen, or stone chest, about four feet and a half long, and three broad, narrowest at the East end, composed of seven stones, viz. the cover, two at each side and end, and one behind each of the end stones to keep them up, all equally rude, and about the same thickness, except the two last, which were very considerably thicker. They found both within and without the chest some rude pieces of brick or burnt stone, and wrought pieces of stone; and some pieces of bones, which they imagined had been brought thither by foxes, but they did not go to the bottom of the chest. Considering the labor and strength employed about this rude monument Mr. Lluyd thinks it belonged to some

¹ Camden, col. 707. 750. 751. 753. 775.

² The Tartarian barrows have absolute stone vaults under them. Archæol. II. 222.

³ Archæol. III. 277.

⁴ Sat. VI.

⁵ Voyage to St. Kilda, p. 52.

⁶ Mr. Pennant, 12^d Tour, p. 79.

⁷ Rev. Mr. Howell's letter to me, Sept. 6, 1777.

⁸ Mr. Harris, Arch. II. p. 10.

British prince before the Roman conquest, deriving the name *Dyrn* from *Tyrn*, originally the same with *Tyrannus*¹. Dr. Stukeley² mentions several barrows as containing coffins formed of several stones, and some arched, and Aubrey mentions one of three stones eleven feet long. The monument called *le Pierre couverte*, near Saunier, in Bretagne, engraved by Count Caylus, VI. Pl. cxvii. seems rather like the above than a Cromlech. In Pl. cxx he gives tombs of single or several stones, cairns, and cromlechs intermixt at *Lochmariaker*, the antient *Dariorigum*.

In Bamfshire Mr. Pennant describes a large cairn of stones, which covered a coffin of flags, containing a perfect human skeleton, and a deer's horn; in two other such coffins an urn and charcoal; in a fourth coffin were three urns, and one of them contained a fourth, besides flint arrowheads; and all these near two circles of stones³.

Near a farm house at West Matten, in Northumberland, was a tumulus of earth and coarse rag stone, in the centre of which were found two stone coffins, formed of flags, set on edge with a stone bottom and cover containing ashes like white dust⁴. Near it, a stone nine feet high, three by one and half square.

At Otterburne was a large cairn of stones under which was a large rough stone like a grave stone, with smaller stones wedged in between it and the ground, and under it in the ground a cavity in form of a grave, two yards long and four feet broad. About one foot and half deep was some very fine mould, then some ashes laid in fine white sand, above two feet thick, the whole cavity of the grave being near four feet. With the ashes were mixed what they took for small pieces of burnt bones, very black, but none entire, and some pieces of burnt wood like charcoal⁵.

How can Mr. Hutchinson take the numerous tumuli round this place for memorials of the battle fought there 1388.

In a tumulus at Over, in the parish of Almondsbury, c. Gloucester, were dug up, 1650, two skeletons. One of them was of uncommon size, exceeding the usual proportion by above three feet, inclosed in a stone coffin, so artificially cemented together that the joints were not discernable. The stone that covered the coffin was very ponderous, of a greyish colour without, but reddish and studded with a shining sparry substance within. In the coffin were found two coins, one of which bore the impression of a falcon⁶, as the writer among Mr. Wantner's MS. papers expresses himself. And on the other was a head, which he supposed that of Claudius Cæsar, but no inscription is mentioned. The corpse was buried *sitting*, of which we have given an instance before, p. xi. and which Drexelius says was the customary manner of burying kings and princes, as an emblem of eternity. This posture is not easily accounted for in the depth commonly given to stone coffins. Tradition makes this tumulus the burying place of king Offa, to whom it ascribes the adjoining camp on the brow of a hill over-hanging the Severn: but it is more generally believed, on the authority of Matthew of Westminster, and other monkish writers, that he was buried near Bedford⁷.

About the same time several stone coffins containing human bones were dug out of the barrows near a circular camp called Old Abbey, in Alveston parish, in the same county, overhanging the Severn⁸.

At Leyterton, in Boxwell parish, in the same county, in a large tumulus, called West barrow, were found three vaults, arched over like ovens, and at the entrance of each an earthen urn, wherein were many ashes and burnt bones, the skulls and thigh bones whole⁹.

¹ Gildon's Camden, Caermarthenshire.

² Abury, 45.

³ Tour, 1769. p. 139, 140.

⁴ Walpole's Northumberland, II. 141. Hutchinson, I. 136.

⁵ Holford's Letter to Roger Gale, 1729. in Hutchinson's Northumberland, p. 196.

⁶ Probably an eagle.

⁷ Rudder's Gloc. p. 222.

⁸ Ib. 126.

⁹ Ib. 222. 306.

About the year 1772 some persons employed to dig materials for repairing the roads in Titherington parish, in the same county, found a large stone like a step not far below the surface of the ground, and then another such stone, and searching further discovered two perfect skeletons, inclosed in stone coffins, lying North and South : whence some persons have concluded, that these corpses were placed here before the general establishment of Christianity in this country. One of the skeletons was six feet and a half long, as a gentleman who measured it, assured Mr. Rudder, but they both fell to pieces on being slightly touched, and no coin, armour, or any thing that could determine the time of interment, or the people to whom the bodies belonged were found¹.

An imitation of these rude coffins in Christian times may be found in the *Giant's grave*, as called in *Penrith* church-yard, four similar stones, mistaken for *boars*, for no other reason than that their ridges are round, and notched like bristles, and because tradition says Sir *Owen Caesarius* slew a monstrous boar. Others, with as little pretence, have found on them sculptures of horsemen, like the Scotch monuments. I call them *Christian*, because the cross has been on the pillars, and because they are in a churchyard, which I suppose to be coeval with them. This is conceived by some to have been the tomb of *Ervain* king of Cumberland, defeated by *Athelstan* A. D. 928². Mr. Pennant³ distinguishes the æra of the tumuli round *Maen Achwynfan* in *Flintshire*, from that of the stone, referring the one to pagan, the other to Christian times. May we not suppose the cross had an after-reference to the tumuli, and its name from the field of battle?

The three stone coffins found at *Christchurch*, in *Hampshire*, 1777, which are somewhat more artificial, appear to be a degree of improvement on the former; and there is a circumstance or two attending them, which make them highly worthy of notice. They are composed not of one block, formed by excavation, as the stone coffins often, and very antiently, were, but of various, not fewer than ten or eleven pieces; and there does not appear to have been any stone underneath for the body interred to lie upon.

As to the first particular, it may be doubted whether the parties concerned could find any stones for their service in the neighbourhood of *Christchurch*, so they had recourse to *Normandy* for them (for the stones are apparently *French* from about *Caen*), where they either could not obtain a single stone of a competent size, or were not then possessed of the idea of making use of such an one, and so transported a number of smaller ones. And this may be an argument of the antiquity of these coffins, since, in later ages, the stone coffins have always been found composed of one piece, with a lid or cover. I know not whether this might not have been in imitation of the *Romans*, for though this people at last applied the single stone, as we shall see hereafter, yet Mr. *Thoresby* tells us, "There was digged up in the *Roman* burying ground "at *York* a sort of coffin made of clay; I have by me, says he, part of the "bottom, which (for the convenience of baking I presume) was divided into "several such parts; this is entire as first moulded by the *Romans*, is 14½ inches "long, and almost 11 broad at the narrower end, and nigh 12½ at the broader, " &c &c." He adds, that there were in his *Museum* "fragments also of such a "coffin found at *Burgdurum*." All which seems to shew, that at first the stone coffins, both among the *Britons* and *Romans*, consisted of a number of parts, and that the cutting them out of a single block was a later improvement; those at *Christchurch* are consequently of the more antique kind.

¹ Rudder, ubi sup. 766.

² Thoresby, Mus. p. 561.

³ Hutchinson's *Northumberland*, l. 261.

⁴ *Wales* l. 10.

The next and last improvement of the stone coffin, was by forming them of a single stone with mallet and tool; and this Mr. Pegge ascribes to the Romans; for he apprehends that during the general prevalence of the customs of cremation and urn-burial among the Romans, they had not always recourse to the funeral pile, but that bodies were sometimes interred whole, and in their natural state. He has the suffrages of Kirchman¹, Ainsworth², and Drake³; and this is agreeable also to appearances here. Mr. Thomas Beckwith of York informed him, that hearing of two stone coffins, discovered anno 1776, in the new inclosures at Acomb near York, he had the curiosity to go and view them, and saw them lying in the very place where they were found. He thinks they are Roman; and the observations on which he grounds his opinion are so just and forcible that I shall give the substance of them here.

"The coffins were of the coarse grit, the same as that at Plumpton, near Knareborough, which the Romans appear to have been fond of, as many of their works in York are of that stone. The coffins were 2½ inches thick on the sides, and the lids (which had a fillet, raised about ¼ of an inch, running down the middle) something thicker.

"They lay, one for a youth of 12 or 14 years of age, with the feet pointing nearly South; and the other, for a grown person, to the South-West; directions and positions so unusual in Christian burial, that one must conclude the coffins belonged to Pagans, and were more ancient than the conversion of the Romans and Britons in these parts.

"There is no account of any church, or religious house, either at, or near, this place; no foundations of any buildings found in plowing. It is about a mile N. W. from Acomb, where it is said the body of the emperor Severus was burnt: and when the lids were on the coffins they could not be more than one quarter of a yard beneath the surface of the earth." The man who found the coffins told Mr. Beckwith, that on their being first opened there appeared something like an human body; but as soon as it was touched it lost its form, falling down and mixing with the water at the bottom of the coffins.

These reasons taken together may seem sufficient to enforce a belief, that these bodies were interred during the Pagan government here. "Quae cum ita sint," says Mr. Ainsworth, "non compertum videtur omnes illas arcas, quae multis locis effossae apud nos fuerunt, esse Anglo-Saxonum, ut vulgo perhibetur. Sunt enim, quas etsi populi istius esse non abnegaverim, Romanis tamen abjudicare non ausim." He concludes, "Haec obiter dicenda judicavimus, ne quis cremationem unicam et perpetuam sepulturae fuisse consuetudinem apud Romanos putaret."

Of the stone coffins of the Etruscans see Adami (Storia de Volterra, I. 30.) who, speaking of the use of Greek characters by that people, has this passage: "Molte iscrizioni in questo carattere per la Toscana tutta si ritrovano; ma particolarissima, cred' io, che sia quella che appresso di me si vede in marmo scolpita, e guari non è che dissepolta fu in Volterra mia patria, la quale fraposta era tra due sepolcri in piana terra coperti colle tegole dè creta cotta, ove eran seppelliti due corpi, come spessissime si legge in alcune lapidi sepolcrali con questa parola BISOMATOS, chè viene dal Greco, anzi è puro Greco, e vuol dir *di due corpi*, se però dice ΔΙ e non ΒΙ."

Numa directed his body, contrary to the general custom of his time, to be buried in a stone coffin, and his books in another. Both were discovered after a violent rain 400 years after; but the first contained no remains of the corpse⁴. He was laid near the altar, which he had erected to the nymph Egeria; for so I understand *ad fontis aras* of Cicero de Legib. II. 22.

¹ P. 112.

² Monum. Kemp. p. 170.

³ Eborac. p. 63.

⁴ See also Baily, p. 171.

⁵ Plut. in Numa.

In regard to the circumstance of the corps in the Christ-church coffins lying on the ground without any stones under them, bodies were deposited much in the same manner in the kistvaens; and from this circumstance these coffins appear to be the production of a rude and very unpolished age. They must be of the 4th century at least, and amount to a strong additional proof that Twynham was a place very antiently settled, of which Mr. Pegge conceived the discovering of the birds bones in a grave under a large marble slab was no inconsiderable argument.

In summer, 1782, in making Mr. Brander's bothouse, at Christchurch, they dug up two stone coffins, composed of several stones, with a niche for the head, in which was found a skull, with fine light long hair², completely attired, and highly dressed. The boys coming at the instant out of the free-school pulled it presently to pieces, and the skull bone was replaced in the coffin, and both buried again in the same place.

In clearing the foundation of old St. Paul's Sir Christopher Wren found that the North side had been antiently a great burying place: for under the graves of these latter ages he found in a row the graves of the Saxons, who cased their dead in chalk stones, though persons of great eminence were buried in stone coffins: below these were the graves of the antient Britons, as was manifest from the great number of ivory and wooden pins among the mouldered dust; for it was their method only to pin the corpse in woollen shrouds, and lay them in the ground, and this covering being consumed the pins remained entire. At a still greater depth he found Roman potsherds and coins³.

That the Romans made their coffins of several stones appears from the following circumstance. In 1731, some labourers digging for stone in a quarry at a field about half a mile east from the cathedral discovered lying north by west and south by east an antient sepulchre covered by two rough stones about one foot and an half or two feet below the surface, about four feet by five each, laid one at the end of the other. Four more set edgewise at the sides were nine feet two inches long by three feet one; the end stones of the same width; all set together without mortar. In the north end a very thick skull (the teeth gone) and some pieces of thigh bones, and many iron spikes full six inches long, thick as the little finger, but consumed by rust, broken at the ends. Probably the corps was cased in a thick chest, of which were no remains except what stuck to the nail heads. About the middle towards the west was a fine red clay urn broken among the nails and mouldy earth with a little scroll round it: it was five inches deep, and might have held a quart. Near a yard south from the feet of the tomb and at the same depth a heap of black strong smelling ashes. Next day they found a similar stone coffin, the cover of one stone, and the inside of the east side stone hewn smooth not so long as the other, and in it only a piece of skull and bones. Many bones have been dug up in different parts of the hill as if thrown in from a field of battle: and in this quarry was found the brass armilla mentioned by Dr. Stukeley⁴ in the possession of Mr. Pownall⁵.

In 1766 a coffin hewn out of a rock was discovered in digging near the Roman station at Rutchester, about 12 feet by four feet two inches deep; a hole close to the bottom at one end: many decayed bones, teeth, and vertebrae in it, supposed by their shape and size to be the remains of some animal, sacrificed perhaps to Hercules⁶. I should doubt the bones belonging to beasts.

² Some of this hair, in my possession, bespeaks it to belong to a young lady.

³ Parentalia.

⁴ It. I. p. 86.

⁵ Mr. Pownall's letter to Mr. Gale. Gale's letters, p. 165.

⁶ Wallis, Northumberland, II. 168.

The Romans seem to have used stone coffins for interment, as well as for cenotaphs.

Near Glanton pike have been discovered several stone chests, three feet long and two broad, with urns of ordinary pottery, containing ashes, charcoal, and remains of scorched human bones, and not far distant was lately found a celt¹.

In a place called the Deerstreet, by Glanton Westfield, a mason digging for stone 1716 found a stone chest upwards of three feet long and two broad, with a stone cover, and empty; but as his son, now living, was working down an uneven piece of ground, he discovered three more such chests, with covers, containing fine earth, and two urns in each, with some charcoal and burnt bones, carrying the marks of fire. Near them were two more urns, one large, the other very small. On being exposed to the air they all fell to pieces. They were of very ordinary patterns².

Leland describes sepulchres *ex secto lapide*, found at Cirencester; in one a round leaden vessel, with ashes and bones³.

"Deux tombeaux, ce sont des auges de pierres, dont un de 6 pieds de longueur, et 2 de largeur a la tête: il a 18 pouces de hauteur a la tête et 15 aux pieds, ce qui forme un pyramidal tronqué, dont deux faces sont plus larges que les deux autres. L'autre de 5½ pieds est plus foible dans ses dimensions. Ils sont creusés de façon que le corps du tombeau n'a que deux pouces d'épaisseur; le fond est percé sous la tête d'un trou de deux pouces pour écouler la liqueur putride provenant de la dissolution du cadavre. Ces tombeaux étoient recouverts, l'un d'une pierre creusée de deux à trois pouces en dessous, l'autre d'une pierre plate ayant pour toute inscription *M. G. manibus diis*. Les lettres sont grossièrement gravées, même le D est formé à contresens. L'on doit observer que la coupe du côté de la tête de ces tombeaux est coupée sur un arc, dont le rayon est formé par la longueur totale du creux, et la côté des pieds est taillé sur une ligne perpendiculaire; ce qui feroit croire que l'on prenoit la mesure juste du mort pour qu'il n'y ait point d'espace vuide entre les surfaces intérieures du tombeau et les extrémités du cadavre. Dans le plus grand tombeau étoient renfermés deux cadavres, l'un d'un homme posé au fond, et l'autre d'un adulte de 13 à 14 ans, dont la tête étoit sur la poitrine de celui de dessous. Il y a lieu de présumer que ces deux cadavres étoient ceux du pere et de son fils. Il s'est trouvé dans ce tombeau plusieurs médailles de Constantin le Grand, & un couteau à deux mains très court et fort aiglé. Comme c'étoit la coutume des Romains de graver sur les tombeaux la figure des instruments de la profession du défunt, ou d'inhumer avec lui les outils de son métier, ce couteau désigne ici la sépulture d'un charron enterré sous Constantin⁴."

Two Roman tombs were found by the quarries half a mile out of Lincoln, on the Horncastle road; four great stones set together like a coffin, and one on the top. There were in them the bones of a man, with urns, lacrymatories, and coins⁵.

A brass spear head was found in a stone coffin at Chute: a horse buried about three yards from it. Mens bones found in Bloodfield there. Harodon-hill, a beacon-hill, just by. Roman coins found thereabout in great plenty⁶.

¹ Hutchinson's Northumberland, p. 234.

² Wallis, ubi sup. II. 495.

³ Description de la haute Normandie.

⁴ Stukeley itin. L. p. 81. 2d edit.


⁵ Stukeley, MS. pen. m.

⁶ It. V. 65.


In a ground called Wolcomb, in Tineham parish, Dorset, was found, 1789, a large marble coffin, containing a large skeleton, the bones of an infant, and a long sword¹.

Three very antient stone coffins (one inscribed with four or five Latin words in uncial letters) were found in the churchyard of St. Germain's, at Rouen, supposed to have been the common burial place of the city from the Roman times².

In 1725 they found an archt vault, fourteen feet deep, in St. Botolph's churchyard, Bishopsgate, paved with large equilateral Roman bricks, in it two skeletons, perfect. Dr. Stukeley proved this a Roman burial place after Christianity was established. He saw there, 1726, a Roman grave, made of great tiles, or bricks, twenty-one inches long, which kept the earth from the body³.

In digging near the side of the high road, near Chefferton, c. Hunt. 1754, was found a coffin of a yellowish hard stone, six feet two inches long, covered with a flat lid, which had on the under side an edging let quite down about one inch and a half or two inches deep, coinciding with the edges of the chest, and containing an entire skeleton near six feet long, the teeth found and firm, the ribs fallen from the back bone, the right leg broken in the middle and repaired by a callus: also three glass lacrymatories, of which that which was entire contained a corrupted fungous substance, mixed with water, and of an aromatic smell on first opening) a small brass seal with this mark 

three or four pins like ebony or agate, one of brass; several defaced coins, one of Faustina, and one silver of Gordian, and scraps of white wood, inscribed,

AAUITT VTERE TA  FELIX.

The substance of nine or ten other skeletons was found near the chest, and all of them only at the depth of one foot⁴.

Caylus mentions several skeletons found lying on their faces, just below the surface of the earth, and one of a child in a brick tomb, at the village of Anieres, on the Seine. Most of these skeletons had between their legs empty earthen urns. It seemed that the spot had served as a burying place for a long period of time. Many of the articles found here he thinks of different ages. The few medals turned up could not be made out. The most considerable articles were two perfect bronze fibulæ; one inscribed DOMINE MARTI VIVAS; the other VTERE. FELEX. The title of *Dominus* belongs to the fourth or fifth century. Tradition says, that one of the Dagoberts, kings of France of the first race, had a country house here. Several tombs of stone, discovered in the close of the year 1760, at Gourvieux, a village not far from Chantilli, contained skeletons, medals, sword-hilts, lamps, and earthen vessels of different shapes, the latter placed between the legs of the bodies, contrary to the most usual custom of placing them, either at the heads or feet⁵.

In 1748 were found, in making the kitchen garden at Choisi, two stone tombs without any inscription; and in 1751 a third similar near them, four feet seven inches long, lying like the others; and with it were dug up some thin copper rings, some glass beads (*boutons*) of various shapes and sizes, white, black, and blue, some yellow, others not pierced, some fluted, other bits of glass, and some pieces of glass like nails without heads, two wooden pins, surmounted

¹ Hutchins, I. 211.

² Voyage liturgique de France, p. 417.

³ Stukeley, MS. pen me.

⁴ Mr. Manning, in A. S. Min.

⁵ Recueil d'Antiq. I. 257, 258.

by rude bufts, a small club, pin, and hatchet, all of bronze, each about three inches long, and a small earthen patera. These several trinkets are supposed by Count Caylus² to belong to some child here buried. Near the same tomb were found a quantity of bones, and in the middle of them a little glass vessel like a lacrymatory.


A stone coffin five feet long, and not very wide, found in the parish of Vigneux, on the banks of the Seine, 1746, contained to appearance only an urn of earth, three inches high and four wide; all the rest being turned to dirt³.

In Barking parish was found, about 1724, a great stone coffin, with the body of a man entire: at the feet a heap of glass, probably a lacrymatory⁴. Another containing ashes, and a lacrymatory, dug up in the porch of St. Martin's in the Fields, 1724, four feet under ground; the urn was in Sir H. Sloane's collection⁵.

In the year 1768, the workmen employed to enlarge the fortifications at Strasburg, found near the White Tower gate twenty stone coffins, in which were a number of vessels of earth and glass of various sizes; the glass containing a liquor like water, together with urns and pateræ of hard earth, like stone; the urns contained ashes. One of the coffins had by it a stone broken, inscribed,

L. LICINIUS L. F. CLAUD. MAXIMVS. AEQVO. F. CV⁶.

contained two urns filled with ashes, two bufts of stone, two patences of red earth, two glass vessels filled with clean water, having a small quantity of oil floating on its surface, and two earthen lamps. The various vessels are supposed by Mr. Schœpflin⁶ to have contained the wine and milk poured on the bones after burning, or as offerings to the dii manes, in allusion to which last custom the Romans annually, in February, the last month of the year, celebrated the Feralia or Parentalia.

In a corn field near Ongar was found in land-ditching, August, 1767, three feet under ground, a large white free stone chest, six feet four inches long, twenty-two inches wide, three inches and a half thick, thirteen inches three quarters deep, in which was one human skeleton of the common proportion, the head and feet lying East and West. The lid of the chest strongly cemented to it had a kind of ridge in the middle, where it was six inches thick, in other parts four. After numbers of people had satisfied their curiosity, Mr. King the tenant caused it to be re-buried a foot deeper. It was again uncovered Sept. 26, at the desire of Dr. Gower, Mr. Bramston, and myself, when the bones were found broken, and in great confusion, and much earth fallen in among them. The lid rotten and broken. At the time of the first discovering, in digging a ditch at the lower end of the field, they had opened another burying place, which they followed into the next field, in an oblique direction, and found five entire skeletons lying at the feet of each other, and covered with such kind of tiles as Thoresby describes to have been found at Bootham bar, and which he had in his museum. They have a ledge at the sides to receive the tiles which formed the sides of the coffin, and this ledge ceases about an inch from the end, to admit the next tile to lie on the other, to which it was probably fastened by a pin; for one found here had a hole as for that purpose, like our present plain tiles, and another had half an 8, like those at York⁷. The field was covered with fragments of urns and bones: some of the urns had ornaments, striated or indented: one peice had near the top these lines 

² Recueil d'Antiq. L. p. 197.

³ Ib. p. 198.

⁴ Mr. Lethieullier, in A. S. Min.

⁵ Id. Ib.

⁶ i. e. L. Licinius L. F. Claudia tribu, Maximus, Aequo oppido ortus, fieri vel faciendum curavit. Aequum was a town of Dalmatia, and Licinus a common name at Strasburg.

⁷ Alsatia Illustrata, p. 508.

⁸ Thoresby, p. 561.

of a black colour, burnt in : most of them were of a dirty stinky sand. There was one large brick eleven inches wide, the length imperfect, thickness one inch and a half. The field where the stone chest lay is called *Great Stockling*; the next to it, of five or six acres, *Little Stockling*; q. d. the *Station* or *Place mead*; that above them has the name of *Sheeping wood*. There seems little doubt that this was the cemetery of the Roman station whose earthworks are so visible round Ongar.

Such coffins have been found without the walls of York, 1761, containing skeletons firm and entire, and laid in lime¹.

This tile sepulchre was another mode of burial used by the Romans, and introduced into their provinces, of which Dr. Burton describes an instance discovered at York, 1768, on a piece of ground between that city and Severus's hills, about 250 yards from the walls, North of the present road to Burroughbridge and Aldborough, near Severus's hill. This tomb was in form of an oblong room, with a ridged roof, covered with hollow Roman tiles, like our ridge tiles. Each side consisted of three large tiles, if they may be so called, of a beautiful red, each 1 foot, 8½ inches long, 14½ inches broad, 1½ inch thick. The projection of the edges of each tile 2 inches ½ths, not quite flat, but bent a little forward, the curve being from about the middle toward the top, by which the upper end of these tiles were nearer to each other at the top than at the bottom. From the top of these the roof was covered in form of a ridge with hollow tiles. Each end of the sepulchre was enclosed with a tile of the same dimensions as those of the sides, and on each of the end tiles was towards the top this inscription, LEG. IX. HIS. very fair, made with a stamp. The edges of these side and end tiles were turned square, near two inches broad, and projecting forward, to make them close the nearer. Over these were also ridge tiles, to keep out the water. Sideways they were narrower than on the ridge. This tomb was about three feet and a half long within, and contained several urns, wherein were some ashes and earth, all standing on a tiled pavement. Part of the Os humeri and the lower jaw-bone, with all its teeth perfect, were likewise found. At a little distance from this tomb, on the same piece of ground, was found a coin of Vespasian; rev. PAX. AVG. S. C. and another of Domitian, rev. FIDEI PVBLICAE. S. C. Dr. Burton supposed this tomb belonged to some person of consequence, perhaps of the *Legio nona Hispanica*, which was in Britain before Hadrian's, and perhaps from Julius Cæsar's time². Several such tombs were found 1703, 1721 and 1763, at Strasburgh, formed of four and six tiles, each 1 foot 9½ inches, by 16½ inches, and one inch thick, with a ridge at their two extremes, and each inscribed LEG. VIII. AVG. inclosing an urn with bones, some glass and earthen lacrymatories and lamps : one of the glass vessels had on the foot a figure of Victory holding a palm branch and crown of laurel between V. P. with the legend, VICTORIA AUGUSTORVM. Mr. Schoepflin understands these *Augusti* to be Marcus Aurelius and Aurelius Verus, to whose time he fixes these tombs belonging to the VIII Legio Augusta, which, according to Ptolomy, gave its name to *Argentoratum* or Strasburg. He supposes this the mode of burying the common soldiers of the légions. In two of these tombs were found the bodies. The ends do not appear to have been closed up at all³. These kind of tombs are in some inscriptions called *Obrendaria*⁴, or,

¹ F. Drake, in A. S. Min.

² Archæol. II. p. 177—180.

³ Schoepflin *Alfatia Illust.* p. 510, 512, 513. *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inf.* X. p. 457. 4to.

⁴ Fabretti *Inf.* p. 15. Gruter, p. 607. Gutherius de jure manum, II. 24. p. 338.

as Rigaltius¹ and Gori² conjecture, *Obruendaria*³, thus mentioned in an inscription in Gruter⁴.

D. M.

L. POMPONIVS. CLADVS.
ET CLAVDIA PARHESIA.
FECERVNT
SIBI ET SVIS POSTERISQVE
EORVM ET
M. QVINTINO CLAVDIANO
OLLARVM N XII AB IMO.
IN SVMMO CVM
OBRENDARIO.

That the Romans used brick coffins, or sarcophagi, in their earliest periods, will appear by the following passage of Pliny, N. H. XXXV. c. 46. "Quin & defuncti sese multi fictilibus foliis condi maluerunt; sicut M. Varro Pythagorico more in myrti & oleæ atque populi nigri foliis." F. Hardouin explains *folia* mobiles arces five sarcophagi in quibus corpus integrum condebatur. See Florus IV. c. 11. of Cleopatra's death. Curtius X. c. 1 & 10. Suet. Ner. 50. An inscription in Gruter DCVII. 1. contains a singular petition from one man to another about the disposition of himself and family after death. CUM. ANTE. HOS. DIES. CONJUGEM. ET. FILIUM. AMISERIM. ET. PRESSUS. NECES-SITATE. CORPORA. EORUM. FICTILI. SARCOPHAGO. COMMENDA-VERIM. DONECUM. LOCUS. QUEM. EMERAM. AEDIFICARETUR. — ROGO. DOMINE. PERMITTAS. MIHI. IN. EODEM. LOCO. IN. MARMO-REO. SARCOPHAGO. QUEM. MIHI. MODO. COMPARAVI. EA. CORPO-RA. COLLIGERE. UT. QUANDONE. EGO. ESSE. DESIER. PARITER. CUM. EIS. PONAR. Another inscription in the same collection, DCCCIII. 12. runs, OSSA. L. BACCHII. L. F. FICTILIARI. SARCOPH. HEIC. POSITA. SVNT. Liberti epist. ad Elium Severum ap Schoepflin. Alfania. Illust. p. 11. "cum corpora eorum fictili sarcophago commendaverim."

In the celebrated family vault of the freedmen of Augustus and Livia, discovered by the side of the Appian way, about a mile out of Rome, 1725, among a few marble sarcophagi were two of *baked earth*, made to contain the body whole. These are thus described by Bianchini⁵, "Cassa di creta cotta, lunga piedi 6½, larga 1 e once 7, senza iscrizione. La forma interiore di questa cassa, che in altre ancora d'altri sepolcri ho veduta, è stata osservata avere da una parte un rilievo della istessa materia di terra cotta, come si dovesse al defonto servire di guancia, non più alto però ne più largo di once 6 con pertugi che sembrano fatti per ricevere qualche liquore come se putrefaccen- dosi il celabro dovesse in quei buchi scolare l'acqui che ne deriva. L'uso però de questo guancia e de quei forami non si comprende sin'ora." This exactly corresponds with the stone coffins among us used by Christians. Gori describes one of these earthen coffins as covered with tiles laid on its flat edge, whereas another had an inner ledge, on which the tiles were laid. These tiles he supposes are the *munitura sarcophagi* in an inscription in Gruter⁶, and the names of the deceased were frequently inscribed on them. Three more brick tombs were worked up into the walls of this vault, in order, as Gori imagines, to be at some future time replaced with marble ones⁷.

¹ Not. ad Aust. Rei Agrar. p. 296.

² Gori, Columbarium liberti. & servor. Livin. Flor. 1727, p. 40.

³ So Seneca: "Alios terra obruit; alios flamma consumit; alios lapis ossa redditurus incluit." De remed. For- tione. And again, "At tu combuitus, ac tu obruitus, ac tu inclusus, — ac tu traditus lapidi qui te paulatim edat & creseat."

⁴ CCCCXXIV. 16. See also Fabretti, l. 15. who gives an inscription with "hic obruitus est."

⁵ Camera ed inferiz. sep. de' liberti, &c. d'Augusto, p. 10.

⁶ Ubi sup. p. 36, 39. Tab. VIII.

⁷ Dxc. 7.

Another of these earthen coffins in this vault was covered with two tiles inlaid with mosaic, representing two great fish, and two birds picking at fruit. Gori has engraved them, Pl. XIX. A. B. but calls them pieces of tessellated pavement¹.

Without Bootham bar at York was digged up a sort of coffin made of clay, of which Mr. Thoresby had part of the bottom, which, for the convenience of baking, he supposed was divided into several such parts. This was entire, as just moulded by the Romans, fourteen inches and a half long, and almost eleven broad at the narrower end, and was twelve and a half at the broader. This was the lowest part, for the feet; the rest were proportionably broader to the shoulder. It was an inch thick, besides the ledges, which were two inches in thickness and one in breadth, and extended from the narrower edge to within three inches of the broader, where it was flat from edge to edge, and somewhat thinner, for the next to lie upon it. The several parts seemed to have been joined together by a pin; for at the end of each tile is a hole that would receive a common slate pin. The ledges were wrought a little hollow, to receive the sides, and at the feet were two contrary notches to fasten the end piece. This bottom Mr. Thoresby would have concluded to have consisted of eight such parts from a character like 8 impressed on the clay before baking, but that he doubted the introduction of Arabic numerals so early².

I come now to the stone-coffin as used by Christians. After cremation ceased, on the introduction of Christianity suppose³, the believing Romans would generally betake themselves to the use of sarcophagi, and of various kinds, stone, marble, lead, &c. The Romanized and Converted Britons would naturally do the same, and place the bodies East and West. As for the Saxons, they, as successors of the Britons, would incline from the first to adopt their practices; and then, after that important event, the arrival of Augustine the monk, A. D. 596, and the conversion of the nation thereupon, coffins would universally take place, as likewise the mode of placing the body with the feet to the East. Thus very soon after this we find St. Etheldreda of Ely translated from a wooden into a marble coffin; for Sexburga, abbess of Ely, intending to remove the body of her sister Etheldreda into the church, directed some of the brethren to seek for a stone "*de quo locellum in hoc facere possent*." They, finding no stone proper for the purpose in the isle, came to Grantacester, "*et mox invenerunt juxta muros civitatis locellum de marmore albo pulcherrime factum*, operculo quoque similis lapidis aptissime tectum⁴." The Saxons were now greatly improved in stone-cutting, and as this receptacle was found ready prepared⁵, one is obliged to conclude, that the custom of making stone-coffins had prevailed there some time before. A circumstance which would lead us to ascribe this to the Saxons, though it seems to have escaped Mr. Pegge, is thus expressed in Bede, "*Mirum in modum ita aptum corpori virginis sarcophagum inventum est ac si ei specialiter præparatum fuisset, & locus quoque capiti seorsum fabricatus ad incisuram capitis illius aptissime figuratus apparuit*." The place for the head might seem to be peculiar to the stone coffins of Christians were it not for the inscription D. M. on such a coffin before described, p. xxii. This is the oldest instance Mr. Pegge met with amongst the Saxons⁶; however, from this time downward, stone-coffins have been discovered all over England.

¹ Ubi sup. p. 5.

² P. 561.

³ Ainsworth, Monum. Kemp. p. 175. Thoresby, Mus. p. 560. Kirckman, p. 13.

⁴ Bede, lib. iv. c. 19.

⁵ Bede would have it understood as a miracle; but be this as it will, a stone we see was to be sought to make a coffin of.

⁶ It was A. D. 695. Etheldreda died 679, and this was 169 years after. Bede, l. c.

Mr. Pegge traces them among us from the ninth century to the reign of Henry III. and in some cases to that of Henry VIII¹. The patron saints at Arles were buried in Roman sarcophagi finely carved². Dart says, stone coffins were rarely used in the 14th century.

Repton abbey, in Derbyshire, on the Trent, founded before A.D. 666, was the burial place of the royal family of Mercia, whose chief seat was at Tamworth in Staffordshire. In the close of the last century Thomas Walker a labourer cutting hillocks near the surface met with an old stone wall, which, on clearing further, he found to be a square enclosure of fifteen feet. It had been covered, but the top was decayed and fallen-in, being only supported by wooden joists. In this he found a stone coffin; and with difficulty removing the cover, saw a human skeleton nine feet long. Round it lay 100 human skeletons, with their feet pointing to the stone coffin. They seemed to be of the ordinary size. The head of the great skeleton he gave to Mr. Bowers, master of the free-school, whose son, one of the masters in 1728, remembered it in his father's closet, though since lost, and had often heard his father mention this gigantic corpse, and believed the skull was in proportion to a body of that stature. The bottom of this dormitory was paved with broad flat stones, and in the wall was a door case, with steps to go down to it, whose entrance was 40 yards off, near the church and river. The steps were stone, and much worn. It was in a close, on the North side of the church, and over this repository grows a sycamore, planted by the old man, when he filled on the earth. The owner, when Mr. Degge, who gave this account to the Royal Society, 1726, saw it, would not suffer it to be opened, the lady of the manor having forbidden it. This was attested by several old people, who had likewise seen and measured the skeleton³.

In the Norman times it was the custom to bury monks in the bare ground. Warin, twentieth abbot of St. Albans, who died 1195, ordered that they should be buried in stone coffins, as more decent. M. Paris charges him with innovations in established customs to please the multitude⁴.

In 1759, in making a turnpike road through *Wardlow* village, near *Ashford*, on opening a heap of stones 32 yards diameter, and about five feet high, was found a monument to the memory of seventeen persons who had been there interred. The bodies appeared to have been laid on the surface of the ground, on long flat stones seven feet and a half long, and their heads and breasts protected from the incumbent weight of stone by small walls [or rather chests] made round them, with a flat stone on the top, excepting the two principal ones, which were completely inclosed in two stone chests, about two feet high and seven feet long. On removing the rubbish many jaw bones and teeth were found undecayed, but none of the larger bones. The stones of which these coffins were composed appeared plainly to have been taken from a quarry about a quarter of an inch distance. Near half the circle was vacant, which might be owing to accidental disturbance, by laying near the road, or inattention on the first opening. The Rev. Mr. Evatt of *Ashford*, who communicated the account and drawing to the Royal Society, 1761, supposed the circle later than the fence wall above, which interfered with part of it, and therefore referred it to the slain in the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster; but it is much more probable that it was a family burial place of the same kind with that

¹ Cent. Mag. 1709, p. 66.

² Thickneffe.

³ Phil. Trans. N° 400, p. 365.

⁴ Q. adal. p. 149. cuncta et dices ab antiquo conservata volens multis placere idem abbas Garinus in nova statuta commisit. In hoc loco in his videbatur temerarium, multis utile, honestum, & commendabile. Inter quæ constituit (sicet in hoc loco ab antiquo conservata) ut corpora monachorum defunctorum quæ antea cunctis temporibus sub lapideis sepulchris. M. Paris, v. ab. Alb. p. 95.

before described at Repton, in the same county¹. Mr. Bray thinks it more likely that they would carry the wall strait (especially as the stones removed furnished materials for it) than that the monument should be thrown up on both sides of such a wall, and be intersected by it².

Some labourers digging in a quarry between Kær Leon and Christchurch, near a place called Porth Sini Crân, discovered a large freestone coffin, in which was a sheet of lead wrapt about an iron frame, curiously wrought and in it a skeleton. Near the coffin lay a gilded alabaster statue, in a coat of mail, holding in the right hand a short sword, and in the left a balance. In the right scale was a female bust, outweighing a globe in the left scale. Capt. Mathias Bird, who was on the spot, gave the statue to the Ashmolean Museum. The feet, right arm, and scales, have been since broken off; but the rest is in tolerable preservation, and some of the gilding remains in the interstices of the armor. Bishop Gibson thought it represented Aftrea³. It is rather St. Michael weighing the devil against a soul, as on Glastonbury tower, and may have belonged to a Christian tomb, and been found on the site of an ancient church. See it in the *Marmora Oxoniensia*, Pl. CXXVIII.

In the churchyard at Deerness, in the Mainland of Orkney, is a coffin-shaped stone, en dos d'ane, six feet long; one side plain, the other adorned with what the heralds call *Vairé* in five rows. Such another in Rendale church-yard, twenty miles from Deerness, is called *the Queen of Morocco's gravestone*; and they tell a long legend about her arrival and death here⁴.

In digging a cellar in an outhouse belonging to the chanter at Lincoln, fronting the West end of the Minster, they found two or three stone coffins, probably laid there since the dissolution of the ancient parish church of St. Mary Magdalen to make way for the cathedral, and ten or twelve feet lower was found a Roman hypocaust.

Two bodies were found deposited in coffin-shaped cavities in the live rock in the Anchoritage, near St. John's church yard at Chester⁵, by which it should seem hermits were frequently buried in their retirements. A hermit had a chapel on the site of Red Castle, an oval camp near Thetford, and Mr. Martin digging found a very fine stone coffin, with bones in it, just where it is supposed the hermit's chapel stood, at the North East corner⁶. And the coffin lid with a cross in relief on it lying opposite or near to St. Robert's cave on the bank of the Nid at Knaresborough confirms this. The ancient hermits dug their own coffins in the rocks where they past their lives⁷.

Coffin-shaped stones were always covers to coffins of the same materials, and thus answered the double purpose of receptacle and memorial.

It is worth enquiry whether stone coffins were always confined to persons of eminence, or allowed to the religious and laity of every rank. I think instances may be produced of both. In religious houses they were probably for the principal religious and nobility; but in parish churches for the incumbents or patrons. Perhaps in both cases they were for all who would go to the expence. Thus to give a few examples out of many, the stone coffin now lying in the vestry at Stone in Kent, and at Soame in Cambridgeshire, in the latter instance, and in the former those of St. Albans, where, in digging a vault, 1782, for alderman Nichols, below the steps within the great West door, they found a stone coffin, covered up, but filled with dirt and gravel. It now stands empty by the spot. They discovered the feet of another, which they did not disturb. A third has long stood behind the high altar.

¹ Phil. Transf. vol. LII. part II. p. 544.

² Gibson's Camden, Monmouthshire, p. 725.

³ Pennant, Wales, I. 187.

⁴ Blomfield, I. 378. Martin's Hist. of Thetford, p. 10.

⁵ Vite Patrum, c. 20. l. de S. Leobardo recluso.

⁶ Todd, p. 185. 2d edit.

⁷ Mr. Lowe's MS.

In sinking a well by the townhall and by the Fish stone at Spalding, wheré probably had flood the church of Holycross, at four feet deep was taken up a stone coffin in which was a corpse looking fresh, and another corpse covered with a plank.

Empty stone coffins have been dug up in the site of the now entirely demolished chapel of the Wake family adjoining to the North side of the chancel of Market Deying church.

In St. Mary's church yard, Thetford, have been found stone coffins of different sizes, supposed for a father, mother, and two children. Two lids in the chancel floor are ascribed to the larger, which were found under the pavement without lids; and one of them, which rings like a bell, lies in the tower. The lid of a smaller makes a headstone in the churchyard, near the original spot: the other larger, by the vestry, reversé, covers Edward Clarke late clerk, by his own desire¹. This makes it probable that originally these coffins lay level with the pavement, of which the lid, sometimes inscribed, made part. Such may have been the *sepulchrum parvulum super terram situm e rusticiori formatum lapide*, described by Gregory of Tours², in the church of St. Venerand, at Clarmont, in Auvergne, among a number of splendid tombs of Parian marble.

A stone coffin found in the chancel of Purton, Wilts, had a piece of board at bottom, covered by the earth, which might have been a cover, or part of a wooden coffin³, or have been thrown in on some former opening.

At St. Mary's, the priory church at Wareham, are some stone coffins, in which the priors might have been interred; for Mr. Wood says, that in Durham cathedral most of the priors were buried in coffins of stone or marble covered with another large stone which lay level with the pavement, it being an antient custom to bury persons of note no deeper. Not long ago was dug up in the churchyard a flat stone which covered a stone coffin: on it is carved a long narrow shield which takes up the whole length, and is divided in the middle by an embossed line as escutcheons are usually parted per fess: on the upper part is a lion rampant, and on the lower six fleurs de lis. It is thought to be two coats impaled, this being a very antient manner of empalement⁴.

On the North side of the altar in Abbotsbury church was a very antient coffin of coarse black marble, with a cover of the same. It is supposed to have contained the bones of Orcus, steward to king Canute, and his wife, who founded this abbey, and to have been removed hither at the dissolution out of the conventual church; but, as présent tradition says, out of the vicarage house. It was four feet and half long, by two broad, and one and a half deep; and in 1750 was deposited under ground near the place where it once stood, there being no convenient place to receive it⁵. "The bones of the founder Orcus, inclosed in a daintie marbill coffin, which I have often seene, were removed to the adjoining parish church."

A large stone coffin, smaller at the feet than at the head, forms the ground fill of the large West door of Dunstable church, on which the very door case is founded. But who was here interred no inscription doth certify⁶. The site of the East end of the church was dug in for stone, and coffins with bones were found and buried again, by the late Mr. Crawley, who owned it about 35 years ago. Mr. Willis informed the Society of Antiquaries, 1745, that about two feet under ground, and above three feet from a side wall of this part, and

¹ Spalding Society's Minutes.

² Hist. of Thetford, p. 73.

³ Hutchins's Dorset, I. 36.

⁴ Hist. of Dunstable, p. 207.

⁵ De Gloria Confess. c. 36.

⁶ Ib. I. 539.

⁷ Gent. Mag. March, 1761, p. 125.

⁸ Coker's Dorset, p. 31.

the feet close to a cross wall was found a stone coffin, the lid composed of four stones, the piece at the foot a separate one; the head, sides, and bottom, of one stone; under the head an eminence instead of a pillow, in a hollow or niche corresponding to the head. The skeleton was entire, except the ribs, which had fallen in; the head inclined to the left. Between the upper bone of the left arm and the back bone was a glass urn fallen down, and the lid off, stained with deep brown on the inner side of that part which lay over the stone. About the feet were pieces of leather, very rotten, which by the holes appeared to have been sewed together¹.

On removing the stone covers in the upper North transept of Lincoln minster, July 10, 1783, I found nothing but earth; a very few fragments of human bones in one, as if they had been filled up originally, or on the dissolution, or some repair or new laying of the pavement. One of these was the blue slab covered with the very rude relief in the North transept under the paintings of the four first bishops of this see, one of whom it may be supposed to have covered, as the three others might have been covered by the three contiguous blueish coffin-fashioned slabs. The coffin under the carved stone here mentioned consisted of more pieces than one, which is an argument of its antiquity. A blue slab coffin-fashioned, with a semi-circular stone at the head, on which the epitaph, now worn out, was inscribed in old capitals, presented the same appearance in the upper South transept.

Mr. Blomfield, 1734, digging across the choir at Castle Acre; at more than twenty feet from the East wall found the pavement whole and untouched, composed of tiles of fine hard red earth, glazed, and not above half an inch thick, five inches square, laid in a chequer, white, black, yellow, green, and other colours, laid right in the middle, and exactly twenty feet from the East wall, at the last step to the altar. About six inches below the pavement lay a stone coffin, four inches thick, six feet one inch long within, nineteen inches wide at the shoulders, and only seven at the feet, the hollow for the head being nine inches over; had a hole through the middle at bottom, to drain the body when laid in. The coffin was full of mould, the free stone with which it was covered having been broken by the fall of the walls had let in the rubbish. In it were the bones of a man complete; and at the feet of the coffin was another skull, and seven or eight leg bones laid in a heap; which led Mr. Blomfield to conjecture that at the reformation, before the demolition of this church, they pulled away the stone or monument that was over it, and it lying uncovered they put in what bones they happened on elsewhere, and filled it with mould, and then pulled down the walls: so that Mr. Blomfield dug a good depth through the rubbish before he came to it. He supposed it the tomb of Philip de Mortemer, who was prior 1203, and is said to be buried *ante majus altare*. He caused the bones to be put into the coffin at the head, and filled it up again, leaving it in the same place, not having stirred the coffin at all. The sides were much broken, probably by the fall of the walls².

France affords a most extraordinary instance of the general and extensive use of stone coffins. In the village of Civaux, on the river Vienne, six leagues from Poitiers, by the side of the high road from that city, at the entrance of the village is a space of 3071 toises square, full of stone coffins, most of them level with the surface, some a little below it, and a few above it. This spot is divided into two, and the smaller half is inclosed for a yard to the parish church with a fence made of the lids of these coffins: the other remains open, level with the road and the surrounding fields. By the side of this churchyard is a down 504

¹ Hist. of Dunstaple, p. 183, 184.

² MS. Hist. of Norfolk, penes me.

toises square, where they formerly buried, and where still remain about twenty tombs. Forty or fifty more are to be seen in a little spot, in the centre of the village, surrounding the church, to which it served as a burying ground, till forbidden to be used by the then bishop of Poitiers about fifty years ago. Close to this, behind the presbytery, is a little open space, and by the side of it a spacious field hedged in. In the former spot are about twenty tombs. Though there are said to have been some in the latter, none are now to be found at the depth of three or four feet. Towards the centre of a great ploughed field of six acres by the side of the high road to Luffac and Lemoges, 200 paces from the village, were found, in two days search, at considerable distances, about twenty-five coffins, most of them empty, and without lids. Some have pretended to find these coffins in the river; but it appears that the stones in its bed had been mistaken for them, though it is not improbable that the water might have washed away the earth which covered some, or by other accidents they might have found their way into it. The general shape of these coffins is that of our modern wooden ones, some few excepted, which are less contracted at one end, and approach nearer a long square. Two in particular were like cradles, little shallow niches, hollowed for children in the level surface of a plane convex block, three feet by fifteen or eighteen inches. The rest were of all sizes, from three feet to six feet two or three inches. The general size is six feet by two or three at the larger end, and one and a half or 20 inches deep: a very few were broader and deeper. Each was covered with a large stone, commonly flat, sometimes convex on the upper side, two feet five or six inches broad, by six feet six or seven inches long, and about two inches thick at the edges, always overhanging the coffin. One third of these lids had no mark: but by far the greater number had a cross reaching the whole length and breadth of the surface. These crosses were not raised above three or four lines: their slender shaft was crossed by three broad transverse pieces, one at each end, and the third in the middle, somewhat like those commonly called the *Lorrain Crosses*. All these tombs were of rough coarse workmanship; not one exhibited the smallest sign of sculpture or taste: not an inscription or figure to shew that the dead whom they contained were at all above the common rank. On one of these lids were some characters half effaced, on which the only letters that could be made out seemed to form the word *Dominus*. On the inside of another lid was carved, in a tolerable style and relief, a workman with his hammer, probably a representation of one of the workmen in the neighbouring quarries, carved by himself, or some of his partners. Of about 150 of these coffins which lay in ground not used for cemeteries, some were found empty, others full of earth and bones mixed together, others under the earth which filled them up had a complete skeleton in its natural order, of a yellow colour, and ready to fall in pieces on the first touch. In several were two skeletons, lying side by side, and in some larger than the rest were three. In several under the skeletons were skulls, whole and broken bones mixed with the earth, with which they seemed always to have filled up the coffin after depositing the body in it. The longest skeletons were of the common proportion, five feet nine or ten inches; and of these not more than three or four were found, the majority being under six feet and a half. At the bottom of one of these coffins were found, wrapt up in a sort of paper, and stuck together by rust, a dozen double tournois, one of 1636, half a wooden comb, with a row of close and another of open teeth, and two or three pieces of a kind of dark brown serge. In another was found a silver filegrain ring, with a collet of the same. In another a piece of base silver, not so large or thick as a French sol, stamped on one side with a shield surmounted by a crown, the figures indistinct, and round it an imperfect

imperfect date, 159. Some persons of credit affirmed, that in some of these coffins stone bottles were found by the side of the deceased; and it has been said, that ancient medals have been discovered among them. A little before the last search the curate of the place sent M. le Nain governor of Poitiers, by whose order the search was made, seven medals, which he assured him were taken out of different tombs. They were middle brass, of Claudius; Nero. rev. an altar, under which, ARA PACIS; a large brass, too much defaced to be known; small brass of Gallienus, rev. AETERNITAS AVG. of Aurelian, rev. VICTORIA AVG. two of Constantinus Crispus and junior. Beyond the river Vienne, half a quarter of a league higher up than Civaux, is an immense quarry, in which may be distinguished the beds whence many of these coffins have been cut, being of the same grain.

These particulars are extracted from the account given by the jesuit Ruth of the grand search into this collection of stone coffins made about 1738. The father has thoroughly canvassed the subject, and has determined them indisputably to belong to Christians, and the spot where they are found to have been a public Christian burying ground. Perhaps the crosses were the strongest evidence of this; for we have produced a variety of instances that make against the conclusion, that "monuments where the corpse is preserved entire are necessarily Christian works."

The quarter of St. Hilary at Poitiers is full of stone coffins, which chance brings to light continually in cellars and gardens. The abbé d'Armagnac, treasurer to the chapter of St. Hilary, digging in his garden in the winter 1736 found twelve or fifteen; one of them was seven feet long, and contained bones of very large proportions. He has discovered them in his cellar under the foundations of old thick walls: and he is not the only person who has made these discoveries in this quarter. In enlarging and completing the high road from Poitiers to Chauvigny, about 1730, they found in the rising ground which commands the city on the side of St. Cyprian and the gate of Pont-a-Joubert, a large stone coffin, which was left on the lands by the road side. Boucher, who was born before 1480, observes, in his History of Poitou, that in this quarter, above the abbey of St. Cyprian, was an old burying ground, named the Burying ground of St. Gregory. The custom of burying out of cities subsisted a long while after the Romans, who first enacted it as a law. The towns and villages near the Vienne from St. Gervais two leagues, below Châtellerault to Luffac four leagues above Chauvigné, at St. Gervais, Ingrandes, Cenon, Bonimatour, Vouneuil, Archigny, Chauvigné, Civaux, Queaux, Luffac, are all full of the same kind of tombs. We find at all these different places fields not quite so large as that at Civaux full of stone coffins and covers marked with crosses, and some of rough stone without any marks. These circumstances, the vicinity of these burying grounds to churches, and the Gothic stone crosses set up at the entrance, or in the centre of these places, denote that they are Christian; and the quarries before mentioned, or others near the same river, furnished the materials. Montmorillon, a little town of Poitou, on the Gartempe, four or five leagues from Civaux, where is now the church of the Augustines, contains a great number of these coffins, which have been taken up to make doors and chimney pieces to the monastery. The spot was walled round for near a century, and is used as a burial ground. Saulgé, a village on the Gartempe, has a great many. Joumet, four leagues from the river, still more. Benet, a village near the head of the Glain, is full of them, and most of the houses there are built of them. One is to be seen in a lone house near Tranquart: and it is no uncommon sight in many other parts

of Poitou, where there are now no traces of these antient burial grounds. Twenty were found in digging in a garden of a priory-cure two leagues from Leçon. A considerable quantity are to be seen at the priory of St. John de Loudun. Lower Poitou abounds with them, and there are few parts of the rest of Poitou where they are not talked of. But these singularities are not confined to this province. The abbey of Notre Dame de la Tenaille, at Saintonge, seven leagues above Saintes, towards Blaye, standing alone in the midst of a wood, has a kind of burial ground almost as considerable as that of Civaux, full of the same kind of stone coffins, which have been found to contain entire skeletons, as there; and in some of them stone bottles placed by the side of the bodies. The like may be seen in Touraine, at Baleme near la Haye, at Brayes near Richelieu, and many other places in the same parts. About 1728 the canons of the castle at Bruges opening a road near their church discovered a great number of stone coffins. M. Dodart, governor of Berry, says they are very common in that province, that the curates of many parishes used them for horse-troughs; and he had seen many at the abbey of Foncombaud, in the diocese of Bruges, near Blanc. M. Catherinot, well known for his researches into the antiquities of Bourges and Berry, in his "Bourges souterrain," tells us, that the Capuchins of Bourges trenching their garden in 1640, found several stone coffins, which the antients properly called *bieres*, from the Latin *petra*; and in 1684 another at the foot of a tree which they had cut down in their great walk. This house is near the canons of the castle, and both are out of the town; circumstances which serve to prove this to have been an antient burial ground. Traces of this antient custom have been found in the provinces most distant from Poitou. Near a Benedictine abbey out of Arles is a large field full of tombs of the same shape, and disposed in the same manner as at Civaux. The conclusion is obvious, that all these were the burial grounds of the Christians of Gaul.

If the number of coffins, or of bodies in them, when the dimensions scarce allow of more than one, or the rank of the parties buried, and the finding of heathen coin in Christian graves be objected; the answer to the first is, we are not to expect a calculation correspondent to extent of ground to people the burial ground of a village of only 600 persons. Public burial grounds do not seem to have been forbidden to Christians in the most furious persecutions, and Christians affected common places of burial. The use of stone coffins may be carried back in Poitou to the third century, and probably continued to the end of the 13th; consequently the burial ground of such a village as Civaux was ten centuries at least in filling. Allowing sixteen deaths, one year with another, this period would give 16,000 dead bodies, and an equal number of tombs. The strictest allowance of coffins to the ground all round the town would not produce the whole number; and all the accidents of plague, famine, and war, will never bring the number of tombs to 13,000.

Civaux was certainly however a very antient parish, and as there were for several centuries but two cemeteries at Poitiers, it is not unlikely numbers would be carried to a spot so convenient for this heavy mode of interment. The traces of such a mode would sooner disappear in populous cities, where stone was wanted for buildings both public and private. Many towers and battlements of the walls of Poitiers are lined with such stones. One in particular is charged with a cross, an inscription in Gothic characters at top; on the right of the cross is a chalice well cut, and to the left an E. opposite to and on the same level with it. When the coffins contained more than one corpse which was in some instances less than the other, they may have been those of husband and wife, children or friends, or corpses of different periods, or which sunk under some

some epidemical disorder; or, lastly, were buried in later periods, after this mode of inhumation ceased, as seems probable from the coins of 1636, and the remains of clothes. This is confirmed by the recollection, that where there were more bodies than one in a coffin, some were reduced to a skull or a few bones: not to insist on anatomical disquisitions, whether the corpse of a peasant occupies less room than that of a rich citizen. The Roman medals found here are few and doubtful. As to the objection drawn from the expence of these stone coffins, it should be considered, that as they were near at hand, and would serve more than once, the mode was more frugal than at first sight appears.

I have been the more full in this extract, as the instances here produced are conclusive in favour of the promiscuous use of stone coffins, and as I believe the book whence it is taken is not in every body's hands.

" Dans le nef de l'église de St. Martin a Angers il y a trois anciens cercueils de pierre dans lesquels ont été mis trois personnes, & non en terre."

" Il y a dans le nef de l'église de St. Pierre dans la même ville deux cercueils de pierre fort anciens, encastrés dans le mur a la hauteur de trois pieds au-dessus du terre."

" Au bas du collateral dans la dernière chapelle du côté de l'Evangile paroît un cercueil de pierre en dos d'âne & a fleur de terre, qui est peut-être la sépulture de Geoffroi premier abbe de cette maison." Valmont abbey, founded about 1169.

The like stone coffin in the North wall of the nave (which is all that remains) of the abbey church at Dunmow, and is ascribed to Juga Baynard the foundress, may be only of an abbot. Leland describes such a cross on the tomb of Henry Doilli, son of the foundress at Oseney.

Coffins of this form are supposed to be the oldest of the sort, a coffin and a monument united. That they were not always confined to religious persons even though the ridge be charged with a cross, may be presumed, if I am right in my application of that in the Temple church to William Plantagenet fifth son of Henry II. in the XIIIth century. Niger bishop of London, who died 1241, had one in old St. Paul's. Somewhat similar coffins, and both alike ornamented with arches, and therefore most probably made at the same period together contained the remains of kings Sebba and Etheldred there. Such were also those that are ascribed to archbishop Theobald at Canterbury, and to bishop Glanville at Rochester. The conformity of these stone monuments to the general form of our ancient shrines would incline me to believe the two in Kent were depositories of reliques (the latter perhaps of those of St. Paulinus) as well as the two in London. In the floor of the nave of St. Alban's abbey church are two plain stones, with a rounder ridge.

Crosses were very antiently fixed or carved on monuments and gravestones. Among the laws of Kenneth king of Scotland, about 840, we meet with this, " Esteem every sepulchre or gravestone sacred, and adorn it with the sign of the cross, which take care you do not so much as tread on." But the fathers, for that very reason, forbid it to be placed on any gravestones.

¹ The Salic laws, however, of the ancient Franks forbid burying twice in the same coffin, either of wood or stone, under a heavy penalty. " Si quis mortuum hominem aut in *neffo* aut in *petra* (quam *vasa ex usu sarcophagi dicuntur*) *seper* *alium miserit*, *multo* *denarios* qui faciunt *solidos* *xxii* & *dimidium* *culpabilis* *judicatur*."

² Recherches sur la manière d'inhumer les anciens a l'occasion des tombeaux de Civaux en Poitou. Par le R. Pere B. R. Prestre de la Compagnie de Jesus. Poitiers. 1738. 12mo.

³ Melton, Voyage liturgique de France, p. 81.

⁴ Ib. p. 105.

⁵ Descrip. de la haute Norm. I. 162.

⁶ See it in the head-piece to Century XII. fig. 2: Gravestones have been hewn in this form in later times. There is one in the South chancel at Gillingham church, near Rochester, dated 1637.

⁷ Dugdale's St. Paul's. Montauson mentions a large tomb in St. Lawrence's church at Milan, which by its shape he judged to be of the first ages of the church, but he gives no description of it, *Diar. Ital.* c. 2.

⁸ " Des tombes de pierre *en nef* ou des tombes plates" are mentioned for persons " qui ne sont morts qu'au quatorze siècle." Defé, de la haute Normandie, II. 334.

⁹ Bloomf. Norf. I. 483.

Hearne derives both the stone coffin and the crosses on it from the Holy Land, at the crusades'. He seems to appropriate the coffin-fashioned lids to abbots*, which may be doubted.

In the church of Weting All Saints, c. Norfolk, lies an old grave stone with a cross flory in a circle on the summit of a staff, in memory, most likely, of some rector; and near the South wall at the East end of the chancel is another old gravestone, with a cross patee cut on the head of a staff, probably in memory (it being the insignia) of a knight templar¹.

At the West end of the nave at Narford lies a gravestone having a cross patee carved on the summit of a staff, the *insignia* of some knight templar².

In the chancel under the North wall, with an arch raised over it, lies a marble stone, with a large cross floral carved on it, in memory of the founder, no doubt some religious, probably some rector or vicar of the church³.

In the middle of the chancel of Great Carbrook lie two very antient coffin stones, with a cross patee on each, to shew they belonged to the Templars, and two imperfect circumscriptions on them in capitals, which seem to be added long since they were first laid, and most probably when they were replaced after the rebuilding the church. Mr. Blomfield⁴ took that most North to be the sepulchre of Maud countess of Clare, their foundress; and the other on her right hand, or most South, to be one of her younger sons, that might probably be the first commander of this house. They lie exactly in the place where he says the founders of religious places were generally buried; as Herbert founder of Norwich cathedral. By the crosses they were of the order; by their place of interment persons of distinction; by the remains of the inscription, mother and son, and of the Clare family. Now though, adds he, I do not meet with their names, Vincent on Brook⁵ says she had by Roger de Clare her husband, Richard earl of Clare and Hertford, and others. Dugdale⁶, telling us where he was buried, shews plainly this was not his sepulchre, else I should have thought so, by reason of his confirming of his father's and mother's benefactions to this house, to which he was also a benefactor. It is plain from the inscription that he was a knight of the order, and had been at Jerusalem, and so was qualified to be a commander of the house, and must be of great note, his name being not mentioned.

On the First,

MATER. CLARENSIS. GENEROSO. MILITE. CLARA.
MA HIC. TUM. . . VE. .

On the Second.

A. DEXTRIS. NATUS. REQUIESCIT. MATRIS. HUMATUS.
HUNC. PETIT. PORTUM. PROPRIUM. REVOLUTUS. IN. ORTUM.

I must beg leave to differ from Mr. Blomfield, both as to the *date* of the inscriptions, their import, and the lady. I suppose the inscriptions are cut in the Saxon capitals, and shew that *she* was a Clare rather by *birth* than *marriage*, and that *he* might be a younger son of earl Roger.

¹ Pref. to G. Neubrig. p. lxviii.

² Blomf. Norf. I. 483.

³ Ib.

⁴ P. 120.

⁵ Roper's Life of More.

⁶ Ib. III. 524.

⁷ Ib. I. 623.

⁸ I. 210.

"In the churchyard at Balfham, c. Cambridge, at the East end of the chancel, are four freestone coffin monuments, very old, and much alike, each having three crosses florè on their tops. That most North was opened some years ago, and a stone coffin with a skeleton found in it; and in 1744, when the gentlemen of the Charter-house were on their circuit, Dr. Baffer had that most South opened, which was found filled with gravel, being bricked on the sides and bottom, where lay a skeleton of a person who had never been in a coffin. I find this was a common way of burial for persons of distinction in the time of Edward II. and III. when some chose rather to have their bodies committed to the earth without a stone coffin than with it. At Thorndon in Suffolk the rector opened for me a monument of this kind, which had also a cross florè on the top of an esclop shell, to denote his having been a pilgrimage to St. James at Compostella. By its being joined to the South chancel wall on the churchyard side it appears to have been the monument of the builder of the church, supposed to be Nicholas de Bokland rector there, who was instituted Aug. 1333, at the presentation of John of Cornwall, second son to Edward II. The grave was fitted up with a stone slab on each side, and one at each end. The body was laid at bottom with nothing but the common earth under the coffin, which was of very thick oak. It was filled up with earth and gravel, and then large flint stones, and so one above another to the surface of the earth, and the whole monument above was solid mason's work. I mention this as in some measure shewing about what time these ancient monuments that now remain in many places, were likely to be placed there."

In opening a grave, covered with glazed tiles, on the right hand of the choir by the vestry door at Tewksbury, 1776, was found a stone coffin without a lid, and in it a skeleton, whose teeth were entire, also the spurs and part of the leather, in which it had been wrapt.

In repairing the foundations of the garden wall at the North East corner of the site of St. Catherine's Priory, Lincoln, the workmen opened a stone coffin, in which lay a human skeleton without a skull.

The instances of stone coffins, after the introduction of Christianity, in our religious houses are too numerous to be recited. There is hardly a site of such foundation in which there does not appear one or more consecrated for water troughs or worse uses.

In the South aisle of Pelham Furneux church, Herts, just where it opens into the chapel, Dr. Salmon³ describes an altar-tomb of cemented stone, which was hollow, and a stone coffin, with its lid even with the floor. This was smooth at the top, and had no bras upon it, but probably an inscription below, because Weever⁴ has preserved a part of it, "... Johannes de Lee, & Johannes uxor" which the Doctor took for a daughter of Sir Simon Furneux and Sir John de la Lee, temp. Edward I. The tomb is now so covered with pews that I could barely (Sept. 30, 1783) see that both it and its lid had several mouldings, like that in Eastwick church in the same county, on which lies a beautiful figure of a cross-legged knight. On the floor of the chapel are two old stones which are but lids to stone coffins, the coffins remaining below the surface. The inscription remaining on one in Gothic capitals,

"Simon de Furneux filius."

¹ Blomf. Collect. Cantab. p. 199.

² Mr. Symphon's MS. collection.

³ Salmon's Herts. p. 287.

⁴ Fun. Mon. p. 548.

is remarkable for not reaching to the end of the stone, as in general such inscriptions do.

These coffins were supposed older than the chapel, or indeed the church, and to have been replaced there on rebuilding. The bones were entire. In one of them, on taking it up to build a vault, were found some beads, of what use is hard to say, for the method of praying by them is hardly so ancient.

The tomb of archbishop Langton, at Canterbury, 1228, is a large stone chest, with a cross carved on its lid, *enchaîné dans le muraille*, as the French would call it.

In taking down the decayed South chapel at West Harling in the same county, the body of the founder, Sir Nicholas de Beaufort, who died in the beginning of the 13th century, appeared to be laid in a stone coffin inclosed in the south wall, which, by order of the patron, Sir Basil Gawdy, was preserved as it was found, and being covered with bricks, now lies undisturbed. Mr. Blomfield was told a small thing like a candle-stick was found in the coffin, but rather thought it to have been a crucifix. I am surprised he did not suspect it was the shaft of a chalice, or perhaps an entire chalice, and this the coffin of some religious.

The coffin in which Lewellin the last prince of Wales was buried in Conway-abbey, and on the dissolution removed into Llanrwst church, is a chest of granite, four inches and a half thick, seven feet in the clear, the outside carved with quatrefoils in relief. It has, like the Roman one before described at Chesterton, p. xxiii, a ledge within, to receive the thickness of the lid, which is now wanting.

Weever says¹, the alabaster effigies of Richard Lucy Lord Chief Justice of England lay on a flat marble stone, that stone on a trough or coffin of white ashler stone, when it was dug up in the ruins of Lesnes abbey, which he founded 1178. In like manner one sees the figures of abbots, bishops, knights, and other personages, carved on the very stone which served as a lid to their coffin. A disgusting imitation of this mode retained in the last century may be seen in the figure of William Curle, esq. 1617, lying on his side in the South aisle of Hatfield church, in Hertfordshire.

There is an odd sort of stone coffin lid formed en dos d'âne, where the upper half is charged with a half-figure, with its hands joined. Such are two tombs in the church-yard at Brandon, Suffolk, where the inscriptions are almost worn out by weather: a lady of the Disney family, at Norton Disney, c. Lincoln, and a priest in Appleby church, c. Westmorland. In Kingsbury church, co. Warwick, is a coffin-fashion lid, on which a female head peeps out of a quatrefoil.

In many churchyards in Lincoln and Huntingdonshires the grave stones are cut coffin-fashion, whether raised or laid flat, and when accompanied with something like a shield for more than half their length, I have frequently been deceived by their first appearance to ascribe antiquity to them. In the ruined nave of Croyland church still used as a cemetery key stones of arches have been perverted to this use. In the church yard at Potton are two stone coffins of different sizes, shaped nearly as our present wooden ones.

Sir William Dugdale and his lady were buried in stone coffins, each made in two parts.

Mr. Ames, 1759, was buried eight feet deep, in virgin earth, in the church of St. George, Leicester, in a stone coffin, on whose lid his epitaph was inscribed, as also on both sides of a flat stone.

¹ Norf. I. 209.

² See it in Mr. Pennant's Supplementary Plates, Pl. IV.

³ Fun. Mon. p. 777.

⁴ Ib. 1046. Ath. Ox. II. 690.

⁵ Dugdale's Warwicksh. 1061. 2d edit.

The use of *leaden* coffins was not unknown to the Romans. "When Christianity encreased the custom of burning the dead began to cease, and was little practised by any in the later times of the Antonines, though the same place without Boutham bar, at York, was continued for their sepulture; as appears by human bones that have never passed the fire digged up there. These were interred at the depth of nine feet, whereof six were stiff clay, and three a black earth. The lead coffin, which was about seven feet long, was enclosed in a prodigious strong one made of oak planks two inches and a half thick, which, besides the rivetings, were tacked together with brags or great iron nails four inches long, the heads not die-wise, as the large nails now are, but perfectly flat, and an inch broad, except one, which was half an inch broad, and these somewhat in the form of a wedge, and the head not round, as the other, but somewhat like the modern draw nails; but the rest of the old ones are square, the four sides of equal breadth. Many of them were almost consumed with rust, and so was the outside of the planks, but the heart of oak was firm, and the lead fresh and pliable; whereas one found in 1701 was brittle, and almost wholly consumed, having no planks to guard it. The bones were very light, though entire; but the double coffins required a team of horses to draw them out."

The Romans buried both in wood and lead¹.

Morant describes a leaden coffin found out of Colchester near a Roman urn². Nares' leaden coffin was robbed of a vast quantity of treasure by the emperor Tiberius³.

On plowing in Water Newton Lane, c. Lincoln, 1732, they found a large leaden coffin, containing an entire skeleton, and several small urns and small coins, silver and brass, of Vespasian and Severus; also a stone coffin, in which was another skeleton, very perfect, and in order, which plainly appeared to have been a woman with child, there being within it the small bones of a foetus in regular order, but fallen together, and near this an urn with ashes⁴.

A leaden coffin six feet long, full of bones, was found at Padua, in the same place where was found the inscription usually ascribed to Livy, but by Orfati⁵ to Lucius Halys freedman of Livia, fourth daughter of Titus Livius. This coffin is still preserved in the hall of Justice there⁶.

An antient chronicle cited by Du Chefne, vol. III. p. 641. says, that 1054 was found at Marceilles a human body entire and embalmed, in a leaden coffin, enclosed in a white marble tomb, which being supposed the corps of the emperor Maximinian, one of the persecutors of the Christians, who died A. D. 310. Rainchild, archbishop of Arles, caused it, with both its coffins, to be tossed into the sea⁷. It is much more probable that it belonged to some Christian prince or prelate of a later age.

At Sturry, near Canterbury, 1755, was found, five feet deep in the earth, a large broad stone, covering a stone coffin, six feet four inches, inclosing a leaden one, five feet eight inches, in which was a human body almost decayed, though the teeth were perfect in the jaws. The lead, which was much wasted, as well as the stone coffin, seemed to be put together in six pieces without folder, and each piece supposed to weigh thirty pounds. An earthen quart jug near it crumbled to pieces on handling⁸.

¹ Thoresby, Ducatus Leod. p. 560.

² Kirkman, 441. Thoresby, 429.

³ Hist. of Colchester, p. 183.

⁴ P. Diac. ap. Kirkman, p. 389.

⁵ A. S. Min. XV. 23. See p. 81.

⁶ Monum. Antiq. f. 143.

⁷ Mem. de Petrarque, III. 116.

⁸ Univ. Hist. XV. p. 547. Le Beau Hist. du Bas Empire, I. 96.

⁹ Newberry's Description of England, V. 75.

Near Ilchester was found some bones in a leaden case as big as a band box in a hollowed stone, and near it, under a tree, was a vault of stone, where a body was found lying at full length¹.

Carew speaks of Orgar, he means Cadoc, being found in a leaden coffin, in St. Stephen's church, near Trematons, Cornwall².

Hearne mentions a body in a leaden coffin in Cornwall, which had continued there from the Saxon times, and when touched fell to pieces³.

"Many yeres since men fought for treasor at a place called the Dungen [at Canterbury] wher Barnhale's houle now is, and ther yn digging thei fownd a coarfe clofed in lead⁴."

St. Alban's relics were found, 1257, in repairing his church, in leaden sheets, with an inscription on a leaden plate⁵.

Eadburga abbess of Repton, c. Derby, daughter of Adulph, king of the East Angles, who died A. D. 714, sent Guthlac a leaden coffin, *farcopbagum plumbeum*⁶. This was the best present that could be made by an abbess who lived in the centre of some of the principal and perhaps oldest lead mines in the kingdom.

St. Dunstan, who died A. D. 988, was buried in linen, in a double coffin of lead, the outermost more ornamented⁷. Mr. Somner⁸ gives the account of the discovery as "a pretty relation, and worth reading." It is so long and circumstantial that I shall content myself with an abstract of it. April 10, 1508, by order of the archbishop and prior, three or four of the fraternity, men of distinguished abilities and of more fervent zeal⁹ for the work, went about it in the evening, after the church doors were shut up, that none of the laity might interfere, and before day-light discovered in the stonework of the shrine on the South side of the high altar a wooden chest, equal in length to the stonework of the shrine, which was seven feet, and about one foot and a half broad, lined and covered with lead fastened with nails, distant about a hand's breadth from each other, and strongly bound round with iron bands. They got no further the first night; but the next returning to their search, six of the brethren, with other assistance, had much difficulty to lift the coffin out of the stone work. They then, with no less difficulty, got open the front of the coffin¹⁰, by breaking part of a board on the upper part¹¹. This discovered to their view a leaden coffin, not made of smooth lead, but wrought in folds in a most beautiful manner¹², containing another leaden coffin almost perished, which was supposed to be that in which he was first buried. Between these two leaden coffins they found a small leaden plate lying on the breast of the body, inscribed with these words in Roman letters¹³:

HIC REQUIESCIT SANCTUS DUNSTANUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS.

They next found a fair linen cloth, perfectly sound, laid over the body. On removing this the faint appeared in his pontifical habit, for the most part

¹ Spokeley, It. Cur. I. 147.

² P. 112.

³ Hearne Epistol. ad Gul. Nubrig. p. 790.

⁴ Leisard, It. VII. 144.

⁵ M. Paris, p. 942. Offer. Ant. Eccl. Brit. 77.

⁶ Lel. Coll. II. 590. It. IV. 131. and Pegge, Archaeolog. V. 373.

⁷ See the certificate of the discovery of his body, Ang. Sac. II. 228, 229.

⁸ Antiq. of Cantab. Appendix, N^o 38.

⁹ Ad ejusmodi opus optimi et ferventiores.

¹⁰ Anteriori partem arce.

¹¹ Partem offris quo in superiori parte arca claudatur effringent.

¹² Facta non ex plano plumbo sed arte quadam pulcherrime fabricata et plicata.

¹³ Litteris Romanis.

consumed by time. They saw his bald crown², and all his bones in order, with pieces of his flesh. They took part of his crown, which they lodged among their reliques, and then closed up all the several coffins in the strongest manner.

The dust of St. John of Beverly was found, 1664, under a thick marble slab, in the middle of Beverley choir, near the entrance into the choir, in a sheet of lead four feet long, in a vault of squared free stone five feet long, two feet broad at the head, and one and a half at the feet. A leaden box lay across it containing some of his bones mixed with dust. With it were six beads, three of which were cornelian, the other crumbled to dust. There were in it also three great brass pins, and four iron nails. Upon this sheet of lead was fixed a plate of lead, with this inscription :

"Anno ab incarnatione domini MCLXXXVIII combusta fuit hæc ecclesia in
"mense Sept. in frequenti nocte post festum sancti Mathæi apostoli & in anno
"MCCXCVII. VI. id. Martii facta fuit inquisitio reliquiarum beati Johannis in hoc
"loco, & inventa sunt hæc ossa in orientali parte sepulchri, & hic recondita, &
"pulvis cemento mixtus ibidem inventus & reconditus."

These had been so deposited after the chapel was burnt, 1188³; but this leaden box was rather for his shrine and bones, being but three quarters of a yard long, and marked with a cross in a stone coffin six feet and a half long.

The remains of St. William, who died archbishop of York, 1154, were lodged in a square leaden box three quarters of a yard long, about eight inches diameter at top, and gradually decreasing at bottom closely soldered up. They were deposited thus on his canonization in the reign of Edward I. by archbishop Wickwane, who removed them from the place where they first lay into the nave of his cathedral, and built a most costly shrine over them. On laying the new pavement, 1732, Mr. Drake searched for them, and discovered them about a yard below the surface, under a long slab of spotted marble, which had been inverted, and by the mouldings round the edge was supposed to have been an altar stone. The leaden box, much decayed, and having on its top a small plain cross, made of two pieces of lead of equal bigness, and at the end a piece of stuff which mouldered upon touching, lay within a stone coffin six feet six inches long, the lid arched, on which was a cross the length of the coffin. There was no inscription, either within or without the box, or on the altar stone. But all circumstances put together, the matter seemed to Mr. Drake indisputable. The smaller bones, and those of the skull, which were broken, were wrapt in a piece of farcenet double, which had acquired the colour of the bones it contained, and some of which, for curiosity sake, was taken out. The larger bones were put down to the bottom of the box, and by measuring a thigh bone entire our prelate appears to have been about five feet six inches high. The remains of this once famous prelate were carefully repositied in the coffin, that closed, and the grave filled up. Mr. Drake has given a print of the coffin and box⁴.

Geoffry Magnaville, who died under sentence of excommunication in the habit of the Templars, was carried by them to the Old Temple in London, where putting him into a pipe of lead (*canaliculo*) they hanged him on a tree⁵. They would not be wanting in respect to a founder and endower of monasteries. They durst not bury him for fear of the pope; so they wrapped him in lead, and deposited him like Mahomet, between heaven and earth. The dangling posture was

² *Testis capitis.*

³ *Life of Wood, 192. 2d. edit.*

⁴ *Ebor. p. 420.*

⁵ *Mon. Ang. l. 448.*

not over decent. If this had been done by an enemy or indifferent person it had looked like spite or contempt¹.

"Rofamunde's tumb, at Godeftowe nunnery, was taken up a late; it is a stone with this inscription: Tumba Rofamundæ. Her bones were clofid in lede, and withyn that the bones were clofid in lether. When it was opened there was a very fwete finell cam owt of it²." This account, given by the accurate Leland is fufficient to prove, that the double stone coffin shewn in the ruins of Godftow nunnery for Rofamund's³ did not belong to her. This is however a single instance I believe of coffins thus divided into two compartments, and seems to be now destroyed⁴. Hearne, in his account of some antiquities in and about Oxford, at the end of Leland's Itinerary II. 132. does not describe it as divided, but as two stone coffins, reported to have belonged to Rofamond, and her keeper, which destination he laughs at as a vulgar notion, and refers the coffins to two nuns, or two other persons here buried. The imperfect inscription given by Hentzner as on Rofamond's tomb of stone, was really, as we learn from Leland, on a cross near Godftow. It was a precatory form for her soul, and not, as Mr. Grose conceived, an address to her as a saint⁵.

Roger archbishop of York, who died 1281, was buried in the wall of his church, where his leaden coffin may be knocked against with a stick, through the openings of the fret work⁶. His fucceffor Melton was interred in a leaden coffin, within a very strong one of oak⁷.

King John is supposed to lie in a leaden coffin, which was discovered, but not opened, under his monument⁸.

Prince Henry, son of Henry I. was done up in lead and bull's hides⁹.

Fitzpiers buried at Winborn minfter five hundred years ago was found in lead¹⁰, by the sexton, who cut part of it in digging a grave close by it.

Bifhop Bitton, at Exeter, who died 1307, appears to have been buried in a leaden coffin of modern shape, with rings to it¹¹.

Bifhop Dalderby, who died 1319, lay at Lincoln in a kind of stone vault lined with lead¹².

Bifhop Grofthead, in the same cathedral, had only a sheet of lead laid over the top of his stone coffin on three iron bars¹³.

The Black Prince was embalmed, and done up in lead, 1376¹⁴.

The Duke of Exeter was buried at St. Edmund's Bury, 1426, in lead and pickle.

The Delapoles at Hull were so buried in the Carthusian monastery at Hull; and at the fuppreffing of it were found diverfe troughs of lead with bones in a vault under the high altar there¹⁵.

So the Hungerfords at Farley. Sir Joseph Ayloffé told me he cut one with a couteau, and let out a horrid stench.

¹ Salmon, Herts, p. 99.

² Leland in Mon. Angl. I. 518.

³ Mr. Grose's account under his view of it.

⁴ It is not mentioned in the account of Godftow nunnery, *Geot. Mag.* vol. LIII. p. 463. 1783.

⁵ — Adorant;
Utque tibi detur requies, Rofamunda, precamur.

Or, as Leland,

Qui meat huc oret, signum salutis adoret,

Utque tibi detur requies, Rofamunda, precetur.

St. Hugh bifhop of Lincoln caused her body to be digged up in the conventual church, and laid in the public burying ground, *pichis mors*, 1191. Walter Coventrensis in *Lei. Coll.* I. 357. says, "Rofamunda transiit a celebri"

"tumulo ad iacebrent per Hugonem episcopum Lincoln." Hoveden (*Chron.* p. 495.) adds, her tomb stood in the middle of the choir, and was covered with silk, and surrounded with lamps and tapers before this removal. It was again disturbed, as above, at the Reformation.

⁶ Drake, Ebor. p. 420.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 433.

⁸ See p. 37.

⁹ Hoveden, p. 354.

¹⁰ Hutchins, Dorset, II. 92.

¹¹ See p. 81.

¹² See p. 84.

¹³ See p. 47.

¹⁴ Sandford, p. 187.

¹⁵ *Lei.* II. I. 57.

So the Ratcliffes at Boreham, 1583. 1593. This was fitted to the body like a cerecloth, and shewed the features of the face, and had the name, title, and date in Roman letters.

Thomas Grey marquis of Dorset, who died 1532, was found on pulling down his chapel at Aftley, c. Warwick, done up in cerecloth and lead, and quite perfect and found, after 78 years interment, in a large and long wooden coffin¹.

Sir Gerard Braybroke's bones lying in a coffin of lead covered with wood were dug up at the East end of the South aisle of the choir at St. Paul's, in the reign of Edward VI.²

Prince Henry, 1612, was wrapped in lead, according to the proportion of his body; his heart inclosed in lead upon his breast, in the form thereof, under which are the figures 1612, and under that the prince's device and motto, with a rose and a thistle, subscribed with the letters H. P. all embossed³.

In the South aisle of Lichfield cathedral was found, 1751, a strong leaden coffin, with several large iron rings fastened to the sides: the lid, which was banded across with strong leaded ribs, lay loose on the coffin, which was very much corroded. In it was a skeleton, with a dry friable substance, which sparkled by candlelight, and like salt mixed with earth, scattered among the bones, as also several folds of fine linen sticking closely together, and some pieces of broad lace, supposed silver, by their blackness, which probably made part of some pontificalia⁴.

A skeleton, wrapt in red leather, covered with lead, and a sort of coronet on its head, was found a foot under ground, in Moulton church, Lincolnshire, on new paving the choir⁵.

Mr. Vertue, Dr. Rawlinson, and Mr. Umfreville, saw at the end of Hosier lane, West Smithfield, where they were digging deep for a sewer, in fresh clayish gravel, a leaden chest, much decayed, four feet by twenty-one inches, and eighteen inches deep, lying towards the antient timber houses behind St. Sepulchre's church, and containing bones and sculls, the size uncertain. It might have been a receptacle for many bones, a few lay loose near it; the lead much decayed, adorned with a cross on grecques, and four leaves at the margin in low emboss work, but no date or inscription. The old inhabitants said St. Sepulchre's churchyard reached further this way. About the same place human bones were dug up⁶.

A leaden coffin was dug up in the Black Friars, Oxford, about 40 years before 1658. When it was opened they found the skeleton of a man with a *candel* in his hand, and a silver penny hanging about his neck, and five gold rings upon his finger. About 30 years ago another leaden coffin was dug up at the upper end of Robinson's lane in St. Ebb's parish without the town wall⁷.

In October, 1783, some persons digging for gravel in a yard in Humberstone-gate at Leicester, at the depth of about two yards came to a leaden coffin, a parallelogram, five feet four inches long, eighteen inches broad on the outside, half an inch thick, and weighing an hundred weight. The lid was supported on the inside by iron rests across, about an inch broad, and of a competent thickness, but through rust easily broken, forked and bent at the

¹ Burton's Leicesterhire, p. 51. Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 113. Dugdale adds the *lead*, which is not mentioned by Burton, an eye-witness.

² Dugdale, St. Pauls, p. 45.

³ Sandford, p. 56a. Dart. II. 50.

⁴ Mr. Green, Gent. Mag. 1751. p. 398.

⁵ Spalding Society's Minutes.

⁶ A. S. Min. VI. 1749.

⁷ Wood's Notes about Oxford, Liber Niger, II. 573.

extremities so as strongly to sustain the lid and under part. Within the coffin was a complete skeleton, the bones in their natural order, the head lying East, inclining to the left shoulder, the teeth perfect, the under jaw fallen on the breast. On the right side near the middle of the coffin within were several dark balls lying together as if strung, which might have been held by the right hand; none an inch diameter, and all to appearance of equal size. On the outside toward the feet stood an earthen vase: there were also six or seven small urns, all plain, and of red clay, not glazed. In the same yard have been found human and other bones, and many ox horns¹.

Sir Robert Cotton told Weever of a chest of lead found in Radcliffe-field, in Stepney parish: the upper part garnished with scallop shells and a crocheter border. At the head and foot of the coffin stood two jars three feet long, and on the sides a number of bottles of glistering red earth, some painted, and many great phials of glass, some six, some eight square, having a whitish liquor in them. Within the chest was the body of a woman, as the surgeons judged by the skull. On either side of her were two sceptres of ivory, eighteen inches long, and on her breast a little figure of Cupid neatly cut in white stone. And among the bones were two pointed pieces of jet with round heads in form of nails three inches long².

About the year 1720, in the grounds of the widow Giles, near Clifton, was found a leaden coffin, with the dust and bones of a corpse in it: as also another of oak two inches and a half thick, covered with lead, in which were the remains of mortality. Whether this might have been a place of interment to St. Magdalen's chapel we cannot say, though we may reasonably conjecture, that before York was encompassed with walls it reached to a much greater extent in the suburbs; and being then more populous, might have different burial places. In December, 1729, were likewise found, in another part of the ground, several urns, containing bones and dust, as also Roman coins, promiscuously buried in the earth. The like about the same time were found in Mr. Roberts's ground, which is contiguous to the said widow's³.

Mrs. Babington, who died under sentence of excommunication in the reign of Charles II. was buried in a cave hewn in the rocks of Harnham, below the foundations of the castle, where her remains now lie in a leaden coffin⁴.

Alexander the Great was buried at Alexandria, by his successor Ptolomey, in a coffin of gold, which, before the time of Augustus, had been changed for one of glass⁵. In this that Emperor viewed his body, after causing it to be brought out of the vault. Caligula took his breast-plate out of his vault, and wore it⁶, or at least pretended to do so⁷.

Some labourers employed in repairing the road between Walnsford and King's-cliff, Northampton, about a mile West of the former, within thirty yards of a large wood, in Rockingham forest, struck upon a glass coffin, about two feet three inches long, containing the bones of a child much decayed. It was shaped like the present coffins, was of fine transparent glass, of a beautiful aquamarine colour, clear, and ornamented with five concentric raised circles, the diameter of the outermost five inches three quarters. There was no appearance of a place of sepulture hereabouts; but on diligent search several human bones were found

¹ Gent. Mag. Vol. LIII. p. 910.

² Weever, Fun. Mon. p. 30.

³ Gent's Hist. of York. Additions.

⁴ Hutchins's Northumb. I. 219.

⁵ Το δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου κειμένη ἐν τῷ Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος, ἵνα οὕτως ᾖ ἐν τῷ σῶματι. Strabo, XVII. p. 546. Sueton. Aug. 18. The spot where Alexander was buried and probably had a mausoleum was called Sema, Σῆμα, or Sema, Σῆμα. Achilles Tatius V. init. Suetonius says the corpse was brought out of a vault, penetrale, and in Calig. c. 52. he calls it conditorium. Strabo's word ἱερεὺς is any kind of trough.

⁶ Sueton. Calig. c. 52.

⁷ Dio LIX. p. 653.

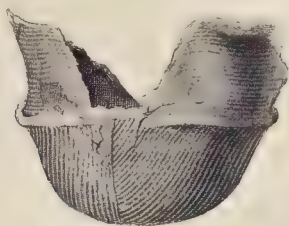
between the road and the wood, but all without coffins. It was supposed that this coffin contained the body in pickle, as none of the bones in it or in the field appeared to have been burnt. Mr. Wills gave the Society of Antiquaries a piece of the glass containing the five circles, Nov. 14, 1776. and conjectured, that this interment happened in the reign of Henry VI. at which time an idea prevailed that human bodies might be preserved by some liquid preparation. Another piece of plate glass was sent me from the Roman station of Duntocher, in Scotland, which I exhibited to the same society. I have since seen, in the hands of Mr. Shepperd of Chesterford, c. Essex, two pieces of thick glass, which may have been sepulchral. The late Dr. Barnard of Wethersfield gave the Society a drawing of a large glass urn found there.

The oldest instance of wooden coffins on record among us is that of king Arthur, which was an intire trunk of oak hollowed, *quercus cavata*¹, which the monk of Glaffenbury calls *sarcophagus ligneus*, and Leland will have to be an alder (*alnus*) as fittest to last in wet². This example was imitated by Sir Edward Deering, who died in Ireland, and was brought over and buried at Pluckley in Kent.

Between Wormleighton and Stanton, c. Warwick, was found in a pit a trunk of a tree hewn into a coffin with bones in it, and many coins particularly of Constantine³.

The body found under Kingbarrow, near Wareham, 1767, was deposited in an oak trunk, whose outer diameter was four feet, and its inner three feet. The body was wrapt in pieces of deer-skins, with the hair on, curiously stitched together, and appeared to have been passed several times round the body, and in some parts adhered to the wood. In the middle of the wrapper the bones were compressed together in a lump, and cemented together with a glutinous matter, perhaps the moisture of the body and skins, and on opening yielded a vault-like smell. A piece of what was thought gold lace, four inches long and two and a half broad, very much decayed, stuck on the inside of the wrapper. Bits of wire plainly appeared on it. The bones found were one arm, two thigh and blade-bones, the head of the humerus, part of the pelvis, and several of the ribs. These last would twist round the finger; but no signs of the skull. Near the South East end was found a small wooden vessel, much broken and compressed, hatched with irregular lines, three inches by two diameter, two deep, and two tenths of an inch thick⁴.

p. 25



¹ Giraldus Camb. in Speculo ecclesiastico.

² Aflert. Artur. p. 45.

³ Stukeley, Itin. II. 21.

⁴ Hutchins's Dorset, I. 25. One of Sir Christopher Wren's ancestors found in an old wall at Binchester, the Roman station, an earthen urn, inclosing a wooden one. Pref. to Parentalia.

This, with a large portion of the wrapper, is in my possession. There is no pretence for this having been the body of Edward the martyr, A. D. 978. but it is highly probable that it belonged to some petty prince or chieftain of the Saxon or Danish times.

King Edmund the martyr was found fresh in a wooden coffin many years after his death, and a fragment of it kept at Thetford¹. This however he might get by some prior translation.

Ofana sister of king Ofred had, in Hoveden church, Yorkshire, a tomb of wood, *tumha lignea in sedis modum super aram eminens*².

We have already seen that archbishop Dunstan was found in a wooden coffin covered with lead within and without, and within this two leaden ones, the innermost supposed the original almost perished. He died about 988.

Eraſmus deſcribes Becket's ſhrine as a coffin of wood covering one of gold. He muſt mean gilt plateing³.

Mr. Strutt deſcribes two wooden cheſts, carved with female figures on the lids, in the niches of the wall of Little Baddow church, Eſſex, which through age are ſo much decayed, that the bones and remains of the bodies are to be ſeen under the covers⁴.

Geoffrey de Magnaville, who died ſuddenly at Cheſter 1165, was ſalted and done up in leather, then put up in a ſtrong fir coffin, and ſo conveyed on a carriage to Walden⁵.

Edward I. was found in a wooden coffin incloſed in a ſtone one beſides the outer ſtone tomb.

Alice Hackney, who died in the reign of Edward II. or III. and of whoſe extraordinary preſervation by and by, was found in a coffin of rotten timber.

The marquis of Dorſet, before mentioned, p. xliii, was buried in a wooden coffin, 1532.

In a moiſt ſpongy ground, about two furlongs off Weſt Toftes in Grimſhoe hundred, Norfolk, was found, in 1720, in making a ditch to drain the grounds, an oak coffin lying S.E. & N.W. filled with water, and containing many bones, among which were the rude representation of a face cut either in jet or Lancaſhire coal; a blue cypher which looked as if it had been ſet in a ring, ſome blue irregular beads, and a broken gold ferril, which the workmen ſaid had ſlipt off a ſmall piece of wood like a ſmall knitting ſheath, probably a croſs, but broken and bent outright before Mr. Blomfield ſaw it. Near this place is a piece of ground moated round, the ſcite of the chapel belonging to the manſion houſe of Caſton-hall⁶.

In digging, 1737, in the churchyard of Little Carbrook, in the ſame county, which had been long deſecrated, there were found a croſs, here repreſented, fig. 1. laid over the coffin of ſome religious perſon buried here, moſt likely one of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, to whom the place belonged. There were two chains, on which hung two jewels, that on one ſide being loſt.

It is to be ſuppoſed, by the marks of the braſs boſſes on the croſs, that there were formerly relics under them, and that it was buried with him on that account, and poſſibly might have been fetched by the party himſelf from the Holy Sepulchre. The ſtem of it was of oak⁷. I have copied Mr. Blomfield's print, though I rather incline to believe this croſs was *within* the coffin.

¹ Blomfield's Norfolk, l. 250.

² Girald. Camb. Itin. Camb. l. c. 2. p. 824.

³ Golling's Walk, 2d edit.

⁴ Horſa Angleyntan, l. 109.

⁵ Reg. Walden, Mon. Ang. l. 451.

⁶ Blomf. Norf. l. 547.

⁷ Blomf. l. 600.

The other figure represented in this plate is a circular plate found on a coffin in York minster: the figure gilded, engraved on copper; the ground enamelled blue edged with white; with some dots of red and gold, referred by Mr. North to the time of Edward I. or II. when several Greek workmen came over and taught our workmen, and perhaps executed this among other pieces. It was in the possession of Dr. Rawlinson in 1741, who exhibited it to the Society of Antiquaries.



Mr. Le Neve shewed the same Society, 1724-5, a wooden cross plated with tin, and adorned with fictitious stones, found in pulling down Bishopsgate-church, and supposed to have belonged to a coffin.

The date, 1026, said to have been found on a coffin-plate among some human bones, in digging the foundations of some houses in Camomile-street, London, is an easy mistake for 1626¹.

Mr. Llwyd, in Gibson's Camden, p. 793, mentions a wooden coffin, gilt, found in 1684, in a turbarry, called Mwnog y strat gwyn near Maes y Pandy, in Merionethshire, so well preserved that the gilding remained very fresh, and said to have contained an extraordinary large skeleton. This is the only instance he knew of burying in such places, and yet, says he, they who placed this coffin here might have regard to the perpetual preservation of it. The circumstances of the *gilding* strikes me as more extraordinary.

At Afh, in a field near Richborough, to which station it seems to have been the burying place, were found 1762, several bodies in distinct wooden cases, with a sword on the right side, a spear on the left, a necklace of glass and amber beads round the neck, a fibula on the shoulder, and the iron umbo of the shield directly over the face. Several Roman medals of the upper and lower empire were found in the graves.

It is supposed by Dr. Chifflet, who gives a particular account of the discovery of his tomb, that Childeric king of the Franks, who died A. D. 481, was buried in a wooden coffin bound round with iron, pieces of which were found adhering so close to the wood that it was difficult to separate them². Mont-faucon³ adds, they were so eaten with rust that it fell to pieces.

¹ Gent. Mag. 1765, p. 394.

² Anastasius Childericus.

³ Mon. de la Mon. Franc. I.

The old term for a wooden coffin is supposed to be *Noffus* or *Naufus*, from its resemblance to a ship, called by the Franks *Nau* '. An ordinance of the Saxon law¹ forbids laying two bodies one upon another in such a receptacle: *aut in noffo* ², *aut in petra, quæ vasa ex usu sarcophagi dicuntur*. The laws of our king Henry I. c. 83. forbid the digging up a body laid "*in terra, vel noffo, vel petra, sub petra vel pyramide, vel structura qualibet*." And Gregory of Tours³ speaks of the bodies of the saints as being "*pallis ac naufis exornata*."

It is no uncommon thing to see in old parish churches in the country a wooden box, with one or two lids, with hinges, and sometimes a hasp, "*en dos d'ane*, in the form of Florence wine cases, which were used as biers to carry out the poor dead who had no coffin but their winding sheet. There is one, with a frame as of a table and four legs, in the old chapel or cloister at the South end of St. Alban's South transept. Dr. Kaye saw another in some vault at Durham, called St. Dunstan's coffin, meaning probably St. Cuthbert's.

The Duke of York's coffin at Monaco was of a singular form, like an oblong chest.

From the several materials in which bodies were antiently deposited, I proceed to take a view of those in which they were wrapt or shrouded.

Edward the Confessor's body being disturbed thirty-six years after its interment, on a dispute in the convent about the *incommunicability of the virgin* ⁴ King, was found in perfect preservation. This transaction may be compared to the view which certain curious Antiquaries took of his namesake 700 years after, on a different motive. We may be sure the Monks were to be gainers by the examination, and to make the most of the miracle. Our modern examiners were animated by the more laudable motive of deciding a point of historical record, and inquiring into the mode of interment that then prevailed. On a set day the abbot, with the whole convent and the bishop of Rochester, having taken off the stone, were agreeably entertained with a fragrant odour of spices. After removing the mantle⁵ which enveloped the holy limbs, they proceeded to examine the other ornaments and vestments, and found every thing solid and in perfect preservation, the limbs capable of being extended, the fingers flexible, the joints distinguishable, and every part found and in its original vigour, the flesh intire and white as at first; and the bishop, who alone ventured to handle his beard, found it retained its original whiteness and adherence to the face, so that he could not carry off a single hair. Having satisfied their curiosity, they wrapt up the corpse in a new mantle (for the old one was too precious to be parted with), and placed him again safely in his old apartment⁶. Abbot Laurence made three copes of the three wrappers of his body⁷, and it was re-wrapt in *vestimento bolserico*, in a wainscot chest. Accordingly Taylor, in 1688, drew out pieces of gold-coloured and flowered silk.

¹ Du Cange in voc. If the true original name of the *One night's work*, or monument in form of a ship, in the country of Louth, could be ascertained, and derived from *Nau*, which signifies a ship in Irish, one might suppose it sepulchral. See Major Vallancey's conjectures on it in *Collectanea Hibernica*, Vol. III. N^o X. p. 208.

² Tit. 17. § 1.

³ Herodotus § 4 reads *in offe*, but tit. 57, § 4, we have *naufa*. Muratori, Script. Ital. I. part. 2, says, a copy of these laws at Effe reads *tufus*, which Charpentier thinks suits better with *sarcophagus*. But the other influences are against this alteration whether *noffus* refers to wood or not.

⁴ De gloria confessorum.

⁵ Bromton, p. 909, tells a pleasant story of Canute's incredulity about the sanctity of St. Editha at Wilton, the daughter of such an amorous father as Edgar. Archbishop Ethelnoth, to confute him, opened her tomb, and the deceased virgin starting up, flew in the King's face. "Cingulo tenuis se erigens in contumacem regem impetum facere visa est." I suppose she was dried, and flew up on a touch.

⁶ *Pallium*.

⁷ *Tholomeus*. Alured Rival inter X Scriptores, p. 408.

⁸ *Tres copas brudeatas de tribus panni in quibus d. Edwardus requievit*. Flete in Dart I. 53.

Constance wife of Alan Fergant, 1090, was found buried in leather, on opening her tomb at Melaine, 1672¹.

Hugh de Grentmesnel, 1094, was salted, and wrapt up in a hide, and buried at St. Ebrulf².

Hugh Lupus, who died 1101, was found in his stone coffin in Chester chapel-house, 1724; his bones bare of flesh, but wrapt up in gilt leather, and his ankles tied together with a string. The stone in form of a T with his crest and device, which served to distinguish the place of his interment is now fixed over the door within³.

The Empress Maud, daughter of Henry I. was buried in Bec abbey, where her corpse was found wrapt up in an ox's hide⁴.

Henry I. 1135, was gashed and salted, and sewed up in a bull's skin⁵, after his bowels, tongue, heart, eyes, and brains, were taken out⁶. How awkwardly, see Matthew Paris⁷.

"Corpus Henrici I. allatum est Rothomagum, & ibi viscera ejus & cerebrum & oculi confepulta sunt: reliquum autem corpus cultellis circumquaque diffecatum, & sic multo sale aspersum coriis taurinis reconditum est & confutum, causa fœtoris evitandi, qui multus & infinitus jam circumstantes inficiebat, unde & medicus ipse qui magno pretio conductus securi caput ejus diffiderat ut fœtidissimum cerebrum extraheret, quamvis linteaminibus caput suum obvolvisset mortuus tamen ea causa pretio male gavissus est. Inde vero corpus regium Cadomum sui deportaverunt, ubi dum diu in ecclesia positum in qua pater ejus sepultus erat, quamvis multo sale repletum esset, & multis coriis reconditum, tamen continue ex corpore niger humor & horribilis coria pertransiens decurrebat, & vasis subpositis sub feretro susceptus a ministris horrore fatigentibus abjiciebatur⁸."

Prince Henry, son of Henry I. was done up in lead and bulls' hides⁹.

Leland¹⁰ mentions "a corpse wrapt up in a bull's hide, lately taken up in Gloucester cathedral, which a monk told him was a Countess of Pembroke. It lay at the head of Edward II. under an arch where Malverne, alias Parker, late abbot, made himself a chapel to be buried in."

Robert de Ferrars, founder of Merivale abbey, c. Warwick, was buried there in an ox-hide, in the reign of Henry II.¹¹

Geoffry de Magnaville, who died suddenly 1165, at Chester, was salted and done up in leather; then put up in a strong fir coffin covered with tapestry, and so conveyed on a carriage to Walden¹².

On digging a grave at the West end of Lincoln minster, 1741, they found a corpse sewed up in a strong tanned leather hide, the seam running up the middle of the breast. Maurice Johnson, who gave an account of it to the Society of Antiquaries, supposed it that of Walter Deincourt, or his son William, buried here in the 11th century, whose epitaph on a plate of lead was found 1670¹³. This church was built about the time of the Norman conquest by Remigius,

¹ Lobineau, t. I. l. 1. c. 120. p. 104.

² Ordericus Vitalis, p. 716. Dugd. Bar. I. 425.

³ Pennant's Wales, I. 178.

⁴ Ducarell Ang. Norm. Ant. p. 89. Hist. of Bec, p. 99.

⁵ Polychr. VII. f. 282.

⁶ Robert of Gloucester, p. 219, in Sandf. 27.

⁷ P. 73, 74.

⁸ Hoveden, p. 276.

⁹ Ib. p. 354.

¹⁰ It. IV. 172. a.

¹¹ Camden, Brit. Warw. Dugd. Warw. 1090. Bar. I. 259.

¹² Reg. Walden. Mon. Ang. l. 451.

¹³ See Dugd. Bar. I. 586.

who, in obedience to a canon of 1076, removed his episcopal see from Dorchester hither, and here laid the foundation of his cathedral, under the protection of the castle, and in the capital city of his diocese, in 1088. He had a near relation, Walter lord Deincourt, who had a large estate in this part of England, and seventeen lordships in Lindsey, whereof Blankney (afterwards lord Widdrington's) was one, and his chief seat, not far from Lincoln. This might be the sepulchre either of him, or of his son William, who, from the inscription beforementioned, which was taken out of his sepulchre, near, if not in, this tomb about 1670, and is still to be seen in the dean and chapter's library at Lincoln, appears to have been buried there. Gilbert de Grant, earl of Lincoln, and constable of Lincoln castle, and his issue, were buried at Bardney abbey, which he refounded or restored, not far from Lincoln, and whereof they were patrons¹.

The beautiful Rosamond Clifford was closed up in leather². Wood says, after the removal of her corpse from the church at Godstow into the churchyard or chapterhouse, by order of Hugh bishop of Lincoln, "her flesh being quite perished, the chaste sisters put all her bones in a perfumed leather bagge, which bagge they enclosed in lead, and laid them againe, with her stone coffin, in the church, under a large grave stone, on which stone, as it is said, was engraven, "*Hic jacet, &c.*"

The corpse of the lady of Sir William Truffel, founder of Shottesbrook college, 1337, was to be seen there done up in leather through the wall of the North transept³.

In the South aisle of the choir of Ely minster, in the late repairs, were found, as Mr. Essex informed me, several leather fragments about a body which may have been that of Edward Tiptoft earl of Worcester, buried here 3 Richard III.

The body of James III. of Scotland, who was slain at the siege of Roxburgh, was said to be found wrapt in a bull's hide, in the castle of Roxburgh, in Cromwell's time⁴.

A skeleton, wrapt in red leather, covered with lead, and a sort of coronet on its head, was found a foot under ground, in Moulton church, Lincolnshire, on new paving the choir⁵.

Apollonius Rhodius III. 206. & Ælian Var. Hist. IV. c. 1. mention, that the Colchians sew the corps of their deceased relations in the raw hides of oxen, and hang them up by a chain in the air.

In a tomb opened on clearing the site of Tyntern abbey was found a body intire, with leather buskins and buttons on his coat, which all crumbled away on touching, as I was told, 1761. See a like instance at Tewksbury, p. xxxvii.

On digging the foundation of a new room at Mr. Strut's seat at Horton-priory large quantities of human bones were found, and several bodies buried in boots and spurs⁶.

Mr. Peck⁷ gives an account of a body found in a stone coffin, in the South aisle of Southwell minster, 1717, dreft in cloth of silver tissue, with leather boots, a wand by his side, and on his breast something like the cover of a silver cup, with an acorn or bunch of leaves on its top. He supposed this one of the

¹ Extract of a letter from M. Johnson, Esq. to William Bogdani, Esq. concerning an extraordinary interment: read at the Society of Antiquaries, Oct. 8, 1741. Printed in *Archæologia*, l. p. 31.

² See before, p. xlii.

³ Wood's MS. notes on Godstow, in Ashmolean Museum.

⁴ Hearne's Letter on Antiquities between Windsor and Oxford, p. 14.

⁵ Abercrombie's *Martial Achievements*, II. 537.

⁶ Spalding Society Minutes.

⁷ Hutchins' Dorset, II. 88.

⁸ *Deſid. Cur.* book VI. N^o 17.

family of Cauz, referring to that family in Dugdale's Baronage. It rather seems to have been some religious, with the chalice and crozier.

On making a vault for Mr. Calcraft in 176 : in St. Mary's church, at Warham, which had been the priory church, a great number of bones were found under the altar, and a body in a coffin with gloves on its hands and a belt round its waist, supposed a woman, but more probably a prior. These were all buried in the yard, but many bones wheeled with the gravel to Stow-borough causeway.

The following account of the funeral of WILLIAM twenty-second abbot of St. Alban's, who died 1235, taken from Matthew Paris (vlt. ab. S. Alb. 133), may serve to shew the practice on those occasions, before the council of Lateran. "Corpus equidem cum in camera abbatis ubi obiit examinaretur exutum est & lotum; & nisi die antecedente proxima rasus non extitisset utique raderetur corona & barba ejus. Deinde intromissis non utique omnibus sed maturis & discretis fratribus & uno solo ministro seculari, viz. ministro sacriste qui officium anatomie perac-turus erat, incisione corpus apertum est a trachia usque ad occiduum corporis partem; & quicquid in corpore repertum est in quadam cuna repositum est sale conspersum, et in coemiterio non procul ab altare S. Stephani veneranter cum benedictionibus & psalmodiarum devotione est humatum; ubi processu temporis tumbula marmorea extitit adaptata. Corpus autem interius aceto lotum & imbutum & multo sale respersum & refutum. Et hoc sic factum est circum-specte & prudenter ne corpus per triduum & amplius reservandum tetrum aliquem odorem olfacientibus generaret, & corpus tumultuandum contrectantibus aliquod offendiculum presentaret. Portabatur corpus a camera quae dicitur abbatis ubi expiraverat in infirmariam; & ibidem pontificalibus est indutum: mitra capiti appositum, manibus chirothecae cum annulo & dextro sub brachio baculus consuetus, manibus cancellatis, sandalia in pedibus decenter aptata. Et deposito cooperculo a feretro, positum est corpus super illud, & fasciis cautè ligatum ne caderet cum portaretur evolutum; prolutum est a lavatoriis ubi haec parabantur ante ostium infirmariae, & demissum est sicut corpora aliorum mortuorum, & loco in eodem, donec pro eo sicut pro alio fratre defuncto consuetæ collectæ dicerentur cum praedictis vii psalmis paenitentialibus & omnibus quae secundum consuetudinem dici debuit dum corpus ornaretur. Pulsato igitur sollempni classico deportatum est corpus in ecclesiam sequente conventu, & psallente consueta, & illico vidente toto conventu & quolibet introducto confectum est sigillum abbatis uno martello super unum graduum lapideorum ante majus altare, ita ut tota celatura imaginis scilicet & literarum deleberetur. Exinde non defuit psalmodia die ac nocte sollempnis & assidua & ad majus altare cotidie missa sollempnis sicut solet fieri pro fratre mortuo prima existente in albis; & qui chorum tenebant in capis, accensis cereis quamplurimis; & sic usque in diem venerabiles exequiae continuabantur. Fratres intima devotione pro tanti pastoris anima & psallebant & missas quotidie corpore adhuc inhumato celebrabant. Vocavimus igitur amicum nostrum specialem, abbatem scilicet de Waltham, Henricum nomine, ut sanctus ad sancti corpus tumultuandum venire charitatis & vicinitatis intuitu non omitteret. Et ipse abbas pontificalibus redimitus, corpus pontificalibus similiter adornatum, baculo alterato, sollempniter valde toto assistente conventu vestito in medio capitulo tumulavit."

A similar account is given of the burial of John Wodnysburgh, prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, Feb. 29, 1428. "Mortuo igitur predicto venerabili patre corpus ejus per custodes camere suae ex integro lotum & mundatum est, & barba ejus rasa. Deinde stamino familiari, botis, caligis, & cuculla ex integro totaliter novus vestitus & indutus est. Postea amictu, alba, cingulo,

"dal-

"dalmatica, sandaliis & planeta revestitus, & mitratus, tenens in manu baculum pastorale, in capella prioris, sic infultus, aperta facie de mane decenter collocatum est, ubi exequie mortuorum & missa de requiem pro eo."

When the workmen were erecting the new screen at Gloucester choir, 1741, they found in the passage three abbats, buried near the surface of the ground, in stone coffins, in *pontificalibus*, part of their gloves and apparel remaining. Another stone coffin, with a sword, a little pewter chalice, and a staff; two skulls in it, which I suppose belonged to Sir Richard Gamage and wife, buried near his brother, abbot Gamage, who was laid near the door opening to the cloisters, and probably was one of the three then found, and all buried again where they were found. Before this alteration there were five other large gravestones found, robbed of their brasses, three of which belonged to some of the abbots¹.

Abbot Crokeley, buried in Westminster abbey, 1258, was discovered, in the time of Henry VI. firm and fresh, in his mass habit².

Abbot Eftney, who died 1498, and was buried in the South side of St. John's chapel there, was found, in digging near his tomb 1702, intire, clothed in crimson silk, in a large coffin lined with lead, the lid of which was carefully closed again, and the body left untouched³.

St. Dunstan, in his pontificals; see before, p. xl.

In ransacking St. Paul's cathedral, several bishops of London were found lying in their proper habits, with mitres on their heads and croziers in their hands⁴.

In new paying the great North transept of Lincoln minster, 1782, a body was found wrapt in a dress which came no lower than the knees, where it ended in a sort of roll like that of a roll-up stocking, and was wrapt about the thighs so as to leave the space between them open. The hands and head were wrapt up in it. It appeared to be made of fatten, or a stuff like corderoy. The face, or at least part of it, was covered by it, though by the fall or shrinking of the neck from the raised part of the stone coffin, on which the head originally lay about three inches higher than the bottom of the other part of the coffin, which was a foot deep, the lower part of the jaw, &c. appeared to have been displaced, and the dress perhaps removed by the same means; or it may have formed a sort of ruff, or falling collar, or cape, from the inner part of the dress, as it appeared of a different and fine species of stuff. There was besides a kind of standing up collar or border, visible in part of the drawing, round the upper part of which appears to be a different part of the dress, over which this other spread. The grain of the stuff was fine, and on a nearer view there seemed a difference between the two sides, the threads being bare and more visible on one side than the other, as if the materials had been of the velvet kind. The plate annexed represents it very accurately in this respect. The stone that formed the cover, though nine inches thick, the crofs and lines or ribs of which are here represented, had been broken towards the bottom, and the dust, &c. had got in there, and covered the remaining bones of the legs, except so far as marked in the print of the left leg. The head was entirely reduced to that sort of appearance which a decayed pyrites has, a purple kind of ashes, with a white efflorescence in it, and when it was first laid open there was a strong pitchy or bituminous smell from it. There was little appearance of moisture in the coffin, though it lay in a part which has occasionally been overflowed in

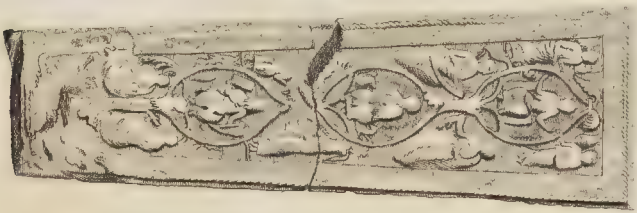
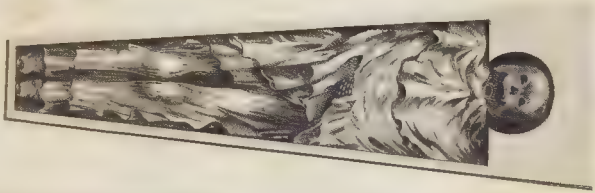
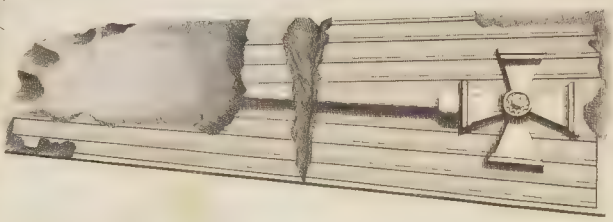
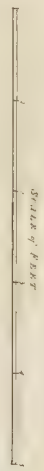
¹ Reg. Molash. 6 Hen. VI. in Peck's Desid. Cur. VII. IV. p. 245, ex exempl. MS. P. Le Neve Norrey, penes editorem.

² Rudder's Cloc. p. 175.

³ Dart's Westminster abbey, II. xxiv.

⁴ Widmore, p. 119. ex Barreley's Coll. MSS.

⁵ Dugdale's St. Paul's, p. 48.



1. The Virgin of Brindisi, 1783.
 2. The Virgin of Brindisi, 1783.
 3. The Virgin of Brindisi, 1783.
 4. The Virgin of Brindisi, 1783.
 5. The Virgin of Brindisi, 1783.
 6. The Virgin of Brindisi, 1783.
 7. The Virgin of Brindisi, 1783.
 8. The Virgin of Brindisi, 1783.
 9. The Virgin of Brindisi, 1783.
 10. The Virgin of Brindisi, 1783.

hasty and violent showers of rain. The cover had formerly made part of the common floor, as the cros, &c. carried evident marks of being worn, and there was now only a very thin stone, or rather layer of common stones over it, to make it level with the late pavement. The chalice and patin were either common pewter or that sort of mixture which the workmen call latten, and were decayed on that side where they toucht the body. There was not the least trace of inscription, that Dr. Gordon could discover, nor had he conjectured to whom it belonged. The oldest and almost only monument mentioned here in Dugdale and Willis's plans of this church, is that of Dean Lexington, who died 1272, but he had an inscription given by Willis. We know of no Bishop buried in this transept, though Bishop Dalderby lay in the opposite or South one. But from an attentive examination of all the particulars with which the præcentor favoured me, together with a piece of the wrapper itself, which was of a dingy yellow colour, I am inclined to conjecture this was some dignitary of the church buried in his cope. Instances of this sort are not wanting at Peterborough, where the copes taken out of the graves are still shewn in the library.

In new paving the South aisle of the nave of the same cathedral, 1781, a stone coffin was opened in presence of the sub-dean and precentor. On removing the cover the intire figure of a man was found lying in it in full robes, with very little appearance of decay, except that the under jaw had fallen down and perished. In the upper jaw was a tooth remaining very white and perfect. The drefs was very full and flowing, and had the resemblance of being plaited, or done into ribs, or narrow folds, down the leg and thigh, which seemed to retain their full size and just proportion. On opening some of the folds of the drapery there was a degree of moisture, if it might not be called a kind of liquid, of the colour of coffee grounds; but it evaporated almost instantly. On the inside of the robe, where it had toucht the body, there adhered a kind of pitchy or waxy substance, as if the body had been covered over with something of that sort before the drefs had been put on. The outer part of the drefs might seem to have been a cape, and probably besides that there was an inner garment of the cassock form: as the cuffs where the hands crost were clearly of a different stuff and make from the other. There did not appear to have been any thing on the head; but there were shoes or slippers of leather on the feet, with a part of the robe, like a flounce, spread over them, almost to the toes. Under the right arm, or at least under the drefs of it, towards the shoulder, was laid a small chalice of latten. The coffin was placed very near the surface, with three large rough stones, about four or five inches thick, to cover it, and immediately on them, with only the necessary sand between them was laid the common floor of the church. There was no other gravestone, or the least trace of inscription, to ascertain either the name of the person buried, or the date of his interment. It was probably one of the prebendaries or dignitaries of the church. By the ill use that was made of the permission given to view the body the robe was almost intirely pulled to pieces and carried away, and the substitute for the flesh, whatever it was that filled and supported it, on being uncovered and exposed to the air, mouldered away in the manner and with much the same appearance as a decayed piece of pyrites or charcoal ashes. The inside of the head also, where it was visible from the falling of the under jaw, had the same appearance of being burnt.

* Letter from Dr. Gordon to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. dated April 27, 1781.

The body of Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Ely, who was deprived of his see by act of parliament, 1559, and dying in confinement at Lambeth, 1570, was buried in the middle of the chancel of the parish church there, was found on making a grave for the late archbishop Cornwallis. His leaden coffin had all the appearance of having never been covered with wood, the earth around it being perfectly dry and crumbly. It was six feet four inches long, eighteen inches broad, and eight inches and a half deep. The corpse was wrapt in fine linen, was moist, and had evidently been preserved in some sort of pickle, which still retained a volatile smell, not unlike that of hartshorn. The flesh was preserved and had the appearance of a mummy, the face was perfect, and the limbs flexible, the beard of a remarkable length, and beautifully white. The linen and woollen garments were all well preserved. The cap, which was of silk, adorned with point lace, had probably been black, but the colour was discharged. It was in fashion like that represented in the pictures of archbishop Juxon. The hat a flouched one, with strings to it, which was under the left arm, was of the same materials as are used at present, but the crown was sewed in. It lay by the side of the body, as did the stockings, made of white worsted with green feet. Great care was taken that every thing was properly replaced in the coffin, and the remains of archbishop Cornwallis were deposited in the same vault¹.

Ralph Thoresby had a sort of mummy found at or near Chester, given him by Henry Prefcot, esq. Whether from the nature of the soil where it was found or by embalming he had not heard: but some ground he observes is of such a nature, and particularly a sandy desert in Africa, that human bodies laid in the same, do not in the least corrupt, but become like mummies².

When St. John's church at Dunwich was taken down, on raising and taking up a plain fair gravestone in the chancel, next under it was a great hollow stone, hollowed after the fashion of a man, for a man to lie in, and therein a man lying, with a pair of boots on his legs, the fore part of them picked after a strange fashion, and a pair of chalices³, of coarse metal, lying on his breast; which was thought to be one of the bishops of Dunwich; but when they touched and stirred the same dead body it fell, and went all to powder and dust⁴.

King John was, by his own desire, buried in a monk's cowl, and is supposed to lie in a leaden coffin, which was discovered, but not opened, under his monument⁵.

Richard Peché bishop of Coventry and Litchfield was buried 1182, in the habit of a canon regular, in the convent of St. Thomas at Stratford⁶.

In the chancel at Ickleford, c. Herts, was taken up, about the beginning of this century, a stone coffin, in which some person had been buried in his habit, probably a monk. The soles of his shoes were remaining, and a piece of leather about eight inches long, with gilding on one side, perhaps one of the insignia of his order or his family⁷.

On repairing Worcester cathedral, 1752, on taking off the top of a tomb, the inscription of which was obliterated, except the date, 1296, the bones were found firm, most of them adhering together in the same posture as when interred, and about the scull and shoulders appeared something like a coarse sackcloth or sack-cloth, very fresh⁸.

¹ Gent. Mag. LIII. p. 279.

² Duc. Leod. p. 430.

³ Or rather a chalice and patten.

⁴ Weaver, p. 720.

⁵ See p. 37.

⁶ Mon. Ang. III. p. 220.

⁷ Salmon, Herts. p. 174.

⁸ Newberry, Description of England, X. 94.

In 1653, in making a grave near the altar in Sherborne church, a grave stone was removed, and under it was found, in a stone coffin, a body clothed in robes of purple coloured cloth, with a crozier lying by it: the robes and crozier were taken away, and the corpse reinterred. The inscription on the grave stone was illegible¹. It probably belonged to some abbot of this house.

The same year produced the remarkable discovery of Childeric's remains at Tournay, of which hereafter.

In 1674 was found deep under ground in the isle of Athelney, a tomb wherein was a skull, some bones, earth, and dust, and some cloathing, of which Mr. Paschal sent a fragment to Mr. Aubrey². This was probably some abbot of this Monastery.

On making a vault for Mr. Calcraft, in 176 . in St. Mary's church, at Warham, which had been the priory church, a great number of bones were found under the altar, and a body in a coffin with gloves on its hands and a belt round its waist; supposed a woman, but more probably a prior. These were all buried in the yard, but many bones wheeled with the gravel to Stow-borough causeway.

King Ethelbert's body, on its removal from the river Lugg, into which his murderers had thrown it, was wrapt in royal fine linen, and conveyed to Fernley, in a small carriage. *Sindone regali involutum in quodam curriculo extulerunt*³.

The body of Sebba, one of our Saxon kings, was found in St. Paul's, curiously embalmed with sweet odours, and clothed in rich robes⁴.

On lifting up the lid of Edward the First's coffin the royal corpse was found wrapped up within a large square mantle, of strong, coarse, and thick linen cloth, diaper'd, of a dull, pale, yellowish brown colour, and waxed on its under side.

The head and face were entirely covered with a *sudarium*, or face-cloth, of crimson scarenet, the substance whereof was so much perished as to have a cobweb-like feel, and the appearance of fine lint. This *sudarium* was formed into three folds, probably in imitation of the napkin wherewith our Saviour is said to have wiped his face when led to his crucifixion, and which the Romish church positively assures us consisted of the like number of folds, on each of which the resemblance of his countenance was then instantly impressed.

When the folds of the external wrapper were thrown back, and the *sudarium* removed, the corpse was discovered richly habited, adorned with ensigns of royalty, and almost intire, notwithstanding the length of time that it had been entombed.

Its innermost covering seemed to have been a very fine linen cerecloth, dressed close to every part of the body, and superinduced with such accuracy and exactness, that the fingers and thumbs of both the hands had each of them a separate and distinct envelope of that material. The face, which had a similar covering closely fitted thereto, retained its exact form, although part of the flesh appeared to be somewhat wasted.

Next above the before-mentioned cerecloth was a dalmatic, or tunic, of red silk damask; upon which lay a stole of thick white tistue, about three inches in breadth, crossed over the breast, and extending on each side downwards, nearly as low as the wrist, where both ends were brought to cross each other. On this stole were placed, at about the distance of six inches from each other, quatrefoils of philligree-work in metal gilt with gold, elegantly chased in

¹ Hutchins' Dorset, II. 381.
² Brompton, p. 753.

³ Aubrey's Miscellanies, 1714, p. 54.
⁴ Dugdale's St. Paul's, p. 48.

figure, and ornamented with five pieces of beautiful transparent glass, or paste, some cut, and others rough, set in raised sockets. The largest of these pieces is in the centre of the quatrefoil; and each of the other four is fixed near to the angle: so that all of them together form the figure of a quincunx. The false stones differ in colour. Some are ruby; others a deep amethyst: some again are sapphire; others white; and some a sky-blue.

The intervals between the quatrefoils on the stole are powdered with an immense quantity of very small white beads, resembling pearls¹, drilled, and tacked down very near each other, so as to compose an embroidery of most elegant form, and not much unlike that which is commonly called, The True-lover's Knot. These beads, or pearls, are all of the same size, and equal to that of the largest pin's head. They are of a shining, silver-white hue; but not so pellucid as necklace-beads and mock-pearls usually are.

Over these habits is the royal mantle, or pall, of rich crimson satin, fastened on the left shoulder with a magnificent *fibula* of metal gilt with gold, and composed of two joints pinned together by a moveable *acus*, and resembling a cross-garnet hinge. This *fibula* is four inches in length, richly chased, and ornamented with four pieces of red, and four of blue transparent paste, similar to those on the quatrefoils, and twenty-two beads or mock-pearls. Each of these pastes and mock-pearls is set in a raised and chased socket. The head of the *acus* is formed by a long piece of uncut transparent blue paste, shaped like an acorn, and fixed in a chased socket.

The lower joint of this *fibula* appears to be connected with the stole, as well as with the chlamys; so that the upper part of each of the lappets or fraps of the stole being thereby brought nearly into contact with the edge of the royal mantle, those straps form, in appearance, a guard or border thereto.

The corse, from the waist downward, is covered with a large piece of rich figured cloth of gold, which lies loose over the lower part of the tunic, thighs, legs, and feet, and is tucked down behind the soles of the latter. There did not remain any appearance of gloves: but on the back of each hand, and just below the knuckle of the middle finger, lies a quatrefoil, of the same metal as those on the stole, and like them ornamented with five pieces of transparent paste; with this difference, however, that the centre-piece in each quatrefoil is larger, and seemingly of a more beautiful blue, than those on any of the quatrefoils on the stole.

The feet, with the toes, soles, and heels, seemed to be perfectly intire; but whether they have sandals on them is uncertain, as the cloth tucked over them was not removed².

The princess Joan, wife of Edward the Black Prince, dying at Wallingford, 9 Richard II. was wrapt in cerecloth, and being put in lead, was kept till the king her son's return from Scotland, when she was buried at the Grey-friars, Stamford³.

Elizabeth Tudor, second daughter of Henry VII. was cored by the *wax-chandler*⁴.

The corse of prince Arthur was *coyled*, well cored, and conveniently dressed with spices, and other sweet stuff. This was so sufficiently done that it needed not lead, but was chested⁵.

¹ Several of the gentlemen present at opening the coffin thought them to be real seed pearls; but all of them being exactly of the same size, hue, and shape, militates against that opinion.

² Wallingford, Hist. Ang. p. 316.

³ Archaeol. III. 380—385.

⁴ Dart's Westm. Abb. vol. II. p. 28.

⁵ Interment of prince Arthur, printed at the end of Leland's Collectanea, 1770. V. 374.

In a MS. ceremonial of the funeral of queen Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. in the College of Arms¹ we are told that, after her departure she was *perussed* by the lords of the council and ladyes of the realme, and after opened, *cered*, and *tramelled* in this manner. First her Grace's physician, with the surgeons, did open her, and take out all her bowels, with her heart; then the clerk of the *spicery*, with the *officers of the cbaundry*, came and *cered* the said royal corpe with linen cloth waxed, and with a number of spices very costly. After which the corpe was coffened, and then the seigeant plumber inclosed the same in lead.

Archbishop Parker allowed £. 23. for cering and dressing his body².

The following charges in the accounts of the chaplain of Cecilia widow of William Talmache of Hawsted, c. Suffolk, 1281, shew that no small cost was bestowed on the lady's own person. To the chandler (*candelario*) of Bury St. Edmund's in part, ix. s. ij. d. To John Sencle of the same, for wax and divers spices, iij. l. iij. s. ij. d. To Alexander Westlee of the same, for fine linen and filk, and other necessaries for attiring the lady's body (*pro findone et serico et aliis necessariis pro corpore domine attiliando*)³ xxxij. s.⁴

The chandler was the person who made and applied the cerecloth.

The examples alledged will illustrate the meaning and design of the last three articles. The filk was probably designed as an envelope for the corpe after it was embalmed.

The directions for the burial of Edward IV. say, that the body must, on its first laying out, be *bamed* (embalmed) wrapped in laun, or *raynes*, if it may be gotten, an hosyn, cherte, and a perer of shone of red leather, his furcote of cloth, his cap of estate on his head. "And when he may not godeley longer endure, take him away, and bowel him, and then estones bame him, wrappe him in *raynes* wele tramelled with cords of filk, then in *garteryn* tramelled, then in cloth of gold, and so in velvet well tramelled, and then led him, and coffin him."⁵

The whole external covering of an Egyptian mummy dissected by Dr. Hadley, 1763, consisted of several folds of broad pieces of linen cloth, made to adhere together by some viscous matter, which had not yet lost its property, and the whole had received an additional degree of strength and substance from the coat of paint laid on. There were not the least remains of hair or integuments on any part of the head. Some parts of the skull were quite bare, particularly about the temporal bones, which had the natural polish and appeared in every respect like the bones of an ordinary skull. To other parts of the skull adhered several folds of pitched linen, which together were near half an inch thick. On removing them they were found to have been in actual contact with the bones, so that the integuments must have been taken away before the wrappers were at first applied.

The outward painted covering being removed, nothing but linen fillets were to be seen, which inclosed the whole mummy. These fillets were of different breadths; the greater part about an inch and half, those about the feet much broader. They were torn longitudinally; those few that had a selvage having it on one side only. The uppermost fillets were of a degree of fineness nearly equal to what is now sold in the shops for two shillings and four pence per yard;

¹ Printed at the end of Leland's Collect. 1770. V. 309.

² Appendix to the supplement to Somner's Canterbury, p. 39.

³ Du Cange has *attilium* and *attiliamentum* for the attelage, equipage, or harness of horses; and other beasts of draught, and of ships. The verb does not occur. I know not how to translate it better.

⁴ Hist. of Howsted, by Sir J. Cullum, Bart.

⁵ Archæol. l. 346.

under the name of long lawn, and were woven something after the manner of Russia sheeting. The fillets were of a brown colour, and in some measure rotten. These outward fillets seemed to owe their colour to having been steeped in some gummy solution, as the inner ones were in pitch. The fillets immediately under the painted covering lay in a transverse direction. Under these, which were many double, they lay oblique diagonally from the shoulders to the *ilia*. Under these the fillets were broader, some nearly three inches, and lay longitudinally from the neck to the feet, and also from the shoulders down the sides; on which there was a remarkable thickness of these longitudinal fillets: under these they were again transverse, and under these again oblique. The fillets in general externally did not adhere to each other: but though pieces of a considerable length could be taken off entire, yet from the age so tender was the texture of the cloth that it was impossible regularly to unroll them. As the outward fillets were removed, those that next presented themselves had been evidently steeped in pitch, and were in general coarser in folds, and more irregularly laid on, as they were more distant from the surface. The inner filleting of all was so impregnated with pitch as to form with it one hard black brittle mass, and had been burned nearly to a coal. On breaking this it appeared in many places as if filled with a white efflorescence, like that observable on the outside of pyrites which have been exposed to the air. This efflorescence however had nothing saline to the taste, and did not dissolve in water; but instantly disappeared on bringing it near enough to the fire to be slightly heated, and was soluble in spirit of wine.

The lower extremities were wrapped separately in fillets to nearly their natural size, and then bound together, the interstices being rammed full of pitched rags. On cutting through the fillets on the thighs the bones were found invested with a thin coat of pitch, and the filleting was bound immediately on this. The tibia and fibula of each leg were found also wrapt in the same manner, and the bones in actual contact with the pitch, except in one or two places, where the pitch was so very thin that the cloth appeared to adhere to the bone itself. The feet were filleted in the same manner, being first bound separately, and then wrapt together. On cutting into the filleting of the left foot they were found to enclose a *bulbous root*, the appearance of which was very fresh, and part of the shining skin came off with a flake of the dry brittle filleting, with which it had been bound down. It seemed to have been in contact with the flesh: the base of the root lay toward the heel.

If the flesh of this mummy had not been previously removed, though its appearance would have been entirely changed, yet the filleting could never have been found in contact with the bones. From this last circumstance it is most likely that the body, excepting the feet, had been reduced to a skeleton before it was laid up. It is also pretty certain that it must have been kept some time in boiling pitch, both before and after some of the larger of the innermost filletings were laid on. The feet seem to have been swathed, at least in part, before they were committed to the hot pitch, and this seems to have pervaded the bandages, the flesh, and the bones.

A great variety of experiments were made on this pitchy matter. The result of them all tended to prove that it had not the least resemblance to *asphaltum*, but was certainly a vegetable resinous substance.

From this examination, and the relation of various authors, it appears that the Egyptians used different materials for this purpose; and though Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus have given us reason to expect to find the bodies in a much more perfect state than we ever do meet with them; yet, on the other hand, it

is evident from the foot of this mummy, and from the accounts which Monf. Renelle^a and Count Caylus^b have given us, that all the fleshy parts were not always previously destroyed^c.

This account has a wonderful conformity with the description of the mummy examined by Gryfius, at Wratislaw, near a century before. It appears, that under the upper painted cover of plaister or clay from the chin to the bottom of the belly was a number of bandages of brown unwhitened linen, bound on with hempen cords, which being cut, the bandages were unwashed, and found to consist of different lengths of from two to three cubits, and in breadth four or five fingers. These were held together, and sometimes crost by others thinner scarce a finger's breadth. Both seemed to be rather torn according to the grain of the cloth than cut. The texture was not inferior to our modern weaving, and the thread what we call the *middle* fort. The warp resisted when attempted to be torn; but the woof yielded. After unrolling twenty folds, which lay one on another, an intire piece of linen presented itself reaching from the neck to the feet. Under this were thin bandages scarce one third of an inch broad crost over each other, swathing the arms and feet tight; but the breast and back more loosely. On removing these all the lower part of the belly fell to a brownish dust. The false ribs and lower vertebræ were loose: the upper part of the leg bones bare, but the thorax, belly to the navel, thighs, and legs, remained firm: the feet, though separated from the ancles, retained the muscles and nails. Under the middle of the right foot was found a *flower* of the lotus, betony, or leek, the broad leaves at the bottom, and the narrower at the point, closed like those of an hop flower or artichoke. No such thing occurred under the left foot; but under each side, at the loins, was a large stout palm leaf, which, except some alterations in colour, appeared as fresh as if gathered the day before; and near the groin lay a little stick or cane, longer than a man's little finger^d. The arms were doubled up at the elbow, so that each hand could touch the chin. The left hand was clencht, the right open. The head was covered with a stuff of thicker grain, and in all respects different. This being cut open, discovered the face covered with a new coat of bitumen like glazing or white of eggs. The hair was inclosed in a net of finer linen, and was black, curled, greasy, without ornament, difficult to be pulled up, and not exceeding half a finger's length. The forehead rather low: there were traces of the eyelids and eyelashes: the eyes prominent, the nose depressed, the nostrils stoppt with cotton and the same kind of ointment as the thorax and belly; the mouth very wide, the lips having been removed, and the cavity filled with sweet scented dust; the teeth, thirty-two in number, complete, white, and perfectly beautiful; the ears not at all wasted, nor the cheeks fallen, but the whole face kept firm by a mixture of pitch and asphaltus^e. The body, without the wrappers, weighed ten pounds and a half, and measured three feet eight inches, the arms to the wrist one foot two inches and a half, and to the extremity of the fingers one foot eight inches and a half. It was supposed the body of a young woman^f.

^a Mem. of the Royal Academy of Sciences for 1750.

^b Hist. de l'Acad. des Inf. & Belles Lettres, vol. XXIII. p. 120, &c.

^c Phil. Trans. vol. LIV. p. 3—14.

^d So Prosper Alpinus describes branches of rosenary found in the chest of a mummy. *Rerum Ægyptiacarum*, &c. cum nota Weidingeri, 1735, p. 36.

^e *Pisaspaltho solidato*.

^f Mémoires Wratislavienses. Wratislaw, 1662, 12°. p. 27—51.

From the foregoing accounts of the Egyptian mummy I extract in this place merely what relates to the *Envelope*; leaving the discussion of the composition of the embalming matter as foreign to my present purpose.

Statius says, the corpse of Alexander the Great was done up in *honey*¹. So were Agesipolis² and Agesilaus³, kings of Sparta; but Plutarch⁴ says, the latter, for want of honey, was done up in *wax*. The Ptolomies, and Antony and Cleopatra were all embalmed⁵.

Isaac Casaubon, in some MS collections cited by Hearne⁶, mentions the discovery of a female body in the Via Latina at Rome in the 16th century, lying embalmed in a marble chest, the shape and colour so pliant and well preserved that it seemed but lately buried. The flesh pitted at the touch, and if pulled up resumed its place. The joints were flexible, and there was no other smell but that of the ingredients used to embalm it. The hair was on the head, and nothing but the brain and intrails wanting. After it had been viewed by a great resort of people in the capitol, and was on the point of ministering an occasion of superstition, the Pope (Innocent VIII.) ordered it to be taken away, and no one knew where it was deposited.

Mr. Valtravers informed the Society of Antiquaries, 1772, that in some tombs opened in Saxony a few years before the corpses were found enveloped in a brown clay, in which their skin and bones were preserved very fresh, though buried in the time of the antient Saxons, who could not be subdued by the Romans. That clay formed into a paste round the body, near half an inch thick, is now full of iron ore, and hard as stone, of which he brought over and exhibited a specimen.

Human skeletons deposited in red clay and covered over with thin slabs of stone, on which were heaped larger stones and clay, have been found in the Roman station at Wroxeter, co. Salop.

Lydgate, with the chymical ideas of his time, anachronically describes Hector's body embalmed and exhibited to view, in a chapel in the high church at Troy, with the resemblance of real life, by means of a precious liquor circulating through every part in golden tubes, artificially disposed, and operating on the principles of vegetation. Before the body were four inextinguishable lamps in golden sockets⁷.

Thomas Grey marquis of Dorset, who died 17 Henry VII. was buried in the middle of the chancel at Aftley, e. Warwick, where, on the repair of that church, about 1607, his body was found embalmed and wrapt in cerecloth many double, in a large and long coffin of wood, which, at the desire of some, and earnest motion of others, being burst open, was, at the cutting open of the cerecloth, viewed perfect and sound, nothing corrupted, the flesh of the body nothing perished or hardened, but in colour, proportion, and softness, like any ordinary corpse newly interred; his body large of length, six feet wanting four inches; his hair yellow, his face broad, which might seem to be thus preserved by the strong embalming thereof. Mr. Burton, the Leicestershire Antiquary, was present, and saw this⁸.

¹ Dne & ad Armatios manes ubi belliger orbis

Conditor Hyblae perulius uellare durat.

Sylv. III. 22.

² Xenophon, Hist. Græc. I. IV.

³ Diad. Sic. L. XV.

⁴ In Agellao.

⁵ Dio. LI.

⁶ Spiritalegium ad Gul. Neubrig. p. 796.

⁷ Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, II. 98.

⁸ Burton's Leicestershire, p. 51. Dugd. Warw. p. 115.

Gertrude marchioness of Exeter, who died 1558, was found wrapt in cerecloth, in her tomb at Wimborne minster, when it was opened some years since out of curiosity, and repaired¹.

Sir Lewys Clifford, in the beginning of the 15th century, ordered by his will, "yt on his stinking careyne benether laid clothe of golde ne of sylke; but "a blake cloth; &c a taper at his head &c another at his feet; ne ston ne other "thing, wherby eny man may witt where my stinking carene leyyeth²."

Dr. Bathurst Dean of Wells, and President of Trinity College, Oxford, who died 1704, directed "his mouth and nostrils to be finely clofed up with a plaister of diachylon, and his whole head wrapt in cerecloth, and no cover to his "coffin, but a black pall of woollen stuff, loofely nailed on, and hanging loose "down³."

Hearne says, it was the custom so late as Elizabeth's time to bury only in winding-sheets in the ground⁴.

That it was customary to bury royal personages with crowns on appears from the drawings of the funeral of the Offas, in a MS of Matthew Paris, Cotton Library, Nero, D. 1. engraved by Mr. Strutt, I. pl. 45 and 66. or it may be only put to denote a royal funeral.

In digging the foundations of a new house for the governor of the isle of Rê, 1731, was found a crown of copper set with precious stones, and ornamented with four fleurs de lis, and four triangles alternately. Part of the skull adhered to the rim of the crown. It was supposed to have belonged to Eudes duke of Aquitaine, who founded a monastery here, and dying A. D. 735, was there buried with his wife Valtrude. Chilperic II. and Rainfroi his mair de palais sent this duke a crown among other presents, to engage him to join them against Charles Martel⁵.

The famous horn of Orlando, or Roland, was buried with him, at his feet, as was his sword at his head. *Mucronem ipsius ad caput & tubam eburneam ad pedes*, says his Romance. The figure of a horn at the right side of the head of one of the statues over the great West door of the church of the royal abbey of St. Magdalen at Chateaudun was commonly supposed to point out this hero, though Monf. Lancelot, who shewed drawings of the several statues there to the Academy of Inscriptions, 1733⁶, inclines to refer it to Charlemagne, expressive of his passion for hunting. It may be doubted if this be not too far fetched, especially in this place, where the different statues certainly have attributes more expressive. The horn on funeral monuments generally points out the office of forester, as the stone figure in Glenton churchyard, c. Northampton, and the brass figure in Baldock fourth aisle.

The discovery in May, 1653, of the remains of Childeric king of the Franks, who died A. D. 481, and was buried at Tournay, affords so many interesting particulars in the history of ancient inhumation, that I cannot forbear giving an abstract of the copious book published on the subject by Dr. Chiflet first physician to the archduke Leopold, who, as soon as he was informed of the discovery, directed him to draw up an account of it. Some workmen digging to the depth of seven or eight feet to the solid rock, to rebuild certain ruinous houses adjoining to the churchyard of St. Brice's church at Tournay, threw out a gold fibula, and a rotten leathern bag⁷, probably fastened to the

¹ Hutchins' Dorset, II. 92.

² Burn's Westmorland.

³ His Life, by Warton, p. 193.

⁴ Spicilegium ad Gul. Neubrig, p. 796.

⁵ See Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, vol. V. p. 276, 12mo.

⁶ Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, V. 285.

⁷ Nidus ex aluta putri.

king's belt, containing near an hundred gold medals of the emperors Theodosius, Valentinian, Marcian, Leo, Zeno, Julianus Nepos, Basiliscus, and his son Marcus, and Theodorus; near 200 silver Roman coins, too much defaced to be made out, and therefore thrown away; many pieces of iron rusted by the moisture of the ground; two human skulls, one larger than the other, and the bones of a human skeleton lying at its length. In the space of five feet they discovered a variety of other articles; a sword of two feet and a half long, of such well tempered steel that at the first touch it fell all to pieces; its hilt, grasp, and the gold plate of its scabbard; the point of the belt gold, studded with jewels; a stylus, an ox's head, which had served as an ornament to his horse's bridle (not, as Chiflet hastily conjectured, as an object of worship¹, and made two calves heads on the hilt of the sword for the same reason²); above three hundred figures of bees, out of a great number carried away in the rubbish, one needle, several fibulae, hooks of different sizes, nails, studs, threads, bullæ; all of gold, set with a number of carbuncles³; and as if intended to ascertain the whole, the king's gold seal, with his bust in flowing hair and breast plate, and holding a spear in his right hand, and circumscribed CHILDIRICI RUGIS; and another circular ring of solid gold, which Chiflet supposed his wedding ring. They also found his horse's skull, part of his shoe, and some gold studs of his belt, part of a rusty lance, and a battle ax of the kind known by the name of *Francisca*⁴, and some gold threads as of his garment.

Dr. Chiflet conceives, that Childeric was buried in a wooden coffin bound round with iron, pieces of which were found adhering so close to the wood that it was difficult to separate them⁵, and that a barrow was thrown up over him. Thus, says an old genealogy at Brussels cited by him, the four earlier kings of the Franks, Pharamond, Clodion, Merovæus, and Childeric, died pagans, and were buried after the fashion of the barbarians. So Tacitus, speaking of Poppæa, says, her corpse was not burnt after the Roman fashion, but opened⁶ and embalmed, after the manner of foreign princes⁷; and laid in the tomb of the Julian family. It was the opinion of Wendelin, one of the canons of Tournay, that Childeric's tomb was 150 feet to the north on the left hand of the Roman road leading from that city to the river Scheld, the area between it and the road being now occupied by the parish church and churchyard of St. Brice⁸.

The Roman laws seem to have discountenanced the depositing of ornaments with the dead: "*Si quid ad corpus custodiendum vel etiam commendandum factum sit, vel si quid in marmor vel vestem collocandum, hoc funeris est. Non autem oportet ornamenta cum corporibus condi, nec quid aliud hujusmodi quod homines simplicioris faciunt,*" says Ulpian⁹. But Servius says, "*In antiquis disciplinis relatum est quæ quisque ornamenta consecutus esset ut ea mortuum eum condecorarent*"¹⁰.

The fathers condemn in the strongest terms the wrapping up the dead in garments of silk and gold¹¹.

But to come nearer the time of Childeric. Chilperic buried his brother Sigebert king of Austrasia in the village of Lambros *vestitum*, as Gregory of Tours calls it¹²; or, as the *Gesta regum Francorum* express it¹³, *vestitum vestibus*

¹ P. 142.

² P. 202.

³ *Pyropi*.

⁴ *Idor. Orig. xviii. 6.* Montfaucon says it was so eaten with rust that it fell to pieces.

⁵ *Anst. Child. p. 80, 81.* In like manner our Edward the Confessor is now lodged in a wood coffin iron-bound.

⁶ *Idor. Orig. xviii. 6.*

⁷ *Regum veterum consuetudine. Ann. xvi. c. 6.*

⁸ *Anst. Child. p. 80.*

⁹ *L. Modica 40 § mæster ff. de auro & argento legato, l. 14. ff. de religione & sumptib. funer.*

¹⁰ In *Acneid. xl. 194.*

¹¹ *Jerom. Lib. 2. Epistol. Ambros. l. de Nabuthe. Laſant. Inſt. Div. II. c. 4.*

¹² *Hist. IV. c. 46.*

¹³ *C. 32.*

ornatis. Chilperic himself was buried in his best clothes¹; his son Theodebert *dignis vestibus indutus*²; and Charlemagne in his imperial robes, and his face covered *sudamine* under his diadem³. From being *burnt* with them among the Romans⁴, they came to be *buried* with them.

The custom of burying treasure with princes is more early than the time of Childeric⁵. If we believe Josephus⁶, Solomon filled the sepulchre of his father David with treasure, of which it was plundered by Hyrcanus. Strabo says the Albanians buried much treasure with them in their coffins⁷. With such an hope the emperor Alexius Angelus is said to have broken open the tombs of his predecessors, and particularly of Constantine the Great, but found himself disappointed⁸, as Herodotus tell us happened to Darius at the tomb of Nitocris⁹. Curtius¹⁰ relates, that the Persians believed the tomb of Cyrus to be full of gold and silver; but that when Alexander the Great opened it he found in it only his shield, rotten, two Scythian bows, and a scymeter. Bagoas the eunuch attending told him he had not seen the tomb opened before, but that his late master Darius assured him 3000 talents were laid up in it with the body. Most likely Darius had made free with the treasure for the necessary defence of his kingdom, or other purposes. That gold and silver was buried with the Eastern princes is confirmed by the example of the Tartars their successors, in their monuments opened in the vast deserts¹¹, and Tavernier relates the fame of the kings of Tonquin. The Tartar corpses are not unfrequently found shrouded in sheets or thin plates of gold. Alexander paid Cyrus's coffin (*folium*) the compliment of covering it with a gold crown and his own robe.

Alaric king of the Goths was buried with a quantity of treasure, in the bed of the river Buentia, near Cosenza, which was laid bare for that purpose, and then the river turned back again into its channel, and all the labourers concerned put to death¹²; and Attila was interred in three coffins, one of gold, the second of silver, and the other of iron, with a variety of weapons taken from his enemies, trappings set with jewels, and other insignia of state¹³.

Narves' leaden coffin was robbed by the emperor Tiberius II. of vast quantities of treasure¹⁴. One of Charlemagne's biographers gives the like description of his sepulchre at Aix-la-chapelle¹⁵.

The numerous golden figures on which Chiflet¹⁶ spends so much time to prove that they were neither *toads*, nor *crescents*, nor *crowns*, nor *lilies*, nor the flower called *iris*, nor the *plant* usually put into the hand of Hope on coins, nor *spear beads*; and at last determines them to be *bees*, from whence the *fleur de lis* in the arms of France were afterwards derived, Montfaucon¹⁷ determines at once to have been nothing more than ornaments of the horse-furniture. What the Doctor¹⁸ calls his *stylus*, the Father pronounces a *fibula*, which being adorned on one side with crosses, may have been among some Christian spoils. Chiflet having found a stylus, proceeds to find the gold setting of an ivory table book¹⁹.

¹ *Vestimentis melioribus indutus*. Greg. Tur. VI. c. 46. *Vestitus cum vestimentis regalibus*. Gesta reg. Franc. c. 35.

² Greg. Tur. IV. c. 45.

³ Monach. Engolism. vit. Caroli Magni, c. 14.

⁴ Stat. V. 315.

⁵ Phaedrus alludes to it as a common practice. *Humana effodiens ossa thesaurum cavis invenit*. Fab. I. 27.

⁶ De Bell. Jud. I. 2. 711.

⁷ XII. 349.

⁸ Erasim. Francisc. Schaub. p. 2. p. 296.

⁹ I. c. 187.

¹⁰ X. 5.

¹¹ Jornandes.

¹² Archaeol. II. p. 222—226. See also Quenstedt de sepult. vet. p. 361, &c.

¹³ Et diversis generis insignia quibus colitur *aulicum decus*. Ib. Among instances of stone coffins in the bed of rivers Mr. Grundy the Surveyor clearing the bed of the river Glen in Lincolnshire, found one some feet under the bed containing a human skull and shoulder blade. (Spalding Society Minutes). See also the coffin found at Temple Mills in Hockney marsh, 1785. Gent. Mag. vol. LIII. p. 900.

¹⁴ Paul. Diacon. par. II. p. 64. Fredgarus Scholastic. c. 80.

¹⁵ Monachus Engolismensis S. Eparchii vit. Car. Magni, c. 24.

¹⁶ P. 164—181.

¹⁷ Mon. de la Monarchie Franc. I. p. 12.

¹⁸ P. 181—193.

¹⁹ P. 194—195.

Weapons were buried with the dead from the remotest antiquity. Where cremation obtained they were first thrown into the funeral pile¹. The Carians were known by the kind of weapons buried with them², which were a small shield and a creft to their helmets³.

Servius⁴ fays, it was an Indian custom to bury the horses with their masters; and among the Gerri, a Scythian people, the grooms and other servants were added⁵. The same custom obtained among the Tartars⁶. The scull, and part of the iron shoe of Charlemagne's horse were found, which last circumstance proves the antiquity of that mode of guarding the feet of that useful animal if we had not remoter evidence in the classical authors⁷; but this is supposed the earliest instance of *nailing on* the shoe⁸. The next instance in France is in 832, when the cavalry of Louis le Debonnaire could not be shod on account of the frost that followed a heavy rain⁹. In England they seem to have begun soon after the Conquest. William the Conqueror gave to Simon St. Liz, a noble Norman, the town of Northampton, and the whole hundred of Fawley then valued at £. 40. *per ann* to provide shoes for his horses¹⁰. Henry de Averyng held the manor of Morton, c. Essex, of the king, in capite, by service of a man, and an horse worth 10 s. and four horseshoes¹¹, &c. for the Welsh expedition¹². Henry de Ferrars, who came over with the Conqueror, took his name and arms (six horseshoes) from being some horse-officer¹³. At Battleflats, six miles East from York, the scene of the battle between Harold and the Norwegian invaders, A. D. 1066, are frequently found in plowing a very small sort of horseshoes, which could only fit an ass, or the least breed of Northern horses¹⁴. The arms of Gloucester in a seal of Edward III's time still used for recognizances are on each side of the king's head an horseshoe, near it a horse-nail, three above and three below it, two and one; and in Crypt school gate, built 1529, is the city sword sided by an horseshoe, and three horse nails erect in base, alluding to the iron manufacturers here at the Conquest¹⁵; and a record of Clent, c. Worcester, 37 Edward III. has "*Solvit receptori d'ni per tallia vi l. iii s. in ferratura equi senescalli*"¹⁶. A silver horse-shoe was found in Camalet castle, c. Somerset, said to have been a favourite residence of king Arthur, and afterwards belonging to the Hungerfords¹⁷.

The rich decorations of horse-furniture are described by Virgil¹⁸, Ovid¹⁹, that of the emperor Julian by Ammianus Marcellinus²⁰, that of the emperor Honorius by Claudian²¹, and that of prince Sigismere, by Sidonius Apollinaris²². To this furniture, or to Childeric's garments, belong most of the fibulæ, bosses, studs, and other ornaments, which were of solid pure gold, and perhaps the gold threads might be part of the apparel both of the horse and his rider. The needle might be part of a fibula.

¹ Virg. *Æn.* Xf. 194, 195. Stat. Theb. V. 314. Elian. Var. Hist. VII. c. 8.

² Thucyd. I. c. 8.

³ *Acrochroa parva c. capite*. Schol. in loc.

⁴ l. i. n. V.

⁵ Herod. i. IV. c. 71. See also Chrysostom Homil. 3. ad pop. Antioch.

⁶ *Ac. 10. l. II. 12. 23.*

⁷ See Rogers and Pegge, in *Archæol.* III. 35—52.

⁸ *Ib.* p. 38.

⁹ Daniel Hist. de France, l. p. 166.

¹⁰ Dugdale, Bar. L. 58. ex Chron. Bromtoni, p. 974. 975. Blount's Tenures, p. 502.

¹¹ *Forrai equorum.*

¹² *Blount's Tenures*, p. 16. Morant's Essex, I. 144. ex plac. cor. 13. E. I.

¹³ Pegge in *Archæol.* III. 51.

¹⁴ Drake's *Eboracum*, p. 82.

¹⁵ Rudder, Hist. of Gloucestersh. p. 134.

¹⁶ Comput. Rot. 37 Edw. III. Nash's Worcestersth. in Clent. Append. p. xiii.

¹⁷ Let. ind. lt. II. 47.

¹⁸ *Æn.* vi. 277.

¹⁹ *IV. Conf. Honorii*, 548—552.

²⁰ *Metam.* vi. 222, 223.

²¹ *XXIII.* c. 3.

²² *Epigram.* and in *Paneg.* de 4to ejus consul, lib. IV. ep. 20.

It is not so easy to determine the use of a little globe of crystal an inch and an half in diameter. Montfaucon parallels it with twenty similar ones found with a gold ring, an hair pin, an ivory comb, and some little gold threads in an urn at Rome at the close of the 16th century; but he does not assign the use of them. From the company they were in I should suppose them female ornaments, like the beads found in our barrows. Mr. Pennant¹ imagines the globe in question had a magical use.

Besides the coins of the lower empire there were found one consular denarius, and the following silver coins of the upper empire: 1 Nero. 2 Trajan. 5 Hadrian. 9 Antoninus Pius. 3 Faustina. 7 Antoninus Philosophus. 3 Faustina jun. 6 Aurelius Verus. 2 Commodus. 1 Julia Severi. 1 Caracalla. 1 Constantine jun. Four of them had a hole in each, as if to hang them by, as amulets or ornaments², like the rude figures on gems engraved by Chiflet, p. 267. to illustrate his idea of these perforated coins; but by Montfaucon pleasantly mistaken, as if found in Childeric's tomb.

Part of these curiosities are now in the king of France's library³. They were given to the archduke Leopold, and after his death John Philip Schonborn obtained them of the Emperor, and having great obligations to Louis XIV. presented them to him by Monf. Du Fresne, 1665. They were first lodged in the cabinet of medals at the Louvre, and afterwards in the king's library.

The tomb of Childeric II. was accidentally discovered 1646, in the abbey of St. Germain des Prez, in a repair of the church. It consisted of two great stone coffins, whose stone lid being removed, discovered the bodies of the King and Queen Blicheldis, habited in their royal robes, not totally decayed, with a little stone coffin containing the young prince Dagobert their son, who was murdered with them by Bodilon and his adherents, whom the king had ordered to be beaten. None of the religious being present, it was suspected that the workmen secreted some of the spoils of these tombs. All that could be got out of them was part of the king's diadem woven with gold. But ten years after, on removing these tombs, with those of some other kings in the same church, they found in the king's tomb the remains of his sword, his belt, and a clasp or buckle of fine gold, weighing about eight ounces, exactly like that of Childeric I. with pieces of a staff, supposed his royal sceptre, a glass vessel filled with perfume which retained some smell, and several square pieces of silver with the figure of an amphibæna, which was probably this prince's device. In the Queen's coffin were found only her bones, with her robes, which fell to dust on opening it. After having cleaned the bottom of the King's coffin they discovered his name and title written in uncial letters.

CHILDR REX.

Which left no doubt that it belonged to Childeric II. son of Clovis II. and St. Bathildis, whose stone coffin is still to be seen at Chelles, whether she retired on the death of her husband⁴.

In the same abbey of St. Germain were found, 1643, in the cloister, two stone coffins, on one of which was inscribed in uncial Roman letters interlaced,

TEMPORE NVLLO VOLO HINC
TOLLANTVR OSSA HILPERICI

¹ Tour in Scott. 1776. p. 27.

² I have a bronze sword hilt studded with four coins of Trajan of the same metal.

³ Volley, Hist. de France, t. 51. Montfaucon's Description of the tombs of the French Kings. Mem. de l'Acad. des Ins. vol III. p. 411. 125.

⁴ Montfaucon, Mem. de l'Acad. des Ins. III. 414. 125.

And within, these words written with vermillion,

PRECOR EGO ILPERICVS NON
AVFERANTVR HINC OSSA MEA.

The feet of this Chilperic were turned to the East, and within the tomb was a little cross, with a crucifix of copper, and a little lamp of the same metal. The other tomb, which had no inscription, probably contained his wife. Monf. Valois conceived this to be the tomb of Chilperic I. husband of Fredegonde; but besides that this inscription does not give the party the title of king, nor was any mark of royalty found in the coffin, it is certain that king Chilperic I. was buried with his wife in the church which they had rebuilt, where their tombs, with their figures, were formerly to be seen near the altar of St. Germain¹.

It appears by this that the mode of burying the kings of France of the first race was very simple yet with dignity. All the magnificence was indeed within; for there was no want of precious clothes, gold, nor silver. And the concealing these from being plundered may have been the reason why they put no inscription on their tombs.

Guinever, queen of Arthur, was interred in a far more costly manner than her royal consort, if we may credit the relation of those who saw her tomb opened in the beginning of the 16th century, in the ruins of the monastery at Ambresbury. "There was a sepulchre found hewn out of a stone, and placed in the middle of a wall, by the destruction of which it was discovered. On its coverture it had in rude letters of massy gold R. G. A. C. 600. and was supposed to be the tomb of the famous Guinever, queen to king Arthur. The bones within this sepulchre were all firm, fair yellow coloured hair about the skull, and a piece of the *liver*, about the size of a walnut, very dry and hard. Therein were found several royal habiliments, as jewels, vails, scarves, and the like, retaining even *till then their proper colour*, all which were afterwards very choicely kept in the collection of the right honourable the earl of Hertford, and of the aforesaid gold divers rings were made and worn by his Lordship's principal officers²."

I confess myself strongly tempted to suspect, that this might have been the body of queen Eleanor mother of Edward I. who is known to have been buried in this monastery³. She died 1290, and the letters may have been misread for REGINA ALIONORA, &c. as on the tomb of her son's wife, her namesake. We have no authentic evidence that the monastery of Ambresbury subsisted before the close of the 10th century. Bishop Tanner⁴ ascribes its foundation to Alfrida or Ethelfrida queen of Edgar, A. D. 980. and Henry II. refounded it 1177. Guinever hardly survived her consort 50 years. The original inscription Mr. Jones says he could not procure, but inserted the relation on the credit of those persons of quality from whom he received it.

The body of Charlemagne was embalmed, and placed under a vault, sitting on a chair of gold, dressed in his imperial robes, and under them the hair cloth which he usually wore, having at his side a sword whose hilt and the furniture of the scabbard were of gold, and a pilgrim's purse which he used to wear when he went to Rome. He held in his hands the book of the Gospels written in letters of gold. His head was adorned with a gold chain in form of a diadem, in which was set a piece of the true cross, and his face was covered with a *sudarium*. His

¹ Montfaucon, Th. p. 418.

² Jones' Stonehenge restored, p. 17. folio. Mr. Ray, 1664, was shewn what was supposed her grave-stone. Itin. p. 302.

³ See p. 66. To what is there said let me add, that Bishop Tanner, Not. Mon. p. 589. cites Pat. 25 Henry III. "De movendo corpore Alienore confanguine regis a Bristol ad monasterium de Ambresbury," which must relate to some other lady of the name.

⁴ Not. Mon. p. 589.

scymeter and his shield, which were all of gold, and had been blest by Pope Leo III. were hung up before him. His tomb was then closed up, and even sealed, after it had been filled with much treasure and all sorts of perfumes, and a gilded arch was erected over it, with this inscription in Roman capitals recited by Eginhard his secretary :

SUB HOC CONDITORIO SITUM EST CORPUS
KAROLI MAGNI ATQUE ORTHODOXI
IMPERATORIS, QUI REGNUM FRANCO-
RUM NOBILITER AMPLIAVIT, ET PER
ANNOS XLVII FELICITER REXIT. DE-
CESSIT SEPTUAGENARIUS, ANNO AB IN-
CARNATIONE DOMINI
DCCCXIV, INDICTIONE VII,
V KAL. FEBRUARIAS.

This, says P. Montfaucon¹, is the first epitaph of the Kings of France.

In scouring some ditches in the fields round Jutrebog on the borders of Saxony and Lower Lusatia, in the summer of 1721, was found a large heavy steel sword, with a pommel of the size of a man's fist, and inscribed on one side,

DXM A5 ATINVS DIX RG5 FERVS DIX IERGNR.

And on the other,

IERC. VIINIVS C. S. DIM A5 ATINVS DXC. E.

The letters engraved deep, and filled up with silver, the R larger than the rest. Eckhard referred it to some general of the Emperor Henry II. who had caused the names of his fellow soldiers to be here inscribed, with other words as a charm, in some expedition against the Slavonians, then invading Germany, and that the sword falling into the enemy's hand might be buried with the conqueror as a trophy. He read it thus :

Domini Cbristi millesimo anno Atinus (tribunus) Domini Jesu Cbristi². R. Goferus (tribunus, some other officer) Domini Jesu Cbristi in exercitu Romani Caesaris Henrici.

And on the other side,

In exercitu Romani Caesaris Vicinus (an officer) Cbristianus Saxo D. Jesu millesimo anno Atinus duxit Cbristianor. exercitum³.

With the twenty skeletons discovered in the tomb or cell, thirty feet long and seven wide, formed of five large rude stones on the lordship of Cocherel between Evreux and Vernon, 1685, which should properly have been noticed under the article of stone coffins, were found several coloured stones and black flints, cut in oval shapes, pointed at both ends, or blunt at one, from three to four inches long, like arrow heads, and a grey flint five inches long, three broad at the sharp end, and one at the smaller end, shaped like a battle ax, and fixed on a piece of stag's horn ; three or four baked earthen pots filled with charcoal ashes, some fragments of burnt bones, and a circular mass of free stone, whereon three flat stones were placed. It was the opinion of the French anti-

¹ Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscri. III. 423—425.

² Or perhaps DVX.

³ Eckhard duo perantiqua monumenta ex agro Jutrebocensi eruta, &c. Vitemburgæ, 1734. 4°.

quaries of that time that these were the skeletons of the prisoners of some barbarous invaders taken by the Gauls, and sacrificed to the manes of their own countrymen, whom they burnt, and interred in the same tomb¹. But as two of these skeletons were separated from the rest by a large stone laid over them, why might not the whole have been the burial place of a considerable family, of which these two skeletons were the chiefs, and the ashes have belonged to servants or inferior persons of the same household.

In 1732, in the borders of *Cinna*, a village scarce a quarter of a mile from Jutrebog, were found two sepulchres, containing 12 urns and ashes and a silver coin, having on one side the figure of the Slavonian Deity *Prono* or *Prove*, with a sword and shield, and on the reverse a spear head between two heater shields². This coin and others frequently found in graves are supposed to have a reference to the fare for the passage over the Styx, or to the wants of the deceased in the other world³. The urns, of which the middlemost of nine in one grave was largest, might contain the ashes of a family, or of a great man and his dependants, as in Anhalt, 1719, was found a single urn inclosed in stones, and surrounded by many others on the outside of the inclosure⁴.

Mr. Seyffert⁵ has collected a variety of instances both of single pieces of money and of treasures being buried with the dead of various nations and ages. Bartholinus⁶ had a silver coin found in a human skull near Neustadt, and Tenzelius⁷ was shewn in another skull two *nummi bracteati* inscribed L A N D. In an old burying ground at Dresden were dug up three pieces of coin of later ages, in the mouths of as many corpses⁸. Whether any of these were fees for the Stygian ferry, the *δανάκη* and *γυλός* of the Greeks, the *nautilus* and *portorium* of the Romans, imitated by the superstition of later ages; or, as Lambecius⁹, with greater probability, conjectured, memoranda of the time of the party's decease, and in what reign he died, as in regard to two coins of the Antonines so found, or two of Caracalla, in 1662, in an old tomb at Vienna, and others in that of a Roman soldier at Strasburg, 1663¹⁰, is a question foreign to my purpose.

A copper ring was found round the arm of a human skeleton at Druton, near Cave, in the East Riding of Yorkshire. It was quite black and bright, and not in the least corroded, except a little in the inside where it touched the arm. We have here engraved it from a drawing by Mr. Thomas Beckwith of York, F. S. A. 1779.



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¹ See Pild. Trans. N. 187, and abbe Cocherel's "Account of these skeletons," translated from the French, and printed 1760.

² Eckhard ubi supra, p. 26.

³ See Keyfler, Ant. q. Septentr. § 21. c. 2. p. 114.

⁴ Eckhard, p. 35.

⁵ De nummis in ore defunctorum repertis. Dissert. 1717, 12.

⁶ L. b. II. q. 46.

⁷ Collaq. 1690, p. 919.

⁸ Giese's F. Patente 3. Mogen. 1699.

⁹ De Bibliotheca Col. P. I. p. 89.

¹⁰ Lambecius, Ann. Argentorat. p. 21.





Patens & Chalice

"Mr. Le Bœuf dit qu'ayant fait fouiller il y a quelques années dans un ancien cimetière d'Auxerre il y découvrit un chevalier sur la poitrine duquel étoient encor les restes du fil d'archal de la cage de son oiseau de proie & les os de cet oiseau!"

An officer of the abbey of St. Alban's, whom hard study had driven beside himself, was interred in their cell at Binham in Norfolk, in the fetters wherewith he had been confined¹.

The paten and chalice were buried with ecclesiastical persons of common rank, as well as with prelates and presidents of religious societies. Patens and chalices of tin, latten, or pewter, must be very antient; for in the council of London, A. D. 475, we find a strict injunction to administer the sacrament only in gold and silver². It is however probable the poverty of country parish churches made it necessary to dispense with this. In Landbeach chancel was found, 1711, within less than a foot under the surface, under a white stone, a stone coffin, without any lid to it, the stone covering only the upper part, with a pewter chalice, the bowl and foot very thin, but the shaft thick and heavy. In the coffin was also a piece of stone or cement, very heavy, which Mr. Cory, then rector, supposed a relique, brought by the party interred from some pilgrimage. He fancied he could see marks of the tonsure on a piece of the skull³.

In Little Ilford church-yard at the North door of the church was found, 1724, two feet under ground, a stone coffin lid with a plain cross, and six feet below it a body: on the left side of the scull a leaden (pewter) cup and cover, or rather chalice and paten, the cup 4 inches diameter, the cover or paten 4½⁴.

In Mr. Sturdy's garden at St. Nicholas at Carlisle, supposed the site of St. Nicholas' hospital, were found, 1765, a pewter chalice and paten, in a stone coffin, six feet four inches long, fifteen inches deep, five feet eight inches within, and one foot and a half broad at the shoulders, covered with three flag stones, and the middlemost carved with a quatrefoil in a circle⁵, but no inscription: within was a skeleton. Near the same place was dug up another stone which covered a skeleton, and having a cross in relief, and at its sides carved a chalice and a square paten. See the plate, fig. 1 and 2.

In digging the vault for the last earl of Bristol of the Digby family at Sherborne were found four stone coffins covered with flat stones, in which the bodies appeared entire, but soon mouldered away when exposed to the air. Two of the coffins, which contained the bones of the four bodies, were re-interred under the vault. A silver chalice was in one of them, which had a niche designed to receive it. There was also a piece of money and a little cup in each of them. The two first coffins still remain in the chapel where Horsey's monument is. The stones that covered them were used for the pavement. It is probable that some of the abbots or monks of this abbey were interred in them⁶.

In making a vault in the middle aisle of Lichfield cathedral, about fourteen inches below the pavement was discovered a stone coffin covered with a large stone. Within the coffin were some few human bones, the upper leathers of a pair of shoes, a great many fragments of plain gold lace about an inch broad, and a pewter chalice, with its cover, but much decayed, particularly the cover, which is extremely brittle, and almost reduced to a calx. There was also found

¹ Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, XXVII. p. 154. 4to.

² Mat. Paris, vii. abbat. S. Albani, p. 118.

³ "Precipimus ne consecratur eucharistia nisi in calice aureo vel argenteo, & ne flautum calicem aliquis episcopus a modo benedictat interdicimus." Spelm. Concil. Brit. cited by Mr. Cory in Blomfield's MS. Coll. for Cambridgehire, pen. me. I cannot find this reference in Spelman or Wilkins: but the Saxon canons promulgated in the reign of Edgar ordain that every chalice used for the eucharist shall be of metal (zegenen) and not of wood (wreowenun) (Spelm. Conc. p. 453. Wilkins, I. 227.) and the council of Calcuth in the clois of the 8th century forbids the use of horn (cornu bovium) for chalices or patens. Ib. 295. Ib. I. 148.

⁴ Blomfield, MS. Collections for Cambridgehire, pen. me. The canons now in force direct, that the wine shall be brought to the Communion table in a clean and sweet standing pot or stoop of pewter, if not of purer metal.

⁵ Stukeley. Lethieullier, in A. S. Min.

⁶ Probably the head of a cross, as on the coffin-lid under-mentioned.

⁷ Hutchins's Dorset, II. 381.

a capital Roman W cut out of the gilded leather'. Mr. Green possesses another nearly similar, found also in the same church. See the plate, fig. 10. At Peterborough they shew one of latén taken out of an abbot's grave, of the same form with that at Carlisle beforementioned, but the shaft longer, and more slender: fig. 7.

A stone coffin containing a skeleton intire, and near the head a pewter chalice, the metal almost destroyed, was found in digging a grave in Dis church for Mr. Taylor, 1773. About six feet south from this coffin and at the depth of about five feet they discovered two large urns of red earth, one holding fifteen pints, the other fourteen, containing only fetid earth'.

A chalice was found in the North transept of the abbey church of Bath, in a stone coffin, wherein were also leather soles of shoes, and what the sexton called short tobacco pipes.

The chalice and paten commonly went together, though the latter is sometimes described as the cover of the former, and in some graves is missing, being more liable to decay. In the coffins found in Lincoln minster, described p. lii. liii. the patens and chalices lay over the right shoulder or under the right arm. On brasses where the chalice surmounted by the wafer appears as a sacerdotal badge, the paten is presumed of course, or where the wafer rises out of the chalice the paten is implied as laid on its top. Both vessels, when found in graves, or with stone or brass figures, or with crosses, are most frequently of the simplest form: but on brasses we meet with a greater variety of chalices. In the 16th century they departed from the simple form, as in the hands of a priest, in St. Margaret's church, Rochester, 1540. and under the inscription of a rector of Sibert, in Walsingham church, Norfolk. See the plate, fig. 11. and 15. A priest in Effington church, Herts, holds a chalice shaped like a teacup, surmounted by a wafer inscribed *ih̄s*. See the Plate, fig. 14. where fig. 4. is from the brass of a priest in Hereford cathedral, 1524. Fig. 6. is carved on the fonts in Southfleet and Shorne churches, Kent. Fig. 9. is the chalice now in use in Wigmore church, c. Hereford; the date 1571, on the flat of the cover³; the form approaches nearest to those now in general use⁴.

It is most probable that all these vessels so interred being rather emblematical of the profession of the party than his private property (for it is not to be supposed the parish could part with their communion-plate) were made of meaner metal, silvered over, as the rings interred with prelates were gilt⁵; and with this restriction we must understand Mr. Blomfield's account, that under a coffin-fashioned stone in Dis church, was found, 1705, an entire skeleton, with a *silver* chalice by its head⁶. So also that of the *silver* paten, thin and antient, with a fine radiated head of Christ found in the church at Kirkton in Holland⁷; and that found in the supposed tomb of William Rufus in the last century⁸. That found with Bishop Bitton at Exeter is called *base silver*, and it is remarkable that the consecrated wafer, covered with a linen cloth, was supposed to have been buried with his chalice and paten. Keyser⁹ quotes a variety of authorities, to shew that this was no unfrequent practice. Mr. Drake¹⁰ calls two

¹ Mr. Green, in *Gent. Mag.* 1772. vol. XLII. p. 168. where the chalice is engraved.

² *Gent. Mag.* 1773. vol. XLIII. p. 459.

³ That at St. Peter's Mancroft, Norwich, is dated 1569. *Blomf. II.* 623. Mr. Green describes a rude silver chalice at Welch Bickner, c. Monmouth, dated 1716. *Gent. Mag.* XXVI. p. 239. 1756. Mr. Pennant, one of pure gold, at Welshpool, Wales, II. 379. See archbishop Sandys's private chalice, which he used abroad, in Dr. Nash's *Worcester*, II. 124.

⁴ Three chalices O. on each a wafer A. occur in the windows of many churches in Norfolk, and on some brasses. Mr. Blomfield calls them the "emblems of the priesthood." I. 605. 648.

⁵ See Bishops Groshead and Bitton, in their respective articles. See also the chalice painted on the wall of the vault wherein Humphrey duke of Gloucester lies at St. Alban's, fig. 13. and another found in a stone coffin there, and preserved in the locker. Fig. 5.

⁶ *Blomf. Hist. of Norf.* I. 14. but in his MS. penes me, he describes it as a man buried in leather, in a priest's habit, with a small silver cup on his breast.

⁷ Spalding Society's Minutes.

⁸ See p. 15.

⁹ *Antiquit. Septentr.* p. 174.

¹⁰ *Libanum*, p. 472. See the plate fig. 8. 12. 16. Fig. 3. is from a shield in bishop Stainbury's chapel, in Hereford cathedral: the chalice is surmounted by the dragon which St. John is said to have exorcised out of it.

that

that were found in the graves of two archbishops of York, and are still shewn in the vestry of the cathedral, *silver* ones: and adds, there are with them some others of lead, taken out of several graves on laying the new pavement. Sir William Dugdale says, that in the barbarous ransacking of the monuments in Old St. Paul's during the civil war, he could never hear that they found more than a ring or two, with rubies, and a chalice of no great value¹.

Mr. Carter, late verger at Salisbury, told me, the body of bishop Woodville, who died 1483, had been found in a stone coffin, with a candlestick.

In digging a grave at Lamport was found a stone coffin, not very deep in the ground, and seeming fastened to the wall, containing mould and bones decayed. At the head was a candlestick, supposed pewter, quite rotten: at the feet a large iron key. It may be doubted, if this supposed candlestick was not mistaken for the shaft of a chalice, as in the instance beforementioned. Mr. Bridges thought it probable that this person was Accolyte and Ostiarius, whose office was to take care of the church doors and candlesticks (somewhat like our sexton) and he was invested by delivery of a key by the bishop or minister; who, to prevent alteration of the keys, took a drawing or description of them. The same ceremony seems to have been practiced with regard to other orders in the church, and may account for the chalices found in antient graves, which Whitby² and Bingham³ imagined contained the Eucharist in both kinds; but which seemed only intended to shew that the person there buried had been a bishop or priest, like the frequent portraits of religious holding chalices on their breasts or in their hands⁴. The chalice, though found in the coffins of bishops, never appears on their monuments.

In digging in the choir of the parish church of Chartenay sous Baigneux, near Sceaux they found ten or twelve tombs of plaster⁵, in each of which was at least one pot of grey earth with little red stripes, full of ashes and coals, in some three or four, and sometimes also a little phial. The like pots were found in other coffins in the old churchyard of the parish above half a quarter of a league from the town. A plate of copper, with a buckle, was also found on a bone of the arm, which it had eaten⁶, and coloured with rust. John Belet, who lived in the 12th Century, in a treatise on the ceremonial of the church, says, it was customary to put holy water, coals, and incense⁷ into tombs: the first to drive away the devil, the second to keep off the ill smell, and the third to shew that the ground was not to be applied to any other uses. This custom was falling into disuse about 1286. He adds, that in his time none but the bodies of saints were to be buried within the church, which Durand⁸ confines to the chancel. Such pots, to whatever uses they served, were found in the tomb of Philip, son of Lewis le Gros, who died 1161, and was buried in the church of Notre Dame, and in the tomb at Cocherell, already described, p. lxxv⁹.

In the lockers at St. Alban's abbey church they shew two pots so different from the generality of Roman urns, and found, as several more have since been within the nave of the church, among and near stone coffins, that I am tempted to suspect they were intended to receive the bowels of the parties deposited in the coffins. Of the two still shewn there one is broken, of a light pale red earth, unglazed, terminating in a point like one engraved by Count Caylus in his Recueil VI. pl. II. 1. which its inscription

ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΧΑΡΙ:
ΑΕΤΚΟΝΟΕΥΣ.

proves to have been sepulchral. The other glazed like our common Dutch

¹ St. Paul's, p. 48. ² Idolatry of Host Worship, speaking of chalices dug out of graves of ecclesiastics in the church of Sarum, of which he was precentor. ³ Antiq. XV. c. 4, § 20.

⁴ Hist. of Northamptonshire, II. 116, where is given a pleasant tradition of such a figure in Geddington church, that the party died as he was celebrating the Eucharist.

⁵ Platte,

⁶ curie.

⁷ aqua benedicta et pruinæ cum thuris.

⁸ Lib. I. c. 5. n. 12.

⁹ Hist. de l'Acad. des Insér. V. 281. 12^a.

ware, resembling a fruit pan, with a cover, and two ansæ, and a scalloped border round its upper rim. Both were found filled with dust or white mould, and such I am informed by Mr. Kent the present sexton are now not unfrequently found, but rarely taken up whole.

Such was probably the use of the numerous earthen vessels found in Fairwell and Yoxall church, before mentioned, p. xvi. to which should have been added twenty-two others, two feet under the floor, in Charborough church, Dorset, having under them the bones of eleven skeletons¹.

In the family vault of the Hungerfords at Farley castle, the bowels of the last branches of that family, who died so late as the middle of the last century, were enclosed in glazed earthen pots or jars covered with white leather, one of which being lately by accident broken to pieces discovered the heart, &c. preserved in liquor. There still remains in the vault a large cylindrical vase of lead, inclosing the like contents.

HEARTS and BOWELS were not unfrequently, if not generally, lodged separately from their bodies.

We have already seen that the bowels, tongue, heart, eyes, and brains, of Henry I. were buried together, separate from his body, in the church of St. Mary de Prê, at Rouen².

The body of Richard I. was buried at Fontevraud; his heart at Roan, in memory of the hearty love that city always bore him; and his bowels at Chaluz, at the siege of which he was killed, for a disgrace of their unthankfulness³.

King John's bowels were buried at Croxden abbey⁴.

Henry III's at Font Evraud⁵.

Queen Eleanor's at Lincoln, where she had a monument, the counterpart of that at Westminster; see p. 66.

The bowels of Ranulph de Blundville, sixth earl of Chester, were buried at Wallingford, where he died 1232, his heart at Dieulacres abbey, which he had founded, and his body, with those of the other earls, in Chester chapter-house⁶.

Those of Gilbert Marhall earl of Pembroke, 1241, before the high altar of St. Mary's church, Hertford⁷.

The mangled limbs of Simon de Montfort and Hugh Despencer were disposed of among different religious houses⁸.

The heart of William de Eftouteville archbishop of Rouen was buried in the choir of his cathedral, in the tomb of his predecessor St. Maurile, who died 1067⁹.

That of Stephen brother of Alan the Black and Red was buried at St. Mary's abbey, York, and his body in the monastery of Begar in Bretagne, 1104¹⁰.

The heart of Giffard bishop of Winchester, who died 1129, was found not the least decayed, in digging down a wall at the North West end of Waverley abbey, in a stone loculus, in two leaden dishes folded together, and filled with spirits, now in the hands of Mr. Martyr of Guilford.

The heart of Richard Poore bishop of Durham, 1237, was buried at Tarrant Monkon nunnery, which he founded¹¹.

The heart of one of the Ralph Scopphams, lords of the manor of Brianston, c. Dorset, in the reign of Henry III. and Edward I. was buried near the font there, as appears by the inscription: *Hic jacet cor Radulphi de*

*. . . . bam*¹².

That of Matilda de Hastings, first wife of Gilbert de Peche lord of Barnwell, was buried in *plumbeo locello*, before the high altar of that priory, near her children: the reason assigned for which is, that her body could not be brought from St. Mary Overey, where she died, to be buried there, as she desired, because of the then troubles, by which must be meant the barons wars¹³.

¹ Hutchins' Dorset, II. 185.

² Mat. Paris, 288.

³ See p. 51.

⁴ Hutchins, I. 88.

⁵ See p. 55 & 90.

⁶ See p. 43.

⁷ Hoveden, 276, n.

⁸ At Rennes; Rob. of Glouc. p. 446.

⁹ Dugdale, Baron. I. 45.

¹⁰ ex Chron. Tewksbury, MS. in Bib. Cotton.

¹¹ Moleon, Voyage littéraire de France, p. 274.

¹² Hill. of Barnwell abbey, p. 18.

¹³ ex Reg. f. 16.

That of Ethelmare bishop of Winchester, who died 1261, was found in a vase, and buried by the South wall of the choir there, with an inscription ¹.

Stephen Longespée's at Bradenstoke; but his body at Lacock; the heart of his brother Nicholas, bishop of Sarum, at Lacock, his bowels at Ramsbury, his body at Sarum ².

That of Peter de Aquablanc, bishop of Hereford, who died 1268, was buried at a monastery of his founding at Aigues belles in Savoy, of which place he seems to have been a native.

The heart of Richard earl of Cornwall was deposited under a sumptuous pyramid, in the Grey Friars, Oxford, 1272 ³.

His wife Isabel was buried at Beaulieu, her heart in a silver cup at Tewkesbury, and her bowels at Missenden abbey ⁴.

The heart of Henry son to Richard king of the Romans murdered 1296, was buried in the coffin with St. Edward, at Westminster ⁵.

Robert earl of Mellent's in salt and lead ⁶, "*Cor Roberti de Mellento adhuc in hospitalitate de Bracleye integrum in plumbo sale servatum habetur*" ⁷.

The heart of Robert Bruce king of Scotland, who died 1329, was conveyed to Jerusalem, and buried near the holy sepulchre, by James 8th lord of Douglas, whose family had the addition of a heart G. imperially crowned, in a field A ⁸. Our Edward I. directed his heart to be carried to the same place.

The heart of Charles V. king of France, [1380] benefactor to the cathedral of Rouen is buried in the choir there, under a tomb of black marble, whereon is his effigy holding his heart in his hand ⁹.

The heart of the Emperor Leopold, who died 1705, was put into a silver box, and with great ceremony deposited in the chapel of Loretto behind the high altar of the church of the barefooted Augustines at Vienna; his bowels, with like ceremony, in the cathedral church of St. Stephen, and his body in the church of the Capuchins in the same city ¹⁰.

Instances of this practice were very common in France, and it still obtains so universally abroad that the walls of the principal conventual churches are covered with sumptuous memorials of the several hearts sent from different countries and deposited under them.

Prince Arthur's heart was buried in the chancel of the church at Ludlow, but the inscription against the North wall has been washed over and forgotten. The heart was taken up in a silver box, and found to be double, or as they call it there *twinney*, and the box embezzled by the sexton, who was dismissed from his place. I persuaded myself I had discovered the memorial of this interment when I revisited this church, June 7, 1784, and observed against the wall of the North transept a heart carved in stone; but the inscription on it was for "Simon Williams of Merioneth, c. Caernarvon, 1620." There is another stone of the same form, but blank; and a third in the chapel of the South aisle, inscribed to "Robert Vaughan of Merionethshire, 1642."

The bowels of Walter Skirlaw bishop of Durham, who died 1405, were buried at Howden, in Yorkshire, where remains a slab, with a cross, and this inscription:

*Hic requiescunt viscera Walteri Skirlaw, quæ
sepeliuntur sub hoc saxo. An'o D'ni 1405.*

¹ Gale's Hist. of Winchester, p. 24.

² Sandford, p. 116.

³ Dugdale, Bar. I. 764.

⁴ Ther after in Jewiter Isabel is wife
Contesse of Gloucestre let at Berounstade yt life

Thured heo was at Beulu, & ir harte ibured is

At Teukelburi & ir gottes at Mellendene iwis.

⁵ Stowe's Lond. 1618. p. 866.

⁶ Fordun XIII. 20. Buchanan, VIII. c. 58.

⁷ Melcon. Voy. Liter. de Fr. p. 274.

Robert of Gloce. p. 528, 529.

⁸ Hist. of Northampton, I. 245.

⁹ Douglas Peerage, 183.

¹⁰ Sandford, p. 819.

See p. 42.

⁷ Knighton, col. 2346.

The heart and bowels of Miles Salley bishop of Landaff, who died 1516, were, by his will, buried before the high altar of the church at Mathern, where his episcopal palace was; his body in the Gawne's, or St. Mark's chapel, Bistol.

The heart of Thomas Skevington bishop of Bangor, who died 1534, was buried under a common stone, close by the North wall, within the rails of the altar of his cathedral, which he rebuilt 1532. It was inclosed in a small leaden coffin, made in form of a heart. When bishop Humphreys was at school at Bangor, 1665, it lay under a loose stone of the pavement: he had seen it often taken up, and had it in his hands. After he came to Oxford one of the school-boys opened the coffin, and the heart was very intire, but upon the letting in the air it began to turn to dust. Bishop Morgan hearing of this, ordered the little heart coffin to be immediately soldered up again, and buried deep, and the stones well fastened on it, and there it rests.

"About 1644 there was a heart dug up at the Friars Preachers, Oxon. It was closed in lead, as big as the bole of a man's hat; and when it was opened the heart looked as fresh as if it had been buried but a week. What else was in the lead Wood had not heard; but Mr. Smith of Brasen-nose College had the lead; some thought there was a crucifix in it. Mr. Wrench the gardener told Wood there was such a thing found at the Black Friars, with the date on it.

Mr. Masters repairing his chancel at Laudbeach, 1759, found in a cavity of a pillar a human heart, wrapt up in something fibrous, like hair or wool, perhaps spikenard, and inclosed between two dishes or bowls of fycamore, or some soft wood cemented together by linnen. The cavity of the pillar was covered by a square stone carved with a rose, behind which was another stone, four inches and a quarter by three inches three quarters, and one inch thick, cemented to the first with pitch. He supposed this heart belonged to some crusader, or founder, or to Chamberlayn, or Bray, lords of manors here. It is now in the British Museum.

In affixing a mural monument to a pillar of Kirkwall cathedral the workman struck his tool into a square hollow containing a quantity of human bones, tied up with ribbands, in all probability the relics of St. Magnus, part of whose bones are said to have been deposited here, and perhaps never disturbed before.

In St. Nicholas' chapel, in Westminster Abbey, is a pyramid, supporting a cup, in which is inclosed the heart of Anne Sophia Harley, an infant of a year old, who was daughter of the Hon. Christopher Harley, ambassador from the French King, and died 1600.

In a chapel on the side of Henry VIIIth's, in the same church, is another pyramid of black and white marble supporting a small urn, in which is contained the heart of Efne Stuart, son of the duke of Richmond and Lenox, who died in France at the age of ten years, 1660.

The heart of Arthur Capel earl of Essex, who was found murdered in the Tower 1683, is inclosed in a marble case in form of an heart, and kept in the family seat at Cashiobury, where I have seen it lying in the hall window.

Dr. Richard Rawlinson's heart was buried in the chapel of St. John's College, Oxford. His body in St. Giles's church there, having in his right-hand the head of Counsellor Laver, which he purchased of Mr. John Pearce, the nonjuring attorney, after it was blown down from Temple-bar.

Sir William Temple's heart was buried by his own desire in a silver box, under the dial in his garden at More Park, Surrey.

¹ Willis' Landaff, p. 61.

² Bp. Humphrey's Additions to Wood's *Athens Ox.* in Hearne's *Cairn*, II. 614.

³ Wood's *Memoranda*, at the end of Hearne's *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, p. 983. 2d. edit.

⁴ Lowe's MS.

Archbishop Sudbury's HEAD is shewn inclosed within a grate at St. Gregory's church, at Sudbury, where that prelate and his brother founded a college on the site of their father's house. The skin and the ears are dried on, and the jaw is fallen, as they pretend from the blows he received from the rebels in dying: Godwyn¹ however affirms, that both the body and head were carried to Canterbury, and there buried in the cathedral.

Margaret the beloved daughter of Sir Thomas More caused his head to be placed on her coffin, or in her hands within it, in the vault of the Roper family in St. Dunstan's church at Canterbury. She caused it to be taken from London-bridge, and kept it by her in a leaden-box for some time².

Tradition says, Carew Raleigh, youngest son of Sir Walter, kept his father's head to be buried with him. A skull was found in a small niche of the chalk rock by his coffin at West Horsely, Surrey³.

Among the most extraordinary discoveries supposed of a sepulchral kind, and the least accounted for, are the bones of birds found in a grave at Christ-Church priory, c. Hants⁴, and those of beasts, in a stone chest at Rutchefer, the ancient Vindobala. From the situation of the former near the refectory one would at first sight suppose these bones were neither more nor less than what the monks had pickt. I have a parcel of bones of fowls which I took with my own hands out of a vault just opened in or near St. Mary's Abbey, at York, about 1768. But though from this and other circumstances I am doubtful about my friend Mr. Pegge's mode of accounting for those at Christchurch, as reliques of Paganism, cautiously put out of the way on the introduction of Christianity (a caution which reformers are little apt to observe) I confess myself unable to substitute a more satisfactory hypothesis.

Near the Roman station at Rutchefer, the ancient Vindobala, was found 1766, a coffin hewn out of a rock, about twelve feet long by four broad and two deep: a hole close to the bottom at one end; a transverse partition of stone and lime: many decayed bones, teeth, and vertebrae, supposed by their shape and size to be the remains of some animal sacrificed perhaps to Hercules⁵. Human bones have been so often confounded with those of beasts, and extravagant dimensions ascribed to them by superficial observers, that I beg leave to suspend my assent to this appropriation till better authenticated.

Under the old altar in King's College chapel at Cambridge, on fitting up the new one, close to the East end were found bones of oxen, sheep, chicken, &c. a human skull, the jaw having a long strong red beard. One would be tempted to suspect that these were thrown together accidentally among rubbish. Of the supposed foundation-stone, mentioned by Fuller, with an inscription, pointing out the precise spot: *Ex orientali si bis septem pedetentim, &c.* only the bed of mortar was found in the middle of the foundation of the old altar; whence it is with greater probability referred to Eton-college chapel.

¹ P. 130. Ed. Richardson.

² More's Life of More, p. 277. Wood, Atk. Ox. I. 59.

³ Salmon's Surrey, 146. The bodies of chiefs at Otahute are buried in three different places after their bowels have been cut out by the priests before the great altar. Cook's Voyage, II. 44.

⁴ Archaeologia, IV. 117. 474.

⁵ Wallis's Northumb. II. 168. See before, p. xxi.

Having thus discussed the several appendages of our interments, let us attend to a few instances of extraordinary preservation of bodies in their respective graves.

The body of archbishop Elphege, who was murdered by the Danes at Greenwich, 1012, and buried at London, was found ten years after *ab omni corruptionis labe immune*, and transferred to Canterbury¹.

The corpse of Etheldritha, foundress of Ely monastery, was seen through an hole which the Danes broke in her coffin; a priest, more forward than the rest, prying too busily, and endeavouring to pull the envelope out by a cleft stick, the faint drew back the drapery so hastily that she tript up his heels, and gave him such a fall as he never recovered, nor his senses, afterwards. Bishop Athelwold stopp'd up the hole, and substituted monks to the priests. Abbot Brithnoth transferred hither the body of Withburga the foundress's sister; and when afterwards, in the time of abbot Richard, some doubts were entertained about the incorruptibility of the foundress, nobody presumed to examine her body, but they contented themselves with uncovering that of her sister *ultra mammas*, who was found to be in such good preservation that she seemed more like a person asleep than dead: a silk cushion lay under her head, her veil and vestments all seemed as good as new, her complexion clear and rosy, her teeth white, her lips somewhat shrunk, and her breasts reduced².

"In the year 1497, in the month of April, as labourers digged for the foundation of a wall within the church of St. Mary Hill, nere unto Belinfgate, they found a coffin of rotten timber, and therein the corps of a woman whole of skinne and of bones undiffevered, and the joynts of her arms playable without breaking of the skin, upon whose sepulcher this was engraven:

"Here lye the bodies of Richard Hackney, fishmonger, and

"Alice his wife, which Richard was sheriff in the 15th of Edward II.

"Her body was kept above ground three or four dayes without noyance; but "then it waxed unfavory, and was again buried³."

In the curious and antient registers of this parish is the following entry, aluding to this fact: A receipt of seven shillings and eight pence from John Halked, grocer, paid by Thomas Colyn, 1496, "for the obyt and setting up the tombe and buryenge of Richard Hakney and Alys his wyff, the xx day of Marche." And in another book a charge "for lyme, sand, and for the mason's huyr and his laborer, making *ageyne* of their tombe, and their dyрге, and maffe, and maffe peny, and for the ryfkyng to the priests, and to the parishioners for al maner of charges."

The body of Robert Braybrooke bishop of London, who died 1404, and was buried in his cathedral, though he had expressly forbidden any persons to be buried in it under pain of excommunication, being dug up after the fire, was found complete and compact from head to foot, except an accidental wound in the left side of the scull and left breast, within which one might perceive the lungs and entrails dried up, without dissolution, or any kind of decay⁴. Notwithstanding it had been exposed to the air on the damp earth or ground floor of the chapter-house, and to the sight and handling of most spectators for two or three years together, the flesh kept firm on the neck, and the whole weight of the body, which was but nine pounds, was supported on the tiptoes, the bones and

¹ Malmsh. de gest. reg. II. p. 35. a.

² Ib. 169. b.

³ Stowe, Lond. 227. Ed. 1633. From Fabian's Chronicle.

⁴ See Lord Colerane's account of it, Antiquarian Repertory, II. p. 57.

nerves continuing all as they were stretched out after death, without having any Egyptian art used to make mummy of the carcase, for on the closest examination it did not appear to have been embowelled or embalmed at all. On the right cheek was flesh and hair, very visible, enough to give some notice of his visage and stature, which was but ordinary, and so easy to be taken up, by reason of the lightness of the whole body, that it could be held up with one hand, and all of it looked rather like singed bacon, as if it had been dried up in a hot place (according to the appearance of St. Charles at Milan, or St. Catharine at Bologna) than as if it had been cured by surgeons, or wrapt up in cerecloth, there being no part of the whole covered or put on by art, or taken off as aforesaid, as far as could be perceived.

The body of William Parr, marquis of Northampton, brother to Queen Catharine Parr, who died 1571, was found in making a common grave in the choir of St. Mary's church, Warwick, about 1620, perfect, and the skin intire, dried to the bones, rosemary and bay lying in the coffin fresh and green, preserved by the dryness of the ground, it being above the arches of the fair vault under the choir, and of sand mixt with lime rubbish¹.

The body of Dr. Caius, who died 1573, was found intire and perfect when the chapel at his college was rebuilt and lengthened 1725, and his tomb raised from the ground, and placed in the wall as it now stands². His beard was very long, and on comparing his picture with his visage, it is said there was a great resemblance³.

The body of Humphrey duke of Gloucester was found intire, in pickle, in a vault in the choir at St. Albans, 1747.

Some bodies of the Engayne family were not many years ago discovered in the same state in repairing the family vault near Upminster.

In the South aisle of the choir of the abbey church at Bath is a freestone monument, a kind of sarcophagus under a canopy supported by six pillars of the Ionic order. In the sarcophagus are lodged two bodies, in slight oak coffins, one upon another. The man, who lies uppermost, is reduced to a skeleton, with the skin completely dried on the breast and belly, and the hair of his head, chin, and chest, perfectly preserved, that on his head thin and red. His head reclines to the right, the jaw fallen, his arms stretched by his side, the right hand lies on his right thigh; the left arm pendant; the nails on the great toe and third toe of his left foot perfect and long, and the leader of the leg complete; the toes of the right foot less perfect. The body measures five feet ten inches. Pieces of the wrapper remain between the thighs and legs. The woman, who, by being placed under the other coffin, was not discovered till within the last six or seven years, is completely enveloped in a wrapper of linnen incrufted with wax, or some preparation, which, when first opened, was white, but is now turned to a yellow colour⁴. The outer swathing is gone, but the web of the linnen may be seen in that part which has been broken into, and which discovers the left hand dried like the man's, and lying on the belly. This corpse measures five feet four inches, and the head reclines to the left. By the falling of the man's jaw it may be presumed his corpse was never swathed. Tradition, supported by some printed account which I have not been able to meet with, ascribes this monument to one *Thomas Lychebield* (Lutanist to Queen Elizabeth) and Margaret his wife. The arms on the top are Barry or a fess croft by a bend. Crest, an armed arm and hand holding a ring or garland. It is pretended that a sum of money was left to have the monument opened at

¹ Dugd. Bar. II. 382.

² Blouf. Nurf. II. 212.

³ Idem Collect. Cantab. p. 100. See a curious account of the embalment of a corpse near Riom in Auvergne. *Geogr. Mag.* XXVI. p. 332—334.

certain stated times; but this depends intirely on the consent of the churchwardens, by whose favour I was permitted to take a view this summer [1784], and thereby enabled to give the above particulars.

About the year 1737 were found in St. Margaret's church yard, Westminster, in a dry gravelly soil, at the depth of about eighteen feet, or less, which had not been broken up for above fifty years before, three entire fir coffins, the two largest clampt together with iron, as boxes sometimes are. In one was a fat broad faced man, the body perfect and soft, as if just dead; the lid had been glewed together lengthwise, and the weight of the earth had prest down his nose: his beard was about half an inch long, the winding sheet was crape, tied with black ribbons and the thumbs and toes with the like, the date was composed of small nails, [1665], by which it appeared he had then been dead seventy-two years, as were also the figure of an hour glass, death's head and cross bones. In the second coffin was a female body, in the same state, in a white crape winding sheet, date 1673. And in the third a male child, perfect and beautiful as wax work, the eyes open and clear, but no date on the coffin. In one of the larger coffins was a dry nosegay of bay and other leaves and flowers, which appeared like a nosegay that had lain a year among linnen. These bodies changed within twelve hours after they were exposed¹.

A woman was found in the same churchyard, 1758, in an old coffin. The body was four feet eleven inches long, the skin and flesh intirely dried up, like old parchment, which it much resembled in colour. The features were perfect, except the nose and part of the upper lip, the nails were all on the hands, and on the left foot something like a very thick thread stocking².

A few years ago two dried bodies of men, who, by the inscriptions on the coffins, appeared to have been a drummer and trumpeter to king George I. were taken out of the vaults under St. Martin's church in the Fields, and made a shew of, till Dr. Hamilton the rector ordered them to be restored to their places.

To these may be added, the famous instance of a poor parish boy, supposed to have been shut into a vault in St. Botolph's church, Aldgate, and starved to death, at the time of the plague, 1665, since which time the vault was known not to have been opened, where he was found, 1742, with the fancied marks of having gnawed his shoulder, only perhaps because his head reclined towards it. The skin, fibres, and intestines were all dried, and very little of his bones appeared. The body weighed about eighteen pounds, and was as exact a counter part of Lichfield's as could be. No signs of any embalment appear, and the body is perfectly free from any fetid or other smell³.

In February, 1750, in a vault of the antient family of the Worths at Staver-ton near Totness, Devon, was found in a single wooden coffin the body of a man entire and uncorrupt; his flesh solid and not hard, his joints flexible as if just dead, his fibres and flesh retained their natural elasticity, his beard was black, and about four inches long, and the flesh no where discoloured, the lips sound, and some of the teeth loose. The beard black, and four inches long. The body never was embalmed, as there was not the least sign of incision, and the bowels seem to be still intire. It was wrapt in a linen sheet very white and dry, over which was a tar cloth. The coffin lay nine feet under water. By the register it appeared that the last person buried in this vault was Simon Worth, 1669, and the tradition of the parish was, that he died in France or Flanders, and was brought over to be buried⁴.

¹ Kirkpatrick's Reflections on the causes that may retard the putrefaction of dead bodies. 1751. 8vo. p. 25—27.

² Gent. Mag. 1758. 579.

³ It was in the possession of Mr. J. Rogers of Maiden-lane, Wood-street, where a print of it, by R. Rogers, was sold for two shillings.

⁴ Kirkpatrick, ubi sup. p. viii.

Leland¹ says, he saw in St. Peter's abbey church at Bath a fair great marble tomb of a bishop of Bath, out of which they said oil did distil, and likely, for his body was baumed plentifully.

Antient Chymistry made people fancy that bodies could be preserved with the resemblance of real life, by means of a precious liquor circulating through every part in golden tubes artificially disposed, and operating on the principals of vegetation².

In the peatmoſſes of Derbyshire were found the bodies of a man and woman intire, twenty-eight years and nine months after their interment, having perished in the snow, the joints flexible, and the flesh fresh and white³.

On the moors of Amcotts, in the isle of Axholme, was found about six feet below the surface a female body lying on its side; the head and feet almost together, intire, soft, and pliable, the skin of a tawny colour, strong as tanned leather, and stretched like it. The hair fresh; the bones of the legs and arms shook out of the skin; the grisly part of the heel and the nails fresh; but both the hand and nails shrunk on being exposed to the air. It had on sandals made of one piece of a raw hide, with a seam at the heel, and a thong of the same, and tanned of the same colour, with the corpse by the moor water. Mr. Vertue referred the form of it to the time of Henry III. or Edward I. A body was taken up on the moors at Geel, and another in the great moor near Thorn, with the skin like tanned leather, the hair, teeth, and nails quite fresh⁴.

There was found in Locherby moss in the Stewarty of Annandale the body of a man of gigantic stature, his upper coat appeared to have been made of the skins of beasts: his shoes of the same, and in the fashion of rullions worn by the antient Scots, and at this day by some of the Highlanders, and sewed together in a new and wonderful taste. The corpse was found four feet under the moss, with a heap of stones above it; the flesh seemed somewhat fresh on the bones when first discovered, but being brought to the bank mouldered to ashes⁵.

In the mosses of Salla or Stenneſs island, Shetland, was found a female corpse which had lain above eighty years. Every part was so well preserved that the muscles were discernible, the hair of her head, and the gloves on her hands⁶.

The tomb which once contained the famous national mummies is at the South East corner of the island of Stroma, on a small neck of land, near the sea bank. Mr. Lowe was in full hopes of being gratified with a sight of them intire as formerly, but was highly disappointed when entering the tomb he saw only two bare skulls laid apart, and in the bottom of the vault, which is full of sheeps' dung, a few leg and thigh bones, with others; but all quite bare, and no appearance of what they had been, nor could one have judged from their look that they had been preserved above ground. He was informed by the inhabitants of the island that curiosity to see the mummies had brought many idle people to Stroma, that some out of wantonness had shattered the door, and others the bodies; and the door not being repaired, sheep and cattle entered the vault and trampled them to pieces. There is little doubt but these bodies have been preserved without any farther preparation than excluding insects by the saltness of the air. Even the situation of the tomb favours this, which is surrounded on three sides by the sea. It was a common custom in the isles to preserve beef and mutton by hanging it in the caves of the sea, which effectually resisted putrefaction by the saltness of the air; and there is little doubt but this has been the

¹ Itin. II. fol. 39.

² Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, II. 98.

³ Balguy, in Phil. Transf. N° 434. p. 431.

⁴ Phil. Transf. 484. p. 571—575. Dr. Shaw, in his edition of Bacon's works, III. 571. proposes an enquiry, whether tanning may not be applied to dead bodies.

⁵ Caledonian Mercury, 20 July, 1742. See in Archaeologia, VII. 90—110. Lady Moira's account of a skeleton and its habits, found in a peat-turbary at the foot of Mount Drumkeragh, in the county of Down, from whence she deduced a complete system of Irish apparel.

⁶ Lowe's MS.

cave with the bodies at Stroma, which were light and thin, the limbs flexible; certain signs of inartificial preservation¹.

The corpse brought from Teneriffe by Capt. Young of his Majesty's ship *Weazle*, and presented to Lord Sandwich, who gave it to Trinity College, Cambridge, is intire, and perfect in all its parts. The skin is of a deep tawny brown, dry and hard, but many of the muscular parts so prominent as to be easily defined. The body is laid out at full length, the hands brought together over the belly. The nails, except a few, remain on the fingers and toes, both which are connected and secured by thongs, probably of goat's leather, continued round each finger and toe. It is five feet one inch long, and weighs only thirty pounds. The hair of the head, which has almost all fallen off since its exposure, is of a darkish black colour and curled deeply, a few hairs on the chin short and stiff. The face is the least perfect part, having suffered by some violence, and the upper jaw on the right side beat in, so as to be now nearly in the middle of the palate, and the parietal bone on that side projects considerably over, yet there is no apparent fracture, so that it is perhaps owing to the resistance made by the hardness of the skin in that place. The bones of the nose were gone, and the skin, in this part, is so flexible as to be capable of being somewhat elevated, and here it feels like tanned leather. A probe passes freely into the orbits of the eyes, and quite back into the cavity of the skull, through which the optic nerves pass, likewise perpendicularly into the scull through a small hole in the top of the head. There appears to have been an incision made horizontally on the right side of the abdomen, which is sewed up again, by which probably the intestines were extracted. There are likewise cuts about an inch long, one on the back part of each thigh, and one on the calf of each leg, through which a probe will easily pass down without any resistance. As the neck has never been cut through, the muscles and teguments being completely whole all round, and there is no mark of the cranium having been fawn through, and the scalp is likewise nearly intire, the brain cannot have been extracted by the former operation. May we not conjecture it was left in, and has waited to dust. This at least is known to be the appearance of its remains when examined in skulls buried in common graves². Captain Young accidentally discovered the cave, which contained in its recesses a number of human corpses, not less than thirty, laid horizontally on their backs on the rugged stones, neatly sewed up in goatkins with the hair on, and in many parts very perfect. The cave was in its natural state, without any offensive smell from the bodies, and yielding a refreshing coolness³. Some of these bodies were seven feet one inch long, and he had ordered one of these dimensions to be brought off; but there was some mistake, which prevented his orders being obeyed. He was informed there were many such caves so filled in the island, and held in such reverence by the inhabitants, that it was deemed sacrilege to remove any of the bodies, not to mention that in general their situation is inaccessible. The goat-skin is of a light brown colour, seemingly tanned, and retaining the hair, the seam remarkably strong and neat, and the thread of a fine tough animal substance like catgut. This account is also given by former travellers, by Mr. Nicholls in Hackluit's voyage⁴, in Sprat's History of the Royal Society, and by Glafs in his account of the Canaries⁵. The latter adds, that after swathing the body round with bandages of goatkins, they fixed it upright in a cave, clothed in the same garments as the deceased wore when alive.

¹ Lome's MSS.

² Account of this mummy by Dr. Collignon.

³ See a curious paper on this subject by the Rev. Dr. Lort, in the Minute-book of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. XIII. p. 368. 1774.

⁴ Vol. II. 151. Copied in the Universal History, and the French Collection of Voyages.

⁵ B. II. c. 4.

The practice of embalming bodies appears to be the most antient and universal, from the patriarchs and the kings of Judah and Israel, to the most barbarous nations, the Indians in South America, and the Incas of Peru. The subterraneous vaults at Kiow on the Dnieper, those at Catana in Sicily, at Touloufe, Bremen, and other parts of the continent, as well as in England, Scotland, and elsewhere, serve to shew, that the process is not very difficult or complicated, or the preservation to be always ascribed to any antiseptic quality in the soil or receptacle where the bodies were deposited.

Acofta^a mentions the body of an Inca so whole and well preserved by a certain rosin that it seemed alive. Garcilaffo de la Vega says, before he went to Spain [1578] he was allowed a sight of his deceased ancestors, whom he found intire, clothed as when alive, in a sitting posture, their hands crost on their breasts, in which state they had continued two hundred years when the Spaniards ordered them to be removed out of their chapels, and oratories where they were worshipped. He supposed the method of preserving them was by carrying them into snow mountains, where, after they were well dried and congealed by the cold, they applied bituminous matter, which may plump up the flesh. Chardin says, that bodies in the sands of Chorassan became dry as if petrified.

The body of a chief at Otaheité was found intire in every part, and though it had been dead above four months, and the climate one of the hottest, not the least disagreeable smell proceeded from it. The only remarkable alteration that had happened was a shrinking of the eyes and muscular parts, but the hair and nails were in their original state, and still adhered firmly; and the several joints were quite pliable, or in that kind of relaxed state which happens to persons who faint suddenly. Mr. Anderfon, Capt. Cook's surgeon, was informed, that soon after death they are disembowelled, by drawing the intestines and other viscera out at the *anus*, and the whole cavity is then filled or stuffed with cloth, introduced through the same part; that when any moisture appeared on the skin it was carefully dried up, and the body afterwards rubbed all over with a large quantity of perfumed cocoa-nut oil, which being frequently repeated preserved them a great many months; but that at last they gradually mouldered away. Omai told Capt. Cook, that they made use of the juice of a plant that grew among the mountains, of cocoa-nut oil, and frequently washing with sea-water; and that the bodies of all their great men who died natural deaths are thus preserved, and exposed for a considerable time to public view every day, when it does not rain; till at last they are seldom to be seen^b.

In the city of *Kiow*, on the banks of the Dnieper, under a high mountain, are two spacious crypts, called by the names of Antony and Theodosius, and supposed to have been hollowed out about the beginning of the eleventh or end of the tenth century, when Wlodomir Swetosslaus was created first Czar of the Russias, and introduced Christianity into his dominions. They are cut in a clayey soil^c, and contain vast numbers of bodies in perfect preservation, whose incorruptibility the tradition of the place ascribes to their sanctity, and annually in Easter week they are visited by the priests of the place, who address them with information of Christ's resurrection, and after incensing them well, return back again. In the Antonian crypt are deposited many Russian saints, bishops, monks, princes, and other eminent personages. The Theodosian is fuller of chapels than of bodies. All these bodies, placed in separate repositories, are swathed round tightly with clothes and bandages, and only the face appears, which retains the natural skin. The whole are perfectly dry and void of smell. There are some skulls lying in dishes, which exude a kind of oil; and in other parts of the crypts are piles of bones. This oily matter may be no.

^a Hist. of India, b. VI. c. 21.

^b Cook's Voyage, 1784, II. 51, 53.

^c terra limosa.

thing more nor less than the moisture or exhalation of the place, which is attracted by such porous matter as the human skull, and drops or falls into the ditch; for Herbinus supposes the Greek priests too undesigning to besmear them with real oil, by which manœuvre nothing was to be got, nor is this a trick played even by the skulls of the three kings at Cologne, so much resorted to¹.

"The burial place at the Capuchin Convent at Palermo is a vast subterraneous apartment, divided into large commodious galleries, the walls on each side of which are hollowed into a variety of niches, as if intended for a very great collection of statues, instead of which they are all filled with dead bodies, set upright on their legs, and fixed by the back to the middle of the nich, in number about 300. They are all dressed in the clothes they usually wore, and form a most venerable assembly. The skin and muscles, by a certain preparation, became as dry and hard as a piece of stock fish: and although many of them have been here upwards of 250 years, yet none are in any degree reduced to skeletons; the muscles indeed in some appear to be a good deal more shrunk than in others, probably because these persons had been more extenuated at the time of their death. The bodies of the princes and first nobility are lodged in very handsome chests or trunks, some of them richly adorned; these are not in the shape of coffins, but all of one width, and about one and a half or two feet deep. The keys are kept by the nearest relations of the family, who sometimes come and drop a tear over their deceased friends²."

Such is Mr. Brydone's description of this catacomb, which Mr. Breval³ represents as "a large souterrain filled from top to bottom with the dried up carcases of the friars of the house from time immemorial, in the habits of their order, which is the Franciscan. This is caused by depositing them as soon as dead, in a peculiar ground that belongs to them, which, by a consuming property, turns the corpse into a perfect mummy in a few weeks. I have seen, adds he, instances of the same desiccation at Toulouse in France, where there is a vault under the cloyster of the Cordeliers, in which are preserved abundance of corpses dried up by having lain some time in a churchyard that has much the same property with that of Palermo. These bodies are exposed for three or four days to the open air, in their belfrey, before they are ranged in this manner. A celebrated beauty of Toulouse, known by the name of *La belle Paule*, was for a long time one of these mummies; but is now almost mouldered away⁴."

Sutton Cofield vaults are said to have the contrary properties. In two of them, lately opened, bodies interred within the memory of man were found reduced to dust, together with their wooden coffins. This is supposed to be in part occasioned by the height of the church, and the sandiness of the soil⁵.

It has been supposed to be the nature of hair to acquire a yellowish hue in the grave. As Arthur's queen Guinever (if it was her sepulchre) having been married in the beginning of the 6th century, could hardly escape being grey-haired at the conclusion of it; neither was Humphry duke of Gloucester a young man, and his hair was exactly of the same colour with that found on the skull of a skeleton in a bog in the county of Down in Ireland, of which lady Moira gave an account to the Society of Antiquaries⁶. I may add, that I was told of golden coloured hair found on a skull dug up in the cloister of Chicksand nunnery, c. Bedford, though the hair which was given me from a stone coffin dug up in the ruins of Christ church nunnery, Hants, 1782, before-mentioned, was of a bright brown.

¹ Religiosæ Kijovienſes cryptæ per M. J. Herbinium. Jenæ, 1675. 12°.

² Brydone's Tour through Sicily, II. 66, 67. Of those at Naples see Blainville's Travels, III. 357—359.

³ Travels, I. 49.

⁴ Newbery's Description of England, IX. 200.

⁵ Archæolog. VII. p. 1. p. 95. 100.

In illustrating the different fashions of sepulchral monuments I cannot do better than subjoin a learned memoir drawn up by the late Maurice Johnson, esq. founder of the literary society of Spalding, before whom it was read, and from whose Minutes I have been permitted to transcribe it. I shall occasionally enlarge it from my own observations. He divides our tombs into eight forms.

"Before the evil practice of burying in churches became general, and the arts of designing were restored, our ancestors, if of fortune sufficient to afford it, were interred in stone coffins, the bottom part being of one large stone sufficient to receive the corpse, and usually accommodated to that figure, in imitation of the more ancient sarcophagi. The form of the lid or upper part varied with the times, as arts were retrieved. Perhaps, though of stone, they were called *coffins*, being destined to the like use, and much of the same shape, with those of Gopher or Cyprus wood, used by the antients, and the term taken from *Κερίφος*, *cerbinus*, *corbis*, which Pafor makes a primitive word¹. The lid, or upper part, of the most antient of these we find was in the form of a prism, or triangular, and though they be now generally under ground, originally only the bottom part, or that which contained the corpse, was so, and the lid or covering stone was seen above ground; and that was the reason, I conceive, why it was made of that form, the better to shoot off the wet, and defend it and its depositum from the injuries of the weather; a very necessary caution towards what they wished to preserve so in the air of this island; and though they might be afterwards removed into churches, or even supposing they were originally there deposited, yet did they for some time retain their triangular form and plain superficies of the lid or cover, though they adorned the sides with carving, the inscription if any being about the basis of the lid or covering-stone, as in that of John of St. Yves prior, on the South side of Peterborough minster yard²; and the imagery, as on that within the same cathedral of the abbot and monks murdered by the Danes, being on the sides³; that of William Rufus in Winchester cathedral, and that rich shrine of St. Thomas Becket⁴, and the stones in Spalding church-yard near the free-school commonly called *The Lamb*, by tradition that gentleman of that antient family in that town were thereunder interred:" This Mr. Johnson calls the FIRST form, prismatic, and plain on the top.

To these instances add the stone coffin of Waldevus abbot of Mailros, and of prior Basing at Winchester.

"The first improvement of it may be so called from the distinguishing these covers with crosses, at first plain, afterwards fleury, in bas relief, which was soon converted into alto relievo, as on a like tomb of Theobald archbishop of Canterbury in the cathedral there, A. D. 1160⁵," supported by seven low round pilasters, with capitals fleury between the arches, the top, lid, or cover, divided into several compartments by circles and semicircles, and lozenges and heads, as it should seem by their coverings and tuncure, of princes, prelates, and persons eminent for piety in the monastic profession⁶."

This is the SECOND form, prismatic; and carved on the top.

To the instances of coffin lids adorned with crosses add the coffin ascribed to Juga Baynard, those of prior Basing, Stephen Langton archbishop of Canterbury, Alan abbot of Tewksbury, a monument among the figures in the Temple church, and that shewn in Bangor cathedral for Owen Glendwr's, but more probably Owen Gwyneth's, sovereign of North Wales.

¹ See Herodotus in Euterpe, and Pliny, N. H. XXIV. 5.

² Inscribed in Gothic capitals:

✠ Alia Johannis de Sco Yvone quondam

Prioris per miam di in pace recepat. MCXII.

³ Gunton, p. 243.

⁴ Monast. Angl. I. 21.

⁵ Parker's Antiq. p. 195. Dart. p. 124.

⁶ Dart. p. 123.

That

That ascribed to bishop Glanville, on the South side of the choir near the altar at Rochester, is of the same form with archbishop Theobald's, and was adorned with similar heads in quatrefoils divided by angels, now almost defaced. The form and ornaments of this tomb give it an earlier date.

"And probably of as great age are the stones before Mr. Jackson's house, taken from the conventual church at Spalding. These are termed by the inaccurate writers of former ages *lapides et petreæ pyramidales*, which, had they arisen from an equal basis, they might properly have been termed; and their first forms may be properly ascertained as one, and called the *priamatic* tombs.

"This I say for the general use. Not but some few very extraordinary persons, as princes, and those who had been invested with princely power, and mighty benefactors, might, as early as any of these, be honoured with having their entire effigies carved in a remarkable posture, lying, as it were, on their backs on the topstone.

"But it is commonly thought, that those monuments (though antient) were devised and made in honour of them some time after: such are those of AILWIN duke or earl of the East Angles, cousin to king Edgar and chief justice of all England, who died A. D. 993, at *Ramsay* abbey, which he founded¹. ALGAR, earl of Holland, overcome and killed in battle by the Pagan invading Danes², A. D. 870. in *Alder*, alias *Algarkirk*, church-yard, in North Holland, Lincolnshire. These most antient are generally of a sort of granite, or the hardest black marble, or ragstone, which would bear a polish; and have all some animal, as a lion, dog, or such like, at their feet, against which they seem to rest: whence, perhaps, supporters might be taken.

The figure of ROBERT duke of Normandy, who died 1134, and was buried in the cathedral church of Gloucester³, lies cross-legged, in his coat of mail, surcoat, sword, spurs, and coronet, having vowed and performed a crusade, or voyage, to the Holy Land, for the purpose of recovering it from the Saracens. That of WILLIAM LONGESPEE earl of Salisbury, who died 1226, lies in the cathedral there⁴. Sir HENRY BATHE chief justice of all England, 1252⁵, and PHILIP prior of St. Frideswide⁶, both in the church of St. Frideswide, or Christ Church, Oxford. Some of the first abbots and priors of Peterborough⁷; and see in Drake's *Eboracum*, p. 491, the figures there called *Constantine*, and Prince William of *Halfield* son of Edward III.

THIRD form: Tables, whereon effigies or sculpture.

But this manner of representing the effigies of the deceased lying on the back on the top-stone became the general practice for eminent personages, and priests with chalices in their hands on their breast, by which they were distinguished, as military men or knights were by their arms, spurs, and swords. So William earl of Flanders, son of the before-mentioned Robert, at St. Omer's⁸. He died 1127-8, but seems to have been sometime after honoured with that monument by the manner of its workmanship. Prelates were represented with their mitres, croziers, great crosses, by being habited in *pontificalibus*; as Hubert Walter in Canterbury, whereof he was archbishop, and deceased 1205⁹. And king John, at Worcester, 1213, with ouches or jewels on his gloves, collar, and sword hilt, with images of his tutelary saints, the bishops Oswald and Wulfstan, with their mitres on and censers in their hands, and a lion at his feet¹⁰. Those of the lord Rous and others, in the Temple-church, in London¹¹; of

¹ Stukeley, *Itin. Cur. I.* 77. Pl. 17.

² Stebbing, p. 16. See p. 19.

³ See p. 45. Pl. XIV.

⁴ Pl. III. p. 19. Add the abbots of Westminster, pl. I. p. 10, bishop Roger and the other bishop at Salisbury, pl. IV. p. 20.

⁵ Stebbing, p. 17.

⁶ Stukeley, *It. Cur.* 18. Pl. 68. Stebbing, p. 85.

⁷ Stebbing, p. 17.

⁸ Stebbing, p. 17.

⁹ Stebbing, p. 17.

¹⁰ Stebbing, p. 17.

¹¹ Stebbing, p. 17.

¹² Ingulf, p. 20.

¹³ Stebbing, p. 115. See p. 41. Pl. XIII.

¹⁴ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

¹⁵ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

¹⁶ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

¹⁷ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

¹⁸ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

¹⁹ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

²⁰ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

²¹ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

²² See p. 36. Pl. XII.

²³ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

²⁴ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

²⁵ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

²⁶ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

²⁷ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

²⁸ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

²⁹ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

³⁰ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

³¹ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

³² See p. 36. Pl. XII.

³³ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

³⁴ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

³⁵ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

³⁶ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

³⁷ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

³⁸ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

³⁹ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

⁴⁰ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

⁴¹ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

⁴² See p. 36. Pl. XII.

⁴³ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

⁴⁴ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

⁴⁵ See p. 36. Pl. XII.

the *Bonworths*, at Sutterton; of a forester of Rockingham and his wife, at Glington, c. Northampton; of another lady at Stoke Doyley in that county; of *Thomas lord Burgh*, knight of the Garter, and his lady, in the church of Gainsborough, of alabaster and granite.

"About this time, I apprehend, if they did not place the effigies they left off raising the upper stone to a point, and only carried it up some part of the way, with some decoration on the plain top, as an old cross fleury shews of archbishop *Langton*¹, made about 1233, and of this form were tables set in pillars on feet, as archbishop *Sewal*'s, in York cathedral, A. D. 1258².

Instances of coffin stones with heads or bodies emerging from them may be seen at Brandon in Suffolk, Appleby in Westmorland, Kingsbury in Warwickshire.

"These were frequently placed for safety (especially if they built churches) within the wall, and had an arch turned over them; as Sir Muffending, knight, at Soleby, and a lady at Ripplingale³ and then they frequently made them of alabaster, or some soft chalky stone, which cut easily, and they were thick covered over with paint and gilding.

FOURTH form; tombs with testoons or arches over them.

"In the beginning of the fourteenth century, according to Monier, the arts of designing, with a good taste of drawing and painting, emerged out of that ignorance and ill gusto the Goths and Barbarians had reduced them to, and kept them in. Our Henry III. a wise prince, who had experienced, and was equal to both fortunes, reigning long, and at length peaceably, much encouraged them; and his wife son and successor, Edward I. was trained up in them. Though his father had bestowed a chest of gold for enshrining the reliques of St. Edward the Confessor, Edward did them greater honour in the stately and sumptuous manseum composed of all kinds of precious marbles, and other costly stones, even gems and pearls, wherein he placed them, at Westminster, raised on columns diminishing one stage above another, as may be seen in Mr. George Vertue's fine print, done for the Society of Antiquaries, and in Dart's Antiquities of Westminster abbey. A tomb of like taste and materials, of two stages, he erected for his father, whose effigies of copper gilt he caused to be cast, and laid thereon, with a lion at his feet⁴, with a testoon⁵, or covering over it, flat and in a strait line, to preserve it from dust or what might fall on and injure it. The like he erected there for Eleanor his beloved queen, who died 1298⁶. And though they soon began to throw the testoon or covering higher by arched work instead of it, yet we find many of the noblest made still with that strait line or flat covering, as that of queen *Philippa* wife of king Edward III. at Westminster⁷; and his own there⁸; the *Black Prince* at Canterbury⁹; king *Richard II.* and *Anne* his queen, at Westminster¹⁰; King *Henry IV.* and *Joan of Navarre* his queen, at Canterbury¹¹; *Katharine Swynford*, dutchess of Lancaster, in Lincoln cathedral; archbishop *Chicheley*'s at Canterbury¹²; and it seems as if such a testoon had been intended, but not finished, for the beautiful alabaster tomb of *William of Waynfleet*, Lord High Chancellor of England and bishop of Winchester, 1459, in All Saints church in Waynfleet.

"Some tombs having been thus raised with testoons over them which were flat, gave rise to a much farther improvement, the raising an arch over them, which being then oxeved, or terminating in an obtuse point, was usually deco-

¹ Parker, p. 245. Dart. p. 134. see p. 42.

² Stebbing, 92; see p. 17. Pl. xx. xxi. xxii.

³ Or, *teston*. The testons of Henry III. Eleanor, Philippa, Richard II. are of wood, painted with the Deity, 64. ss. and angels, on their ceiling: that of Catharine Swynford has been supposed to be of stone, and a different shape.

⁴ Stebbing, 131. see p. 63.

⁵ Ib. p. 203.

⁶ Ib. p. 275. Dart. p. 15.

⁷ Stebbing, p. 173.

⁸ Stebbing, p. 170.

⁹ Ib. p. 123.

rated at top with foliage work all the way up the sides, and a jesse, or large fleur de foliage over the summit, and images of the wife, children, relations of the party, saints or sovereigns and benefactors about the table, on the sides; and much painting and gilding was now bestowed on the sculpture, though of marble or copper. Thus in the monument of *Aveline* wife of Edmund earl of Lancaster, &c. at Westminster, who died 1269¹, and of that earl himself, who died 1296²; and in that of king *Edward* II. at Gloucester cathedral, who died 1327³; of *John* Peckham archbishop of Canterbury⁴, and in that of *John* of Eltham earl of Cornwall, at Westminster, who died 1334⁵; *John* of Gaunt and his dutchesse *Blanche*, in St. Paul's cathedral, London⁶; Cardinal *Beaufort* bishop of Winchester, at Winchester, who died 1447⁷; those of Lord *Henry Burgwalsh* bishop of Lincoln, 1340, in the cathedral there; and of *Nicholas* lord *Cantalupe*, 1371; and *Robert* lord *Badlesmere*; those of archbishops *Grey*, 1255; *Greenfield*, 1314; and *Boswell*, 1425, in York cathedral. The *Queen* of Scots and *Queen Elizabeth*, both at Westminster⁸.

FIFTH form of tombs, in chapel burial places.

"These arched monuments they much enlarged so as to incumber and take up too much room, even in the most spacious cathedral and conventual churches; therefore they fell into a method for avoiding that inconvenience of annexing chapels to them, having doors out of the side aisles of the churches, and being open to the church, only secluded by iron work, of which great deformities the instances are too frequent, having an extraordinary ill effect, and spoiling the view on the outside, and designs of the artists, which, though not true according to rules of the artists, yet were grand, and looked awful. In such a chapel, at Westminster, lies king *Henry* V⁹; king *Edward* IV. at Windsor¹⁰; Bishop *Ruffell* and archbishop *Longland*, 1548, in Lincoln cathedral.

"But those great men avoided this error, and well consulted for and increased the beauty of these venerable piles, who added such chapels for the reception of themselves and their relations or friends at the East end of them; that division from the cross isle being much too short for the nave and well admitting it. Thus king *Henry* VII's sumptuous chapel added to Westminster abbey greatly increases the beauty of that pile¹¹. Sometimes well enough when running parallel in the choir, as that of *Humphry* the Good duke of Gloucester at St. Alban's; the sumptuous chapel of *Richard* Beauchamp earl of Warwick governor of Normandy 1439, wherein is his tomb, and his effigies of brass gilt¹², and of *Arthur*, Prince of Wales, at Worcester, who died 1502¹³.

To these add the ellipse of chapels round the choir at Tewksbury, that of bishop Hatfield, on the South side of the choir at Durham, that of abbot Ramridge, on the North side of the choir at St. Albans: that of Walter lord Hungerford, on the North side of the nave at Salisbury, now removed to the South side of the aisle. Additions to the outside of the building are those of bishop Audley at Salisbury on the South side, and that of the Hungerford family on the North side, of the choir there; bishops West and Alcock, at Ely.

SIXTH form, inlaid with brass.

"As to the inscription, the characters or letters were sometimes antiently ensculped, and in relievo more frequently insculped, and appear to have been filled with lead, before the use of brass and copper became frequent, after which, and what we may, I think reckon the 6th form, they, in the area of very broad coarse, grey marbles cut out, or sunk in, the form or figure of the images of the

¹ Stebbing p. 105.

² Stebbing, p. 154.

³ Ib. p. 269.

⁴ Stebbing, p. 476.

⁵ Ib. p. 106.

⁶ Ib. p. 255, Dugd. St. Paul's.

⁷ Ib. p. 413.

⁸ Ib. p. 318.

⁹ Ib. p. 152.

¹⁰ Stebbing, p. 262.

¹¹ Ib. p. 472, 473.

¹² Dart, p. 138.

¹³ Ib. p. 535, 516.

¹⁴ Dugdale, Warwickshire, p. 328.

persons, their escutcheons, and of much arch and pinnacle work, filled with foliage, and of saints in the niches. These they filled with thick plates of brass or copper gilt, and sometimes enamelled, fixed in with long pieces of the same metal, and curiously engraven, the legend or inscription being carried along by the edge in metal also. Some of the most elegant of these are that of *William Smith* bishop of Lincoln¹, who founded two colleges, and was the first president of Wales, which he governed long, and died 1513. That of *Margery* wife of Robert de *Wylugby* lord of Eresby, at Spilsby, 1391; that of *Thomas de Bramstone* constable or chastellan of Wisbeach, in the church there 1401. That of *Joan* niece and coheir of *Ralph* lord *Cromwell* of Tatterthale, wife of *Humphry Bourchier*, who bore that title in her right at *Tatterthale*, who died 1480. Those of *Thomas* duke of *Gloucester*, 1397, surnamed of Woodstock, and *Eleanor*, 1399, his dutchess, at Westminster², of Dr. *Richard Waldby* archbishop of York, at Westminster, about 1397³; and that of lady *Lambert*, in the chancel of Pinchbeck church. Instances of rich brasses are innumerable.

"The last sort were frequently elevated in a sort of oblong square tables, composed of the same sort of marble, or other materials, and called *altar* monuments, at which business has been frequently done by surrogates, and monies been made payable and paid, they being as convenient for those purposes as any other table. These might perhaps be called *altar* monuments from the altar which stood in the midst of the great North porch of St. Austin's abbey church at Canterbury, wherein solemn masses were said for the souls of the Saxon kings and first archbishop of that province, amidst the place of their interment, as archbishop Parker tells us, which might have taken rise from what we are told in the Chronicle of John abbot of Peterborough⁴. Godrick, his predecessor, did over the before-mentioned stone monument erect in the area before the East end of the abby church *omni anno super petram sanctum tentorium figens pro animabus ibidem sepultorum missas per biduum devotione continuo celebravit*.

SEVENTH form: against the walls.

"Another method has of late years been, chiefly since the Reformation (the pavements being either full, in the most conspicuous places, or rather to prevent their being worn with treading or defaced) to let them into, or fix them up against, the walls and pillars of churches; so that great part of the monument, with entire columns and statues on each side, projects.

"This ordinance and disposition in some stately sepulchres has a grand air, and the best effect of any, and is now most in use. The dead person being represented generally in a reclined posture, as in that of the duke of Beaufort, at Windsor, the dukes of Newcastle and Buckinghamshire, Sir Isaac Newton, Mr. Thynne, earl Stanhope, Dr. Chamberlain, Sir Cloudfly Shovel, at Westminster; the earl and countess of Exeter, at St. Martin's, Stamford; Mr. Deacon sheriff of Northamptonshire, in Peterborough cathedral; bishop Gunning, and other bishops, at Ely; that of Aylmeric de Courcy lord Kingfale baron of Ringrone, lord Cottingham, Sir Christopher and lady Hatton, Sir Dudley Carlton, in Westminster abbey; the archbishops Sterne, Dolben, and Sharpe, in York cathedral. But sometimes the entire statue of the person erect, in a graceful posture, which is more noble, as Secretary Craggs, at Westminster, the late duke of Ancaster Lord Great Chamberlain, at Edenham, archbishop Lamplugh, and the earl and countess of Strafford, and the Hon. Mr. Wentworth, in York cathedral⁵.

¹ Stukeley, *Itin. Cur. I.* pl. 16. p. 86.

² Stebbing, p. 230. 232. See the latter page.

³ P. 20. Edit. Sparks.

⁴ Drake's *Eboracum*, p. 436.

⁵ Drake's *Ebor.* part II. p. 467, 512.

"And

EIGHTH form : detached buildings.

"And lately the most sumptuous sepulchral monuments are detached buildings, erected to preserve the remains of the dead, or their memory : as domes, of which, perhaps, that of the emperor Hadrian¹ is the grandest, that of the duke of Tuscany of the Medici family at Florence the most sumptuous, the pyramid of Cestius at Rome, Portena near Clusium, and those in Egypt. To these may be added obelisks, columns², and equestrian statues.

The late Smart Lethieullier, esq. has confined his observations on sepulchral monuments, printed in the second volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 291—390, chiefly to those in parochial churches, erected either in the chancel or in small chapels, or side aisles, which had been built by the lords of the manors, and patrons of the churches (which for the most part went together) and being designed for burying places for their families, were frequently endowed with chantries, to pray for the souls of the founder and his descendants.

It appears to me, that there is pretty good authority for referring those monuments whose situation within the substance of the walls of churches or chancels makes it highly probable that they must have been coeval in them, to founders or refounders of the several churches or parts of churches where they are found. Of this the churches in Hertfordshire and Essex within my own neighbourhood afford many instances. I cannot help particularizing one.

An old monument in the North wall of the nave of Brent Pelham church, c. Herts, which has furnished matter for vulgar tradition, and puzzled former Antiquaries, is, by Dr. Salmon, supposed a founder's tomb. Weever³ describes it as "a most ancient monument stone, whereon is figured a man, and about him "an eagle, a lion, and a bull, having all wings, and a fourth of the shape of "an angel ; as if they should represent the four Evangelists. Under the feet of "the man is the cross flourie, and under the cross a serpent. He is thought "to have been sometime the lord of an ancient decayed house, well moated, not "far from this place called, O *Piers Shoonkes*. He flourished ann. Conquestu *vice- "simo primo*." This description is correct, except in the figure of the *man*, who is really an angel flying, and conveying up a soul in a shroud, or sheet, in the usual attitude. At his right hand is an angel sitting, holding in his lap an open book ; at his left is a bull : the eagle and winged lion over his head complete the number of the symbols of the Evangelists. The serpent is really a two-footed dragon pierced by the cross, whose point is in his mouth ; and so the sculpture conveys the idea of the destruction of Satan by the cross of Christ, securing immortality to all who die in the faith of his Gospel, as transmitted by the Evangelists. Over the lines is now written, O *Piers Shonks, who died A° 1086*. Salmon, by a train of "amusing conjectures" on the name of *Shonks*, makes him out to be either a founder of the church, or Gilbert *Sank*, on whom Simon de Furneuse, lord of the manor, levied a distress for his homage and service, 16 Edward I. which is 221 years from the Conquest, instead of 21, and so makes out the old farmer's tale, about a hero of Pelham defeating a giant of Barkway, and obliging the latter manor to pay a quitrent to the former ever since. A manor here retains the name of *Shonks*. Neither the English nor the Latin poetry, with their variations, over the monument, within the arch, attesting the legend, are worth recording. In almost every church a singular or unknown monument of any antiquity is given to a giant.

This monument, from its simplicity, may be of early date. I recollect another instance in the North wall of the church at Landbeach in Cambridgeshire, of

¹ *Miles Hadrianus*.

² *Fun. Mon.* p. 111.

³ The pillar of Pompey in Egypt.

the time of one of the Edwards, and probably enough ascribed by Mr. Matters its rector to one of the lords of the manor at that time. Where such monuments appear in the walls of chancels, and have on them a religious, instead of a lay figure, we may presume, that some rector was the builder or rebuilder of the chancel. An instance of this kind at St. Hippolyte's, in Hertfordshire, is, by the vulgar, referred to the patron Saint, instead of the lay patron, or officiating priest.

These monuments vary with the several periods in form and ornaments, and in having or wanting figures on them; and a little attention to the style of the time, or the succession of property, will enable us to ascertain them; when armorial and other distinctions fail. It is not uncommon, when chapels were built for the sole use of a particular family, or successive lords of the manor, to find the original founder or benefactor inclosed within their walls.

Mr. Lethieullier is of opinion, that "few or no funeral monuments were erected during the time of our Saxon ancestors; at least, being usually placed in the churches belonging to the greater abbies, they felt the stroke of the general dissolution, and scarce any had fallen within his observation, or were, he believed, extant. Those we meet with for the kings of that race, such as Ina at Wells, Osric at Gloucester, Sebbas and Ethelbert, which were in St. Paul's, or wherever else they occur, were undoubtedly cenotaphs erected in later ages, by the several abbies and convents of which they were founders, in gratitude to such generous benefactors." On this subject I shall offer a few observations:

The sepulchral monuments before the Conquest are certainly of dubious authority.

The tomb of king LUCIUS, at *Winchester*, ought to be left undetermined till the reality of the king himself be settled.

That of OSRIC, at *Gloucester*, confessedly favors of the eleventh or twelfth century, more than of the seventh.

GUTHRUM, at *Hadleigh* in Suffolk, lies under an arch terminating in a bouquet, to which his age had no more pretence than it had to the rich chapels of the fifteenth century.

The tombs of ANNA and his son FIRMINUS, at *Blythborough*, whence their bones were removed Bury, have been covered with brass figures, and more probably belong to Sir John Hopton, temp. Henry VI. and one of the Swillingtons. Gardiner¹ describes a black marble coffin, which may rather belong to Anna.

King INA, by some accident or other, has not obtained so modern a cenotaph, but is said to lie under a plain whitish coffin-fashioned stone in the centre of the nave at *Wells*, which church he founded about the beginning of the eighth century.

"In the new chapel at *Glastenbury*, a very faire toombe of king EDGAR, copper gilt."

That of SEBBA king of the East Saxons, 676, in old *St. Paul's*, like its companion ERKENWALD's 1017, their conformity proves to have been made when that church was rebuilt, about 1083².

That of ETHELWED, at *Winbornminster*, the form of the letters on the brass plate proves to be not older than the Reformation.

ALDHELM's, at *Malmesbury*, is in a style very superior to the rudeness of the seventh century; and so is ALDRED, at *Gloucester*, which Mr. Ray³ calls king

¹ Archæol. II. 203.

² Hist. of Dunwich, p. 124.

³ Description of Glastenbury, at the end of Hearne's Hemmingsford, p. 641.

⁴ Dugdale's St. Paul's, p. 92.

⁵ Itinerary, p. 852.

Lucius, the first Christian king. And Atkyns¹ says "he lies as if he had been laid in a manger: his freestone figure on a *shelf* tomb, which is only a beautiful and singular altar tomb arching forward on pillars. His figure holds a church.

Bishop LEOFRIC's, at *Exeter*, is confessedly of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

What has been mistaken for HAROLD's tomb at *Waltham* abbey is the cistern of a garden fountain in James the First's time.

The current tradition of *Waltham* is, that the piece of dark grey marble, with a gaping head between two tritons in bold relief, formerly fixed at the further end of Mr. Jones's cellar at the abbey house, since the demolition of that house removed to that of some of the inhabitants, and now, by favour of Sir William Wake, baronet, in my possession, belonged to HAROLD's tomb. Farmer has engraved a like head, then in his house, now fixed in the wall of a house on the bank, as it is called, formerly inhabited by him, and an inscription under it, which says it was part of Harold's tomb. Both fragments are in a style too good for Harold's age. There is nothing in either face characteristic of a tomb. Nor is it likely, or scarce possible, that Harold, or any other person, should have been buried in the place fixed upon by Fuller, which is at least as far East as the whole length of the present church, and too far for the choir, or eastern chapel, of such a church as *Waltham* church, however magnificent it appears to have been, to have extended. It is therefore most probable, that these fragments served some other purpose, and may have been a basin to a fountain, under which they are said to have been found. Smith's description of the tomb insinuates, that it was unornamented. Fuller says it was plain, except the cross fleury, the most usual ornament of tombs in that age and later, though Arthur's had a cross, if we believe Leland². Fuller would hardly have omitted the two faces, had they been there. By his *pillorets* it should seem this coffin-fashioned monument was raised from the ground, a circumstance not unusual at that time, or had some arch work in relief at the sides. Knighton expressly says³ of Harold's tomb that it was "*tumulatio cum imagine*." Mr. Morant says, Dr. Uvedale, of Enfield, was the last who saw the tomb at *Waltham* mill, which must have been about sixty years ago. From that time to the present it has never been heard of; but the fragments here described exhibited instead of it. The account given by Sir Edward Denny of the discovery of Harold's body here on his clearing away the rubbish of the abbey, is no more than that his gardiner found a stone coffin, with a skeleton, which crumbled to pieces on touching. Fuller adds, that he was buried in the garden, under a leaden fountain, where, in his time, was a bowling green, which formerly belonged to the earl of Carlisle. Accordingly the fragments in question were accompanied with a pedestal of the same marble, about fourteen inches square and nineteen high, having on two of the sides two lions rampant against a wheatheaf, the crest of Cecil, and other ornaments, on the other two sides, and through one of the corners a hole, as for a pipe. From the particular of the cross fleury one might perhaps refer the coffin to an abbot. As to the epitaph, Fuller omits it, as not sufficiently attested; perhaps only made by some rhyming monk, in the abbey-register; a common practice.

Of the same legendary cast is the tomb shewn against the South wall of the choir at *Chesler*, for that of the emperor HENRY IV. who, after a distracted reign of fifty years, insulted by that wretch pope Gregory VII. who, to support an independent power of disposing of ecclesiastical preferments in his dominions, stirred up his subjects and his own sons against him, was at last formally dethroned, by his

¹ Hist. of Gloucestershire, p. 131.

² Itin. III. 85.

³ II. 243.

son Henry V. and being refused a lay-prebend's place in the church of Spire, ended his days at Liege, 1106, and was there buried; afterwards dug up, by order of pope Pascal II. and left above ground five years, till his son having in his turn quarrelled with the pope, caused him to be deposited in the imperial vault at Spire. Giraldus Cambrensis¹ is the first who tells us he was buried at Chester, and Camden copies him. But besides that Giraldus, or his informer, confounds this emperor with his son; he tells a story equally improbable and false of Harold, whom the people of Chester pretended to have escaped the battle of Hastings, and after leading the life of a hermit, ended his days and was buried among them. It is probable therefore those who copied the story from Giraldus are answerable for the confusion of persons, as those who informed him are for burying an emperor of Germany at Chester, under an altar tomb adorned with quatrefoils. Browne Willis describes his tomb as a "pyramid on an arch, towering six or seven yards above the roof of the cloister or side aisle, having no other ornaments answering it, and seeming as antient as any part of the church." He adds, "a story goes, in a MS. of one Godeshal², a great man, dying in this monastery; and it is conjectured, this pyramid was erected over his grave³." This does not appear in the South view of the church in his cathedrals: but in a South view, by Smith, there is a kind of *stone bee-hive*, with a door, towering above the roof, but on the opposite side of the aisle to the tomb.

Orc's, at *Abbotbury*, is a cenotaph of any age; an antient coffin of black marble, with a cover of the same⁴.

The figures called the Saxon kings at *Axminster* are some religious of later date; and the bones taken up here filled with lead, and preserved in the sexton's house, till it was burnt a few years ago, have as little pretensions to royalty as the supposed owners of them had to reality; for neither the field of battle, nor the heroes of it, are known.

"In the North aisle at Hexham is a monument in the wall, in such a form as usually designed at the building of churches for founders or great benefactors: but to what personage this belongs is not known, no insignia or inscription remaining. It is supposed to be the tomb of ALFWOLD, king of Northumberland, who was assassinated at Cilchester by Sigga, a factious lord of his court, A.D. 788. I measured an effigy which lays near this tomb, and found it answering exactly in length. The tomb is formed in an aperture made through the wall, by an elegant piece of arched work. The effigy represents an ecclesiastic, with his hood thrown back to his forehead, his hand elevated, and robed to the feet; the folds of the drapery thrown into excellent order, easy, and elegant⁵."

In *Bosenhams* church, Suffex, is an antient monument, with a female figure on it, supposed to be a daughter of king Canute⁶. They might as well suppose it a daughter of Harold.

AESCHWINE, or AESCHWY, twelfth bishop of Dorchester, from about 980 to about 1000, had "an image of freestone that lay on his tomb, as appeared by the inscription in Leland's time⁷. This may be the defaced figure in freestone of an archbishop, dug up some years since in the North aisle, and now lying in the South aisle.

¹ "Imperatorem Romanum Henricum se jussit hæc urbs habere sepultum. Qui quoniam suis diebus tam patrem carnalem quam etiam spirituale, summum pontificem scil. Pascalem incarcerationi, demum penitentia ductus & ultro-
neus exul effectus sanctam in eremo finibus illis vitam (ut fertur) consummavit." This double imprisonment of his spiritual and temporal father is true of Henry V. but Henry IV. was but six years old at the death of his father.

² Mr. Pennant, Wales, I. 183, says, the emperor Henry is said to have "retided in *Godstall-Lane*, in this city.

³ Mittr. Ab. I. 250. ⁴ Hutchins's Dorset, I. 539.

⁵ Hutchinson's View of Northumberland, 1778. vol. I. 98.

⁶ Newbery's Description of England, IX. 173.

⁷ It. II. 10.

Nothing remains of king SEBERT, at *Westminster*, but the arch under which his stone coffin was probably deposited. The beautiful paintings over it are acknowledged to be coeval with the foundation of the abbey by Henry III. and by 'Vertue ascribed to Cavallini'. One cannot help lamenting the peculiar hard fate of these morceaux. Of the eight whole length figures, that of Becket, we may be assured, fell the first sacrifice. Another has perished by the pannel being taken out to make a passage to some of the royal family, who were seated on this tomb at coronations. The rest on the back of the choir have been the sport of idle boys, and are completely scratched out. The only two perfect ones came to light in the new modification of the choir, and happily furnished Sir Joseph Ayloffe with an opportunity of getting them engraved before they were shut up again for ever. These are as beautifully engraved as they were drawn, by Mr. Bafire, at the expence of the Society of Antiquaries, for their *Vetusta Monumenta*.

A small whole length figure of a bishop or abbot, with crozier and mitre in the South wall of the nave at *Sherborne*, has, from its pure simplicity, a chance of being original.

The like figure of a bishop in the South wall of the chancel of the Temple church is ascribed in a MS. note of Browne Willis, in his history of that church, to Sylvester de Everdon, bishop of Carlisle, who died 1254, of a fall from a mettlesome horse.

The figure of AILWIN, who founded *Ramsay* abbey, A. D. 969, is one of the oldest genuine sepulchral monuments among us, and almost the only remains of that rich house, where it now lies neglected in a yard*. It is habited in a kind of mantle, bulkins and pileus: the right hand holds two keys and a ragged staff, the left lies on the breast: over the top of the Gothic arch over him is a representation of two angels carrying off his soul as it rises from the tomb. Ailwin is styled duke or earl of the East Angles, and *alderman of all England*. The title of *Aldermannus* is shewn by Spelman† to be synonymous to that of *Dux* and *Comes*: and that of *Alderman of all England* to that of *Half King*, which his father Athelstan held on account of his great influence with the king of that name‡. His epitaph calls him *Cousin* to king Edgar: I suppose because his mother Alfwen was that prince's nurse. On his tomb was this epitaph:

"*Hic requiescit Alkwinus incliti regis Edwini cognatus*

"*totius Anglie aldermanus, et hujus sacri cenobii*

"*miraculose fundator*."

The Cromwells converted the abbey-house into a mansion-house, and this figure was dug out of a pond belonging to it, in the time of Charles II. when colonel Titus owned it. The head was broken off in the frost 1745.

BRITHNOTH, duke, earl, or alderman, of Northumberland, for so many different titles he bears in the Saxon Chronicle and Annals of Ramsay and Ely, who was slain in battle with the Danes, A. D. 991, was buried by the monks of Ely, to whom he had been a great benefactor, in their old conventual church, and thence removed to the new one, where his bones were lodged with those of their oldest benefactors, in the North wall of the choir built in the time of Edward the Third, with portraits of them on the face of each recess. On the removal of

* Archæol. I. 37.

† Strukeley, Itin. L. 77. Pl. xvii.

‡ Gloss. in voce.

§ See Hist. Ramefienfis, c. iii. p. 387. Ed. Gale.

¶ Dugd. Bar. I. 17.

the choir they were taken out, and reposit in niches over the tomb of bishop West in his chapel. The bones of this nobleman had this peculiar circumstance attending them, that his head being carried away by the victorious Danes, the monks supplied its place with a wax one, which was not found on the second removal¹. By the measure of his thigh bone he is supposed to have been six feet and a half high².

ATHELSTAN bishop of Elmham, who died 996, and EDNOTH bishop of Dorchester, slain by the Danes, 916: WULSTAN archbishop of York, who died 1023; ALSWIN and ELFGAR, bishops of Elmham, 1021—1029; and OSMUND a Swedish prelate, 1016, were of this party; and all men of large dimensions, being rather more than six feet high. A MS in Ely library³ says, on the first removal of archbishop Wulstan, "corpus dissolutum invenerunt; sed cafulam et "pallium auratis spinulis affixum, cum stola & manipula invenerunt, ut mirum "fuerit tanto temporis spatio sub putredine corporis potuisse illa saltem in aliqua "sua parte durasse." The pin of brass, once gilt, $5\frac{1}{10}$ ths of an inch long, the head flat or lozenge, adorned on each side with a different flourish, was shewn by Mr. Bentham to the Society of Antiquaries, June 2, 1777.

Giraldus' account of the finding of ARTHUR's body is in his "Speculum Ecclesiasticum," where he adds, that the bones were of gigantic proportion, the tibia being three fingers longer than that of the then abbot, the space between the eyes and forehead a hand's breadth, and in the head ten wounds, his death-wound larger than the rest. The leaden cross (engraved in Camden's Britannia) was let into the stone, the letters next to the stone. The anonymous monk of Glastonbury adds, that the tomb of his queen being opened at the same time (1189), her yellow hair was found nicely braided, which fell to pieces on the touch. It does not appear that these corpses lay *between* the pyramids mentioned by Malmesbury⁴, or that they had any relation to them. Matthew Paris, indeed, in Leland's Assertio Arturi, p. 54. says they stood *circa* farcophagum; but query, if the names so different in the printed copy and MSS of Malmesbury had any reference to Arthur, or were those of persons buried in these pyramids, as Malmesbury thinks. William of Worcester⁵ describes the place of Arthur's burial between two hollow stone crosses in the churchyard opposite the second window of the South side of St. Mary's chapel [which I take to be St. Joseph's], at the West end of the church, and there lies Joseph of Arimathea in *linea bifurcata*. Edward I. and Queen Eleanor opened the tombs of Arthur and his Queen, and removed them before the high altar, putting into them an account of this proceeding, with all the bones, except the skulls.

Leland⁶ describes Arthur's tomb in the middle of the presbytery at Glastonbury between Edward the elder and Edward Ironside. On it this epitaph by abbot Swansey,

*Hic jacet Arturus, flos regum, gloria regni,
Quem mores, probitas, commendant laude perenni.*

Lower, at the feet of the tomb:

*Arturi jacet hic conjux tumulata secundo,
Quæ meruit celos virtutum prole secunda.*

¹ In the vault with archbishop Rotheram's bones at York was found a wooden head, exactly resembling a barber's block, with a stick thrust through the neck to carry it on. This head is a piece of extraordinary sculpture for that age (the end of the fifteenth century); but whether it be a representation of his own, or of some titular saint, Mr. Drake could not determine. He thought it most probable that it was a resemblance of his own; for dying of the plague his body being buried immediately an image was substituted instead of it, for a more grand and solemn interment, of which this served for the head. Drake, p. 447. 480.

² Hist. of Ely, p. 85. Archæol. II. 364.

³ L. II. c. 57.

⁴ Gale, 306.

⁵ P. 294.

⁶ Itin. III. 85.

At the head this inscription,

Henricus abbas I suppose Swanfey, who might make the tomb.

a crucifix at the head, the figure of Arthur at the feet, a cross on the tomb, two lions at the head and two at the feet of the tomb, touching the ground¹.

ALDHELM was buried under the high altar at Malmesbury, but the East end and both the transepts being ruined at the dissolution, his monument is now shewn on the South side of the present altar. It is an altar-tomb of free-stone, with a recumbent figure, habited in a mantle, with a close coat, and on his head a crown somewhat resembling the naval crown of the Romans, his hair long and flowing, his beard curled, a cushion with two angels under his head, and at it a canopy broken, as if made of plaster; his hands broken, a lion at his feet.

Mr. Lethieullier goes on to observe, that "the period immediately after the Conquest was not a time for people to think of such memorials for themselves or friends. Few could then tell how long the lands they enjoyed would remain their own; and most indeed were soon put into the hands of new possessors, who frequently, as we find in Domesday, &c. held thirty or forty manors at a time. All *then* above the rank of servants were soldiers; the sword alone made the gentleman; and accordingly, on a strict enquiry, we shall meet with few or no monuments of that age, except for the kings, royal family, or some few of the chief nobility and leaders; among which those for the Veres earls of Oxford, at Earls Colne in Essex, are some of the most ancient. And thus I imagine it continued through the troublesome reign of Stephen, and during the confusion which prevailed while the Barons' wars subsisted, and until the 9th of king Edward III."

From this opinion I must beg leave to differ. The tombs of Gundreda counts Warren, the Conqueror's niece, at Lewes; of William de Eincourt, at Lincoln, of Bishop Roger, at Salisbury; of Ilbert de Chaz, at Monkton Farley, and many others hereafter described, will serve to refute it; and though a concurrence of various circumstances has thinned the memorials of the eleventh and twelfth centuries more than those of the succeeding ones, there is no reason to doubt that many more once existed, perhaps in as great numbers as those that came after them.

"In the 9th of Edward III. Magna Charta being confirmed, and every man's security better established, property became more dispersed, manors were in more divided hands, and the lords of them began to settle on their possessions in the country. In that age many parish churches were built; and it is not improbable the care of a resting-place for their bodies, and monuments to preserve their memories, became more general and diffused.

"The holy war, and vows of pilgrimage in the holy land, were then esteemed highly meritorious. Knights Templars were received, cherished, and enriched, throughout Europe; and they being usually buried cross-legged², in token of the banner they fought under, and completely armed, in regard to their being soldiers, this sort of monument grew much in fashion: and though all which we meet with in that shape are vulgarly called so, yet I am certain many are not; and indeed I have rarely found any which I could be certain were for persons who had been of that order.

"This religious order of laymen had its rise but in the year 1118. And in 1134, we find Robert duke of Normandy, son to William the Conqueror,

¹ Vulgar tradition ascribes to Arthur and his Queen two mean altar tombs which have had each an ordinary brass figure on each side of the altar to the altar in St. John's church, Glastonbury. That on the south side has had a woman in a mitred head dress, four shields with G. a cross A. between angels, and one shield at the feet. The opposite tomb exactly uniform with this had the figure of a man.

² For this particular we seem to want authority.

represented in this fashion on his tomb at Gloucester¹. Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, was represented thus on his fine tomb, which was in St. Paul's before the fire of London. And in the Temple church there still remain the cross-legged effigies of William Marshall earl of Pembroke, who died 1210, William his son, who died 1231, and Gilbert, another son, who died 1241; none of whom, I take for granted, were of the order of Templars. If these monuments were designed to denote at least their having been in the Holy Land, yet all who had been there did not follow this fashion; for Edmond Crouchback, earl of Lancaster, second son to Henry III, had been there; and yet, as appears by his monument, still in being in Westminster abbey, is not represented cross-legged. However, it seems to have been a prevailing fashion till the 6th of Edward II. anno 1312; when, the order of Templars coming to destruction, and into the highest contempt, their fashions of all kinds seem to have been totally abolished."

The question about cross-legged figures on tombs is curious and interesting. Mr. Lethieullier mistakes in saying the legs of Edmond Crouchback are not crossed, as his figure engraved in pl. XXVI. will evince. Among the many effigies of private lords of manors neglected and mutilated in our parochial churches, and not always ascertained, not a few in this attitude bespeak them to have been infected with that holy rage. To have taken the vow of crossfading was enough to be so commemorated, whether they actually went or not. Indeed, as we have so much certainty about several, on what other principle, without actual evidence, or to whom but crossfaders, can we refer the other figures, whose legs are crossed? Mr. Lethieullier's objection to Robert de Waleran being a knight Templar, because he abetted Henry III. in plundering the Templars at London is of little weight; he might be a tool of that prince, who was himself a crossfader². Pope Innocent had a trick of absolving crossfaders from their vows for a little money³. The crimes alledged as a reason for suppressing the order of Templars may fairly enough be presumed against certain individuals of the order.

But it is by no means necessary that these parties so represented were of the Order of the Templars, whose vow enjoined celibacy, and these figures have neither the habit nor badge of the order. Not any particular order therefore, but the vow of going to the holy land, either on a crusade or pilgrimage, is the object in question. And on this last account only can we suppose a lady of the family of Mepham to be so represented, as well as her husband, in a tomb in a chapel adjoining to the once collegiate church of Howden in Yorkshire⁴. I do not recollect a church belonging to any place where there was a preceptory of this order now remaining with their monuments except in London. Dr. Salmon says, "The Bensted at Bennington, c. Herts, is not to be supposed a *Knight Templar* from the posture, for he has no shield. Beside, though it be possible his wife was dead when he entered into the order, there is I believe no instance to be found of a woman in the same monument. There are examples of cross-legged figures which are known not to have been either Templars nor Hospitallars. In a niche of Tenbury church, in Shropshire, lies a child cross-legged, supposed to be a son of lord Arundel⁵." If the above arguments were well founded they would greatly favour what I take to be the most probable hypothesis, that the crossing of the legs was a badge of a *crossfader*, and not of either of the military orders. There is another instance of a lady on the same tomb with her cross-legged husband in the monument of Sir Fulk Fitz Warin one of the Knights of the Garter, 34 Edward I. in the chancel at Wantage, c. Berks, which is determined by the arms and other circumstances though the inscription is gone. He died 23 Edward III⁶.

¹ He was a leader in the first crusade, 1096.

² Nash's Worcesterth. I. 31.

³ Herts, p. 196.

⁴ Rapin, III. 379.

⁵ Ib. 381.

⁶ Ashmole, II. 229. Mr. Ashmole does not express the circumstance of crossing the legs, but his drawing in the Herald's college does.

Neither does it follow, that persons who had been of the order, or engaged in the holy war, would decline the distinction on their tombs, even after the suppression of the order, or the cessation of the croisfades, which happened forty years before¹. Sir Robert de Bois is represented crois-legged², though he died within a year of the first of these events, which we cannot suppose him ignorant of, it having taken place in France before it happened in England, 1312. Aymer de Valence, who died 1323, eleven years after the suppression, is represented crois-legged³; so is one of the Benets, whom I supposed to have died at the same time⁴; and John Sturmy, who is crois-legged at Tenbury, may have lived to as late a period⁵. John of Eltham, the son of the king who suppressed the order, has his legs croft on his monument erected 1334⁶; so has Robert de Hungerford, 1354⁷, which is no proof of the monument being erected in his life-time; a practice of which no instance has occurred to me. So has one of the Hufleys, at Flintham, c. Nottingham, where his family had not possession before 8 Edward III⁸; and one in Cromhall church, c. Gloucester, ascribed to a Ligon, of which family George lived in the reign of Richard II. and Richard in that of Henry IV⁹. This has since been built into the wall. The crois-legged figure in Cubberley church, c. Gloucester, belongs to some of the Berkleys, of whom Sir Thomas held the manor 8 Edward III. 1335. and his son Thomas 6 Henry IV¹⁰. It seems more certain that the like figure in Downe Amney church, in the same county, bearing on his shield a crois of St. George charged with five escallops belongs to Nicholas de Villers or Valers, who held the manor 15 Edward I. and was in the Holy War, 1268, when, Mr. Rudder says¹¹, he relinquished his paternal coat, S. 3 cinqfoils A. for the other, which was the antient badge of the Croisfes¹². Of this last figure Sir Robert Atkins¹³ says, "the man lieth like a Knight Templar." This church belonged to the Knights Templars. The figure at Alvechurch, c. Worcestershire, may belong to either Thomas or John Blanchfront, the former of whom lived in the reign of Henry III. or Edward I. the latter is mentioned in a deed 21 Edward III¹⁴. In Aldworth church, Berks, are four crois-legged figures of the Beches, of which family the first on record lived in the reign of Edward II. the last in that of his son¹⁵.

Mr. Hutchins, supposing such figures not to have exceeded the croisfades, imagines the two crois-legged figures in St. Peter's church Dorchester older than the Chidlocks, who founded the priory there about 38 Edward III¹⁶, to whom Mr. Coker ascribed them. One in the chancel of Winborn St. Giles belonged to the Malmaynes, lords there temp. Henry I. or the Pleccys, who held the manor during the reigns of Edward II. and III¹⁷. One at Stoke Gaylard, to Ingelram Walleys, temp. Edward I. the first known lord after the Conquest¹⁸. Mr. Blomefield ascribes the figure in South Acre church, Norfolk, to Eudo Arfick, the first of the name, who lived in the reign of Henry I¹⁹. Of the three antient figures in the window fills of Hitchin church²⁰, said to be brought from Temple Dinsley Preceptory adjoining, only one has its legs croft. These are a few of the many instances that might be alledged of figures retaining the crois-legged attitudes after the Croisfades, and suppression of the order.

I doubt not more instances might be produced of crois-legged figures on tombs during the remainder of the 14th century. There are but six such figures in the whole county of Warwick; nor more in that of Nottingham; twelve in Gloucestershire, nine in Berks: but only one in Norfolk.

¹ No subsequent attempt to raise a croisfade succeeded. Sir Walter Malbyffe of Acafter Malbyffe, c. York, mortgaged his estate there to William Fairfax of Scalton, 1366, to raise money for a croisfade, the estate to remain to Fairfax's son if chard if he did not return. He died the same year.

² See p. 85.

³ Pl. xxix. xxx.

⁴ P. 91.

⁵ Nash's Worcestersh. II. 418. 420.

⁶ Pl. xxxi. xxxiii.

⁷ P. 107.

⁸ Thoroton, p. 135.

⁹ Rodder, 397. Nash's Worcestersh. II. 118.

¹⁰ Rudder, 399.

¹¹ P. 416.

¹² I doubt this is a mistake for the *single escallop*, that being the badge of pilgrims.

¹³ See p. 10.

¹⁴ Nash's Worcestersh. I. 31.

¹⁵ Dugd. Bar. II. 127.

¹⁶ Dorset, I. 389.

¹⁷ Ib. II. 219.

¹⁸ Ib. 250.

¹⁹ III. 416.

²⁰ Salmon, Hertis. p. 164.

In the North aisle at Eastwick is a fine figure, in dark grey marble, on a coffin-fashioned stone, with many mouldings; the pews conceal his legs, but Salmon¹ calls him a Templar, and he may be Richard de Thany, or his son Richard, lords of this manor, in the reign of Henry III. or Edward I.

I observe here *en passant*, that several persons went to the Croisade as *proxies* for others, and yet it should seem their constituents are represented cross-legged. Such was Hugh Travers son of Simon de Auvrington, who went for William Staunton of Staunton, c. Nottingham; and yet both probably are represented by the two figures in that attitude in Stanton church².

The cross-legged figure is rarely met with on brasses. I recollect but three. One is a Trumpington, in Trumpington church, Cambridgeshire, whose arms are in the window at Hilburgh, Norfolk³. The others, two knights at Gorleston and Acton, Suffolk. If these are not admitted as late specimens of the attitude, they must be early ones of the material.

"To these Mr. Lethieullier thinks succeed the table tomb, with figures cumbent on it, with their hands joined in a praying posture, sometimes with a rich canopy of stone over them, sometimes without it; and again, the more plain without any figures. Round the edge of these for the most part were inscriptions on brass plates, which are now too frequently destroyed."

Mr. Lethieullier is certainly mistaken in his date of the *table tomb with figures cumbent on it*, if he thinks it posterior to the cross-legged figures; for the instances of those very figures before mentioned all lie on table-tombs, though all the tables are not raised on altars. But the whole wording of the passage is incorrect. Neither the praying posture of the hands, nor the presence or absence of the stone canopy or figures, or inscriptions on brass plates, were peculiar to the æra here assigned them; but prior to it.

The figures embossed, or carved in low relief, on the lids of coffins, were the first attempt at the cumbent figure. Such an one Mr. Blomefield⁴ describes in the churchyard of Neston, Norfolk, the effigy of a lady in an antique dress, without shield or inscription. Such are the half-lengths in Brandon churchyard, Suffolk, and three in Notgrove churchyard, c. Gloucester⁵. But these kind of partial figures are not always of the highest antiquity. A lady of the Bracebridge family is represented only by a head in a quatrefoil, on a slab at Kingsbury, c. Warwick⁶. A knight and lady at Stoke Rochford, c. Lincoln, only to the middle. Such too are the monuments within the walls of Lichfield cathedral, "of a most frugal nature, having no appearance of any part but the head and feet."

A curious question arises here how far the effigies on tombs are to be considered as *portraits*. That this is the case on our regal monuments there seems no doubt. They discover a superiority of style which bespeaks resemblance. This may hold also with respect to particular monuments of lords or prelates after the thirteenth century. Dr. Stukeley thought all the statues of Queen Eleanor copies of each other, and of her real features. The same may be said of many elegant statues on the fronts or sides of churches; and Hearne⁷ affirms the Virgin Mary was copied from the queens of the time. But before that time the knights, the crusaders, the abbots, and the bishops, are too uniform and rude to mean any thing more than a human figure.

¹ Herts, p. 255.

² Blomei. III. 439.

³ Ruders, 583.

⁴ Pennant's Journey from Cheddar, p. 108.

⁵ Pref. to Gull. Neub. p. 122.

⁶ Thoroton, p. 156. 165.

⁷ III. 396.

⁸ Dugdale's Warwicksh. p. 63.

Among Piranesi's "Vasi e Candelabri," is a curious sepulchral monument of an oblong form, with the figures of a man and woman half recumbent as on a seat in a triclinium, surrounded by a border or battlement: on the sides of the tomb in four and two compartments or arches, the labours of Hercules. This may be one of the oldest altar-tombs. The posture is not uncommon on the funeral monuments of the Greeks and Romans.

How much more natural is the old cumbent attitude representing the body as actually laid in a tomb below than the varied attitudes of modern times, which seem to suppose the party reanimated, or never dead!

The materials of these figures was stone, of various kinds: freestone, alabaſter, Purbeck, Suffex, or other marbles. Abbé Winkelman observes of the antient statues that as alabaſter was too hard to make the whole figures of, the extremities were generally of bronze. There is but one head (or rather one face of it, for the hinder part is wanting) at Rome, and that is a head of Adrian. Of whole figures we have only three Dianas and the fine Torſo in armour, now at St. Ildesfonſo in Spain; the head and arms of this laſt are of bronze gilt. There are alſo ſome Hermes and ſome buſts¹. England abounds with ſtatues of alabaſter; thoſe of various marbles ſeem to have grown into diſuſe after the thirteenth century; and as their ſubſtance was originally in many inſtances concealed by gorgeous paintings, in later times all is confounded by the plaſterer's bruſh². The figures of Sir John Davis, knight banneret, who died 1625, and his two wives, in Pangborn church, Berks, are all carved out of chalk. In the will of Sir William Manwaring, of Cheſhire, knight, dated 1394, he orders a *picture* of alabaſter to cover his tomb in Aſton church³. By a like miſnomer the ſtatue of George I. in the High Street, Glouceſter, is to this day called the king's *picture*. William Willbraham applies this term to a braſs plate on a ſlab, to be laid over him and his wife in the ſame church. That of William Tuſton of Aſton⁴, at Northampton, is called in his will his *picture*⁵. Thomas Stanley earl of Derby, in his will, 1504, mentions the *perſonages* which he had cauſed to be made for his anceſtors⁶.

Figures in wood are of various ages, and not ſo uncommon as at firſt imagined. Perhaps one of the oldeſt was that of biſhop Caducan in Dore abbey, c. Hereford. The next may be Robert Curthoſe, in Glouceſter cathedral, 1134, though Leland⁷ ſays his figure was made long ſince his death. Two at Danbury, c. Eſſex, referred by Mr. Morant⁸ to the St. Cleres in the reign of Stephen; William de Meſſing founder of Meſſing church, in the ſame county; a knight in Buers church, Suffolk; Bois at Fersfield, Bardolph at Banham, Sir Roger Harlick, firſt of that ſurname, at South Acre⁹, all in Norfolk. William Valence earl of Pembroke, at Weſtmiſter, has both a tomb and figure of wood, while the wooden figures of William Longeſpee earl of Salisbury at Salisbury, and archbiſhop Peckham at Canterbury, lie on ſtone tombs. There is one with a lady at Sparholt, c. Berks¹⁰, and a lady in Englefield church in the

¹ Hiſt. de l'Art.

² The occaſional decoration of our pariſh churches, and, I am ſorry to add, our cathedrals, is a terrible enemy to the remain of antiquity; though it muſt be confeſſed, whitewashing has preſerved ſeveral valuable ones from the rage of ſeaſonable. In the autumn of 1724, Mr. Oud and myſelf reſcued ſome of the fineſt relięs on a ſeat at Haddingham in Suffolk, and an inſcription round the foot of another at Stradbroke, in the ſame county, from the plaſter and ſlime which had covered and filled them up.

³ Veru. m's journey from Ch. ſet, p. 21.

⁴ Collins's Peſſage, II. 349.

⁵ It. IV. 174.

⁶ Mr. Morant (c. 6) haſtily concluded the ſtatue of Robert Vere at Hatfield Broad Oak was of wood. Weever (p. 815) has confounded this Roger with his deſcendant and namesake who lived in the reign of Henry V. and VI. and was buried under an altar-tomb formerly adorned with braſſes on the North ſide of the chancel at South Acre, whereas this wooden figure really lies under the South wall of the chancel. Hence Mr. Blomefield conjectures, that "his collection was not made by his own view, but taken on truſt and as it was ignorantly communicated to him."

⁷ Norf. III. 418.

⁸ Allyn. II. 206.

⁹ It. p. 23.

¹⁰ Dugd. Bar. II. 249.

same county: William Delapole earl of Suffolk, 1389, and his lady, at Wingfield in Suffolk; and a knight and lady at Heveningham, in the same county, are all made of wood, and hollow as the figure of Bois; whence it is plain that wooden figures did not serve as covers to coffins, however stone ones might. Among cross-legged figures of the same material we may reckon one at Abergavenny; one in St. Mary Overy's church, Southwark; one at Burfield, Berks¹. It was not till the 14th century, I believe, that the whole monument, canopy, and figures, were made of oak, as of Sir Culpeper and lady, at Godehurst, Kent; and Henry Neville earl of Westmorland, who died 1564, 5 Elizabeth, with his two wives, at Staindrop, c. Durham. The maker of this last is recorded on the ledge, John Starbottom².

Bronze, or copper plain or gilt, was too costly a material for common use in statues; and hence we find the wooden figure of William Valence earl of Pembroke only plated with it. Godwin describes the tomb of bishop Grossthead, who died 1254, as having an image of brass *over* it³. Whether by this he means a statue or inlaid figure (most probably the latter) cannot now be determined, for the slab which probably rested on pillars, or an altar, is gone⁴.

The first instance of a brass statue among us is that of Henry III. himself; the second his daughter-in-law, queen Eleanor, who had two⁵, one at Westminster and one at Lincoln: whence it may be no improbable conjecture, that monumental brasses among us owe their introduction to the improved state of the arts at that time.

Peter de Dreux, duke of Bretagne and earl of Richmond, who died 1250, and was buried in the church of St. Yved de Braine, is there represented in relief, on his tomb of copper⁷.

We are told that Henry III. caused a figure of his daughter Catharine, who died 1257, to be made of *silver*.

Gilbert Clare the first earl of Gloucester, who died 14 Henry III. had an image of *silver* on his tomb in Tewksbury choir⁸.

Queen Katherine caused to be set up for her comfort, Henry V. a statue covered all over with silver plate gilded, "the head whereof was all of massy silver⁹," and consequently soon stolen.

It is not easy to account for several figures of smaller proportion than ordinary which one meets with in some churches. In the North wall of the church at Pirton, c. Herts, is a low small arch, which may have been for the founder, as there is at Ansty in the same county, where he lies in a sort of miniature, at half the bigness of a man¹⁰. In the South aisle of this latter church is a very old stone with the effigies of a man in a very grave habit, less than the life, which is said to be for Richard de Anestie, who built the church in the reign of Henry III¹¹. To these add the three figures in the window fills of Berkeley church, Gloucestershire¹²; whether intended for incubants or younger branches of the Berkeley family. In the church of Mapowder, Dorset, is another figure of almost infantine proportion¹³; and on the window frame at Botsford stands a lit-

¹ Ashmole, I. 26.

² Ib. I. 30.

³ This monument is wretchedly engraved in the Antiquarian Repertory, I. 246.

⁴ English ed. 1601. p. 240.

⁵ See Pl. XVI. where it is represented agreeable to Mr. Essex's idea of its original state, and thus it will resemble that of Dean Langton at York.

⁶ Richard I. had two statues: one over his body at Fontevraud, the other over his heart at Rouen. Montfaucon, Mon. de la Mon. Fr. II. 114.

⁷ *en belle sur la tombe de cuivre*, Montfaucon, Mon. de la Mon. Fr. II. p. 162. pl. xxx. f. 1. He seems to distinguish brass or copper figures from plates of the same metals, by calling the former "tombe de cuivre," and the latter only "figure de cuivre."

⁸ Leland, Jr. VI. 68.

⁹ Weaver, p. 474.

¹⁰ Salmon, Herts, p. 172.

¹¹ Ib. 294.

¹² P. 114.

¹³ Hutchins, II. 268.

the figure of speckled marble, about eighteen inches high, of a knight in complete mail and mantle: his hands joined, and his shield on his left arm; his legs broken off; under his head a cushion. Dr. Nash¹ describes another in the chancel at Tenbury, c. Worcester, the figure of a child in complete armour and a furcoat; between his hands, which are raised on his breast, a large heart, his legs crossed, and at his feet a talbot. This may have been a son of John Sturmy the crossader, and have followed his father under age. In the South aisle at Long Witton, Berks, is a cross-legged figure, three quarters fixed in the wall². There is another such figure, but not cross-legged, in Frampton church, in the same county, which Mr. Hutchins³ is for referring to the infant son of Mr. Coker, in the last century, under whose monument it is. But the situation alone proves it of higher antiquity. Among the monuments of the Veres at Earl's Coln priory, Weever⁴ describes "a little monument of alabaster, on which is the image of one in a gown with a purse hanging at his girdle: he is in length about four feet."

The effigies of William of Windsor and Blanche de la Tour, children of Edward III. who died infants, are the only figures among us that bear any proportion to the small natural size. P. Montfaucon observes, that in France it was not uncommon to represent children as of full proportion⁵.

"At the same time, continues Mr. Lethieullier, came in common use the humble grave-stone laid flat with the pavement, sometimes with an inscription cut round the border of the stone, sometimes enriched with costly plates of brass. But either avarice, or an over-zealous aversion to some words in the inscription, has robbed most of these stones of the brass which adorned them, and left the less room for certainty when this fashion began. Earlier than the 14th century I have seen or read of very few; and towards the beginning of that I am apt to think they were but scarce. One I think was produced at the Society of Antiquaries last year [1771], dated 1300; but of this I should be glad of a farther certainty. Weever mentions one in St. Paul's for Richard Newport, anno 1317, and gives another at Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire, which, by mistake, he dates 1306, the true date being 1356⁶. Upon the whole, where we have not a positive date, I should hardly guess any brass plate I met with to be older than 1350, and few so old; but from about 1380 they grew in common use, and remained so even to king James the First's time. Only after the reign of Edward the Sixth, we find the old Gothic square letter changed into the Roman round hand, and the phrase *Orate pro anima* universally omitted."

The flat gravestone, with and without the inscription inlaid in brass, is also of higher antiquity than Mr. Lethieullier ascribes to it. We have instances of it in the 13th century. The capital letters, whether Saxon, or Gothic, or a mixture of both, occur about the close of that century, and continue through the reigns of the three Edwards at least. These letters were cut deep in the stone, and brass or lead poured into them, which having been picked or worn out, the cavities retain a bold and legible impression in many parish churches in Hertfordshire and elsewhere. Mr. Blomfield gives one in North Pickenham church, for Margaret Wanton, who died in the reign of Edward II⁷. The oldest inscription in York cathedral, for Dean Langton, who died 1279, is of this sort undated⁸.

Simon de Beauchamp earl of Bedford, who completed the foundation of Newenham abbey near Bedford, and died before 9 John, 1208⁹, was buried

¹ Worcesterth, II. 420. This is the same, with that mentioned before p. xcv. from Salmon, who places it in Shropshire, and calls it a son of lord Arundel.

² Ashm. I. 70.

³ I. 323.

⁴ Mon. de la monarch. Fr. II. p. 160. 162. pl. xxvii. 4. xxviii. 1.

⁵ See another instance of his incorrectness in Blomfield, II. 625.

⁶ III. 111.

⁷ Dugd. Bar. I. 223.

⁸ Drake, 474.

⁹ P. 615.

before the high altar in St. Paul's church at Bedford, "with this epitaphie graven in brasse, and set on a flat marble stone.

*De Bello campo jacet hic sub marmore Simon
fundator de Newenham*¹.

which inscription seems to have remained in Leland's time. Richard de Berkyng abbot of Westminster, who died 1246, had a slab inlaid with his figure in *pontificalibus*, and an inscription on the ledge in brasse, the traces of which are still to be seen on the stone now lying in the area at the foot of the steps of Henry VII's chapel².

I lay no stress on the *picture inlaid with brasse* of Gilbert Crispin abbot of Westminster, who died 1114, though seen and described by Weever³, which I suspect to be of later manufacture. Nor on that which Mr. Bridges inaccurately ascribed to William Rowel, 1222, since there is every evidence to convince me it bears date 1351. Nor on the brasse figure supposed to have represented Isabel countess of Cornwall and Gloucester, who died before 1243, and was buried in Beaulieu abbey, though I have engraved it pl. XIV. There has been a brasse cross, &c. inlaid on the tomb of Robert Bingham bishop of Salisbury, who died 1247; and on the slab assigned by Mr. Dart to Roger de Wendover bishop of Rochester, who died 1250.

Whether the letters of bishop Gravefend's inscription, 1279, were inlaid with metal, or only cut as deep as Prior Bafyng's at Winchester, 1284, is uncertain; but marks of such inlaying may be still seen on the slab of William de Luda, bishop of Ely, who died 1298. Elias de Bekingham, who died after 27 Edward I. had both his figure and inscription inlaid in brasse in Botolph church. Mr. Lethieullier himself observes, that the pompous marble which lies over Nicholas Longespee, who died bishop of Salisbury [1297], and appears to have been richly plated, though the brasse is now gone, is one of the most remarkable of that kind that he had met with.

"Ela countess of Warwick, a woman of a very great riches and nobilitie, lythe buried at the hedde of the rumbe of Henry Oille, undre a very fair flat marble, in the habit of a woves [*vowes* or nun] *graven yn a copper plate*," says Leland⁴, who speaks as an eye-witness. She died 1300. This I had cited⁵ as one of the earliest instances of brasse plates, which I had added inadvertently were probably just introduced about this time. Mr. Rudder gives one in Badminton church for Ralph Botiler lord of Badminton, who died 3 Edward I. 1275, on a grey marble slab inlaid with brasse the figure of two knights, a shield with a lion rampant, and round the edge *Ralph Botiler, miles, dominus* . . .⁶. Thomas de Corbridge, archbishop of York, who died 1303, had a brasse figure on his slab at Southwell, long ago torn off⁷. Weever saw the brasse epitaph on the tomb of Walter Wenlok abbot of Westminster, who died 1307⁸.

The authorities above recited assign an early date to brasse figures, and by the beginning of the 14th century they were become so common that in 1308 a canon of Hereford could afford a very handsome one, though it is still the oldest sepulchral brasse, now entire and well preserved, that I have seen. A bishop of Salisbury, whom I suppose Mortival, who died 1329, was content with a cross inlaid in brasse⁹. If the vergers are right in giving this tomb to bishop Roger, brasse inlaying will be 150 years older.

¹ Lel. It. II. 19. Dugd. Bar. I. 73.

² Leland, It. I. 117. VIII. 71.

³ See p. 100.

⁴ Drake, 431.

⁵ See p. 22.

⁶ P. 157.

⁷ P. 486.

⁸ Dart, xxj.

⁹ P. 487.

The second archbishop of York that had brasses was Melior, 1340¹. We have seen that of Curtlington, at Westminster, 1331, was not one of the oldest abbatial brasses. How fast such memorials multiplied among all ranks from this period appears by innumerable instances.

Thomas de Cailey, rector of Weit Bradenham, Norfolk, from 1318 to 1324, has a brass in the chancel there: his head in a quatrefoil on a cross with something at the feet of it. The inscription in capitals round the rim:

*Continet. haec. fossa. Thome. nunc. corpus. et. ossa.
Ecclesie. rector. hujus. extitit. atq. protector.
Gratia. que. Dei. propitiatur. ei.*²

William de Neuport, prebendary of Credington and Wells, and rector of Redenhale in Norfolk, had one, 1326, with his figure and an inscription in antique capitals³.

William Ernald, rector of Carleton Rode in the same county, has in the chancel there his effigies in brass, in his priest's habit, in his desk, with a book lying and a cross standing before him⁴.

Mr. Blomefield describes⁵ a slab robbed of its brasses at Strandon for Sir Roger de Bourne, who died 1331. Sir William Bernak's death is dated 1334, on a brass in Hetherfet church, Norfolk, and that of his lady 1341⁶. That of Sir Hugh Hastings, at Elsyng in the same county⁷, is referred to about 1347: those of Robert Eggesfield, founder of Queen's college, Oxford⁸, of Walter Stutellie, rector of East Dereham, Norfolk⁹, and of Margaret Torrington, at Great Berkhampstead¹⁰, are but two years later, supposing the monuments to be coeval with their dates. As also that of Sir Edmund Illey, knight, who died 1349, and his wife, with a French inscription, in Holme Hale church, Norfolk¹¹. One between 1349 and 1362, at Foulton, Norfolk, has this short epitaph, like Venerable Bede's.

*Hic sunt in fossa
Caro Thome Palmer & ossa*¹².

The next to these is that of Sir Robert Buers at Acton in Suffolk, 1361; and from this period they multiplied so fast that several at Lynne are in the highest state of finishing. Perhaps the intercourse with the continent by this port peopled the county of Norfolk with so many more and finer than one meets with in other counties. The same reason may be assigned for the costly brasses among the clothiers in Gloucestershire.

In Great Hadham church, c. Herts, is a plain brass plate inscribed,

pr̄ez pur l'aine Alban p̄lone de hadhym.

No such person occurs in Newcourt's list of rectors of this church, unless we should suppose *Alanus de Fen*, who was here from 1372 to 1382, to be meant by it. Simon Flambarl, another rector, unknown to Newcourt, is commemorated on the verge of an old stone in the same chancel¹³.

Mr. Lethieullier mistakes Weever's account of Richard Newport's monument. in old St. Paul's. He calls it¹⁴ *a little monument*, not a brass plate, and says it belonged to *byshop* Newport.

¹ Drake. p. 433.

² Blomef. III. 242.

³ Blomef. III. 459.

⁴ Blomef. III. p. 83.

⁵ I. i. p. 124.

⁶ The inscription was lost when Mr. Blomefield wrote; but he says it was

¹¹ Obitus Domini Willelmi de Bernak m^o ccc^o xxxix v^o mensis Aprilis.

¹² Obitus Domine Alcie de Bernak m^o ccc^o xli^o xii^o die Aprilis III. 20.

⁷ See p. 98.

⁸ Blomef. V. 187.

¹⁰ Salmon, Herts, 126.

¹³ Blomef. III. 369.

¹⁴ Pl. xxvii. p. 102.

¹⁵ See p. 76.

¹⁶ Pl. 103.

Sir John Fastolf wills for his mother in Attleburgh church a marble stone of convenient length, with an image of *laten* [brass] according to her degree, with a *scripture* of the day, and then of her obit, with four estocheons, three of her husbands, Mortimer, Fastolf, and Farewell, and the fourth of her ancestors' arms¹.

Many of our old brasses bear the mark of rich enamelling in various colours: the traces remain strong on one laid on a raised tomb in Broxborn church, Herts, and more faintly on that of Sir Miles Stapleton in Ingham chancel, Norfolk.

On the floor of the Wynne vault at Llanrwst are three square brass plates, of the size of the paving stones, beautifully engraved by Sylvanus Crew and William Vaughan, in memory of Sir John Wynne, of Gwedir, knight and baronet, 1620, whose son Richard founded the chapel.

Lady Sidney Wynne wife of Sir John Wynne of Gwedir, knight and baronet, 1632.

Owen Wynne of Gwedir, their third son, 1660.

Against the East wall is a brass plate with a lady three quarters standing in a praying posture, representing Sarah wife of Sir Richard Wynne, who died 1671. This by Vaughan is celebrated by Mr. Pennant² as far the most beautiful piece of engraving he ever saw.

Opposite to this on the West wall is another brass plate, with a lady kneeling, for Mary Martyn, eldest daughter of Sir John Wynne, who died 1653; put up by his second son, 1658.

A sixth brass plate has a lady in a veil, half length, praying; Catharine Lewis, 1660. All these have inscriptions in Roman capitals; and arms.

Brass plates occur so late as 1702, for John Somers, at Cerne, c. Dorset. And even in this century, for the learned Jeremiah Markland, in Dorking church, 1776.

On the continent we meet with brasses bearing as early a date, or at least commemorating persons who died at as early a period, as in our own country³.

The instances of figures cut in the slab, and not inlaid with metal, nor always blacked, are not uncommon: such are Adam Framton, in Wyberton church, Lincolnshire, 1345⁴; lady Delamare, in Hereford library, 1421; John Gyse, 1479, at Elmore, c. Gloucester⁵; William de Tracy rector of Morthoe, Devon, 1322⁶: or only the letters thus cut round the edge between a border of double lines, as frequently for rectors; e. g. at Dedham, c. Suffolk; or citizens, &c. as in the parochial and cathedral churches at Lincoln; John prior of Ranton, c. Stafford, and abbot of Dorchester, who died 1518, at Dorchester, c. Oxford; an abbot at St. Albans by duke Humphry's monument: a mutilated epitaph, dated 15 . . in the chancel at Little Wymondley, c. Herts.

¹ Blomef. V. 1550.

² Wales, II. 144.

³ A plate of copper enamelled, fixed against the second pillar, near the screen in the nave of the cathedral church of St. Julien at Mans, 2½ inches high by 1½ long, exhibits the figure of

Gesfron le bel Comte de Maine, fils de Fouquier, Comte d'Anjou et du Maine, qui mourut le 7 Sept. 1150.

Over his head these lines,

*Exse tuo principis calvarum turba fugatur,
Exstisique quies pace virgine datur.*

On his shield his arms, 8 lioncels rampant.

Engraved in Montfaucon's Monumens, vol. II, pl. XII. fig. 7. from Hist. des eveques de Mans per Courvailler, Par. 1638. p. 444. 4^e tiré du Cabinet de M. Clairambault.

A beautiful coloured drawing of this is in the Society of Antiquaries Library.

A second instance, and perhaps more coeval with the person whom it represents, is that of Robert de Suanes, King at Arms, in the reign of St. Louis, who died 1260, and was buried in a chapel of the abbey of Mount St. Quentin. Montfaucon calls the epitaph one of the most curious to persons who are fond of such kind of antiquities, and has engraved it in his second volume, plate xxix.

Margaret, Queen of France, consort of St. Louis, who died 1295, has a tomb plated with brass in the choir of St. Denys. Felibien, Hist. de l'abbaye de St. Denys, p. 554 and plan.

⁴ P. 89.

⁵ Rudder, p. 440.

⁶ P. 40.

Mr. Lethieullier goes on :

"Towards the latter end of the fourteenth century a custom prevailed likewise of putting the inscriptions in French, and not Latin. Of these I have seen and read many; but they are generally from 1350 to 1400, and very rarely afterwards. John-Stow has indeed preserved two, which were in St. Martin's in the Vintry, dated 1310 and 1311; but I have seen no others so early."

Here again I am sorry to differ from so respectable authority. The epitaph of Robert de Vere at Hatfield Broad Oak, 1221; of Henry III. 1272; Queen Eleanor, 1290; Urien de St. Pierre, 1295; John Warren earl of Surrey, 1304; Adam de Framton, 1325, are a few instances, produced in their several places, out of many more that might be found. At the same time it must be observed, that as the majority of these are for the laity, it is probable the clergy and religious preferred Latin, as their more familiar idiom.

Mr. Lethieullier seems to have mistaken Stowe's words; for he only says, "that Sir John Gisors, mayor of London 1311, lay buried in this church; and that in St. James, Garlickhithe, Robert Gabeter, esq. mayor of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1310, had a monument*."

Mr. Lethieullier adds, "The late editor of the Antiquities of Westminster [by whom I suppose Mr. Dart is meant] affirms (from what authority I know not) that stone coffins were never or rarely used after the thirteenth century. If this be true, we have an æra from whence to go upwards in search of any of those monuments, where the stone coffin appears, as it frequently does."

"As Grecian architecture had a little dawning in Edward the Sixth's time, and made a farther progress in the three succeeding reigns, we find in the great number of monuments which were then erected the small column introduced with its base and capital, sometimes supporting an arch, sometimes an architrave; but every where mixed with them you will observe a vast deal of the Gothick ornaments retained: as small spires, ill-carved images, small square roses, and other foliage painted and gilt; which sufficiently denote the age which made them, though no inscriptions are left."

The same sentiment is so happily expressed by Mr. Walpole that I cannot forbear transcribing his words.

"It is certain that the Gothick taste remained in vogue till towards the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. His father's chapel at Westminster is entirely of that manner. So is Wolsey's tomb-house at Windfor. But soon after the Grecian style was introduced, and no wonder when so many Italians were entertained in the king's service. They had seen that architecture revived in their own country, in all its points; but whether they were not perfect masters of it or that it was necessary to introduce the innovation by degrees, it certainly did not at first obtain full possession. It was plastered upon Gothick, and made a barbarous mixture. Regular columns with ornaments neither Græcian nor Gothick, and half embroidered with foliage, were crammed over frontispieces, facades, and chimnies, and lost all grace by wanting simplicity. This mongrel species lasted till late in the reign of James I."

This consideration induced me to close my work with the sixteenth century, after which period so little of the object proposed by it for the illustration of manners and habits is to be learnt from our monuments. The present century will teach us less, though it may amuse itself in handing down history in real or emblematical representations.

The monument of Margaret countess of Lenox, mother of lord Darnley, is the first complete deviation from the Gothick form of tombs; and a second in-

* Survey of London, 1633, p. 261.

† Anecd. of Painting, I. 121. 4to.

* Ib. p. 262.

stance of that motley taste which prevailed for the remainder of that century, to which it should seem so much more easy for draughtsmen and engravers to do justice than to the pure Gothic that there are many more specimens of it preferred even by the hand of Hollar than of the other, and later books abound with them.

Sepulchral chapels were not always additions to a building¹, as those of bishops West and Alcock, at Ely; bishop Audley, at Salisbury; bishop Langton, at Winchester; but distinct erections within the church, as bishop Wickham's at Winchester, abbot Ramridge's and Humphry duke of Gloucester, at St. Alban's; Richard Beauchamp earl of Warwick at Warwick; the two beautiful ones on each side the nave at Wells; and of Walter lord Hungerford at Salisbury, now removed to the chancel; the Black Prince at Canterbury; prince Arthur at Worcester; all those between the arches of the choir at Tewksbury, and St. George's chapel, Windfor: in all or most of which mafs was celebrated in honour of a patron saint, whose image was placed at the head, over the tomb, and for the soul of the defunct. William Rokeley, archbishop of Dublin, who died 1521, ordered his bowels to be buried at Dublin; his heart at Halifax, where he was vicar; and his body at Kirk Sandal, whereof he had been minister; and a chapel to be erected over each. The memorial of him in the chapel on the North side of the chancel at Halifax is now removed, and his heart has been often dug up².

Mr. Lethicullier proceeds to observe, that "some knowledge in Heraldry is very necessary in searches of this nature. A coat of arms, device, or rebus, very often remains where not the least word of an inscription appears, and where indeed very probably there never was any; for I am apprehensive, that a vanity in surviving friends, who imagined a person eminent in their time could never be forgotten, induced them frequently not to put any on his monument. And it is not uncommon to find a pious ejaculation, or text of Scripture, by way of epitaph, without the least mention of the person who lies there interred.

"It may be useful likewise to remember the aeras when certain customs were introduced in the manner of bearings, &c. Thus, whenever supporters are found to a coat of arms, it must certainly be later than the time of king Richard the Second, that prince being the first who used any."

Mr. Edmondson says, arms were not used in England before the commencement of the tenth century. Mr. Gale³, not before the year 1147, when the second croifade began.

Philip, 1159, is the first of the earls of Flanders who bore arms on his shield or helmet⁴. His successors bore them regularly.

The first instance of arms on a shield on monuments given by Montfaucon in France is 1109. The oldest I have met with in England is on the shield of Geoffrey Magnaville earl of Essex in the Temple church.

In the sixteenth century, when armorial bearings multiplied so fast that the canopies of tombs were covered with them, it is not uncommon, both here and on the continent, to find the names written under them.

"Where the figure of a woman is found with arms both on her kirtle and mantle, those on the kirtle are always her own family's, and those on the mantle her husband's⁵. By the⁶ says the arms on the inner garment are *maiden*,

¹ In Turkey the tombs of the emperors are for the most part built in little chapels, close by, but not adjoining to the mosques. In these Muezzins and Dervises pray and read the Alcoran; lamps burn at the head and feet of the grave, over which is placed an empty coffin, covered with cloth or velvet, and on it is set a turban. Graves on the Grand Seigneur's Seraglio, II. 796. See also Chardin's account of the tombs of the Persian monarchs at Kom.

² Gibson's Camden, Yorkshire. Watton's Hist. of Halifax, p. 502.

³ Pref. ad Reg. Richmond, p. xvi.

⁴ Lethicullier, ubi sup.

⁵ By the on Upon's Alfolgia, p. 64.

⁶ Viedius, p. 14. pl. II.

and those on the outer *married* bearings; so it is in the portrait of a Goddard married to a Rochford in St. Peter's church at Walpole; and on the lady in Worcester cathedral, whom he makes a *Verdon* by birth, and a *Warren* by marriage¹; whereas the only arms the latter bears are *outer* on her garment, and they are those of *Warren*, which she was by *marriage*. This distinction is more frequently expressed in windows than on tombs: Thus to mention two instances; those on the fine series of Beauchamps, in the windows of the choir at Warwick², and that of the Cloptons in the clerestory of Long Milford church. In Harwood church, Yorkshire, are the portraits of judge Gascoigne and his two wives, having on their mantles his arms impaling their own, and over them their own arms³.

On a seal of Elizabeth Lucy given by Byshe on Upton, p. 72. she holds her husband's arms in her right hand, and her own in her left. Yet Alice wife of Giles de Aftley bore in her left hand her own arms, and in her right those of Clinton, in the window of a chantry, which she founded at Wolvey⁴.

Two ladies in the windows of Burton Pedwardine church, c. Lincoln, have alternately on their furcoat their husbands' arms⁵ and on a pennon in their hands their own⁶. On the other hand, the windows of the parlour at Newnham Padox, c. Warwick, furnish an exception to this rule, by putting the woman's arms on the mantle, and none on the kirtle⁷; and at Merivale and Grendon in the same county, the man's on the mantle and none on the kirtle⁸. The wife of Gerard D'Ewes, in the 16th century, has on her mantle her own coat impaled by her husband's⁹.

The ladies, says Colombiere¹⁰, bore their husband's arms impaled with their own on their robes, petticoat, or mantle of ceremony, which they in their life wore on public occasions when they assisted with them.

The first instance of a subject's quartering of arms is John Hastings earl of Pembroke, following the example of king Edward the Third.

"When there are only three fleurs de lis in the arms of France, and not *semée*, it is later than king Henry the Fifth.

"The number of princes of the blood royal of the houses of York and Lancaster may easily be distinguished by the labels on their coats of arms, which are different for each, and very often their devices are added. Till the time of Henry the Third we find no coronets round the heads of peers. Thus William de Valence earl of Pembroke, half brother to king John, who died anno 1295 or 1296, and is buried in Westminster abbey, has only a plain fillet; but John of Eltham, second son to king Edward the Second, who died anno 1334, and is buried in the same place, has a coronet with leaves on; and is the most ancient of this sort which is met with¹¹.

"As to monuments for the several degrees of churchmen, as bishops, abbots, priors, monks, &c. or of religious women, they are easily to be distinguished from other persons, but equally difficult to ascertain to their true owners. Among these, as among the forementioned monuments, for the most part the stone effigies are the oldest, with the mitre, crozier, and other proper insignia; and very often wider at the head than feet, having indeed been the very cover to the stone coffins in which the body was deposited.

"When brass plates came in fashion, they were likewise very much used by bishops, &c. many of whose grave-stones remain at this day, very richly adorned; and in many the indented marble shews that they have been so. In

¹ "Paterno genere ex familia *Verdonorum* fuit & conjux cuiusdam comitis *Surreie* & *Warrenie*. Vestis enim interior *Verdonorum* habet insignia, exterior *Warrenorum*. Per quem morem ortum & conjugia heroica olim exprimebant." *Notæ ad Spelm.* p. 94. Le Neve, in a MS. note on this passage thus explains it. "Vestis exterior familiam *Warrenie*, exterior *veris* denotat."

² Dugdale's *Warwicksh.* first edit. p. 318. 320.

³ Dugd. lib. 47.

⁴ Saunderson's MSS collections.

⁵ Weaver, 638.

⁶ Science heroïque, p. 479.

⁷ Thoresby's *Ducat. Leod.* p. 177.

⁸ Dugdale, ubi sup. p. 60.

⁹ Dugd. lib. 782. 796.

¹⁰ See p. 95. and pl. xxxiii.

Salisbury cathedral I found two very ancient stone figures of bishops, which were brought from Old Sarum, and are consequently older than the time of Henry the Third. In that church likewise the pompous marble which lies over Nicholas Longespée bishop of that see, and son to the earl of Salisbury, who died anno 1297, appears to have been richly plated, though the brass is now quite gone, and is one of the most early of that kind which I have met with. There are in Peterborough church many monuments for abbots of that convent¹; as likewise at Tewksbury for nine²; and in Wells cathedral many, which were brought from Glastonbury; and the like in many other places: but their names are intirely forgotten; and it is now impossible to restore them to their true owners. Frequently where there are no effigies, croziers or croffes denote an ecclesiastick. I think I have seen the latter, with little difference in their make, for every order from a bishop to a parish priest.³

Of CROSIERS alone on tombs I saw an instance on that of Henry abbot of Margam, c. Glamorgan, laid across a drain⁴. There is such an one on the tomb of Waltman first abbot of St. Michael's abbey at Antwerp, who died 1138⁵.

A crozier held by an arm is on the tomb of abbot John Sutton, at Dorchester, c. Oxford. 1349. A cross so holden is on that of Urien de St. Pierre in Glamorganshire.

The variety of CROSSES in stone or brass is so great, that it has cost no small pains to reduce them into classes, in four plates, here subjoined.

1. Plain. Pl. I. 1. 4. and next to these, Pl. I. 10, 11. Those numbered 6. 9. in the same plate resemble the rude stone crosses in our Western and Northern counties, whereon the circle alludes either to the *nimbus* or the *crown of thorns*, as the cross on the coffin lid at Carlisle, in the plate of Chalices.
2. Less plain. Pl. I. 2. 3. 5. 8. 11. III. 13.
3. On the ridged coffin lid. Pl. III. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8.
4. Accompanied with a sword, bow, hunting horn, or other thing. Pl. II. 1. 2. 4. 6. 8. 12. III. 10. A hand holding a wafer. Pl. III. 9. A clothier's sheers. Pl. II. 12.
5. Accompanied with coats of arms. Pl. II. 3. 7. 10. 11. IV. 9. 11. or with sword and coat of arms, II. 5. 9. 10. IV. 3. or with arms and inscription, IV. 3. 9.
6. Ramified, and emblematic of the vine branch. Pl. II. 7. IV. 1. 6. 10. Pl. III. 11. or with a resemblance of the thunder bolt. Pl. III. 1, 2, 3, 4. Those numbered 2. & 5. Pl. I. have the vine bud at their extremities, as in Pl. III. 11.
7. With inscriptions on or round them. Pl. I. 12. II. 3. 4. IV. 3. 4. 5. 7. 10.
8. Resting on the holy lamb, or some other animal, IV. 9, 10. 13.
9. With figures of CHRIST, the Virgin, or Saints, on the top. Pl. IV. 8. Such has been a short cross in brass on the slab of Giles Seymour in the chancel at Croydon, 1390.
10. Or worshippers kneeling to them at the sides, or under the steps. Pl. IV. 7. 8.
10. surmounted with figures of the parties buried below. Pl. IV. 9. A half-priest at Appleby, and whole ones in Hereford cathedral, Cobham and Stone churches, Kent.

¹ See Pl. III. p. 19.

² These are now reduced to five, and none of these has, or ever had, a figure on it.

³ Engraved in the new edition of Camden's Britannia, II. pl. xviii.

⁴ Le Grand Theatre de Brabant, II. p. 94.

Plate I.

1. *Welbec* priory, c. Nottingham.
2. *Kirklees* park, belonging to Sir George Armitage, bart. in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The figure of the stone over the grave of Robin Hood, now broken and much defaced, the inscription illegible. That printed in Thoresby Ducat. Leod. 576, from Dr. Gale's papers, was never on it. The late Sir Samuel Armitage, owner of the premises, caused the ground under it to be dug a yard deep, and found it had never been disturbed; so that it was probably brought from some other place, and by vulgar tradition ascribed to Robin Hood¹.
3. *Kirkby in Ashfield*, c. Nottingham, freestone on South side of the church-yard.
4. *Winterborne* chapel, Berks, in the belfrey, imboft on a plank of wood antiently used as a gravestone².
5. *Kirklees* priory, dug out of the ruins in the antient cemetery, 1754, now placed on a raised tomb.
6. *Tankerley*, West Riding of Yorkshire, freestone, South side of the church yard.
7. *Roydon*, Herts, inlaid with brags on blue marble, within the rails.
8. *Buckland*, Berks, emboft on a raised gravestone, under the main arch on the North side of the chancel³.
9. South side of *Ernley* church yard, in the West Riding of Yorkshire.
10. *Kirklees*, dug out of the ruins of the antient cemetery.
11. East end of *Ramsay* church yard, c. Huntingdon.
12. *Long Sutton*, in Holland, c. Linc. middle aisle.

Plate II.

1. *Aldwick in the Street*, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in the chancel.
2. *Bowes* church, step into the nave; probably for one of the family of Bowes⁴.
3. *Kirk Deighton*, West Riding of Yorkshire, on the North side of the chancel: for one of the family of Rofs, formerly of Ingmanthorpe in this parish, and lords of Kirk Deighton⁵.
4. *Washington* church yard, c. Durham. This James Sanderfun, alias de Bedick, was second son of Alexander de Bedick of Bedick, in the parish of Washington, who lived 1333, and also lies buried in the same church yard, with his effigy on his tomb⁶. From this James descended the Saundersons viscounts Castleton in the kingdom of Ireland⁷.
5. *Bolam* church, Northumberland, South aisle; supposed for one of the antient family of Carnaby there⁸.
6. *Bowes* church, near the North door.
7. *Chetwynd* church, Shropshire, now the estate of — Pigot, esq. for one of the family of Chetwynd, as appears by the arms⁹. In the middle of the chancel.
8. Middle aisle of *Thornton* church in Craven, from the church yard.
9. *Catworth* church yard, c. Hunt. removed from the church when the floor was repaired.
10. *Leek* church, North Riding of Yorkshire¹⁰.
11. *Brecknock*, over one of the family of Price¹¹.
12. *Kirkby in Ashfield*, c. Nottingham, free-stone, North side of the church.

¹ Mr. Watfon's Letter in Antiquary Society Minutes.

² Ashmole's Berks Monuments. C. xii. p. 177, in Coll. Arm. ³ Ib. C. xii. p. 98.

⁴ See Let. It. IV. 12.

⁵ C. xxxii. f. 86. Coll. Arm.

⁶ Dugd. Mon. Ebor. in Coll. Armor. 133. 2.

⁷ C. 41. Coll. Arm.

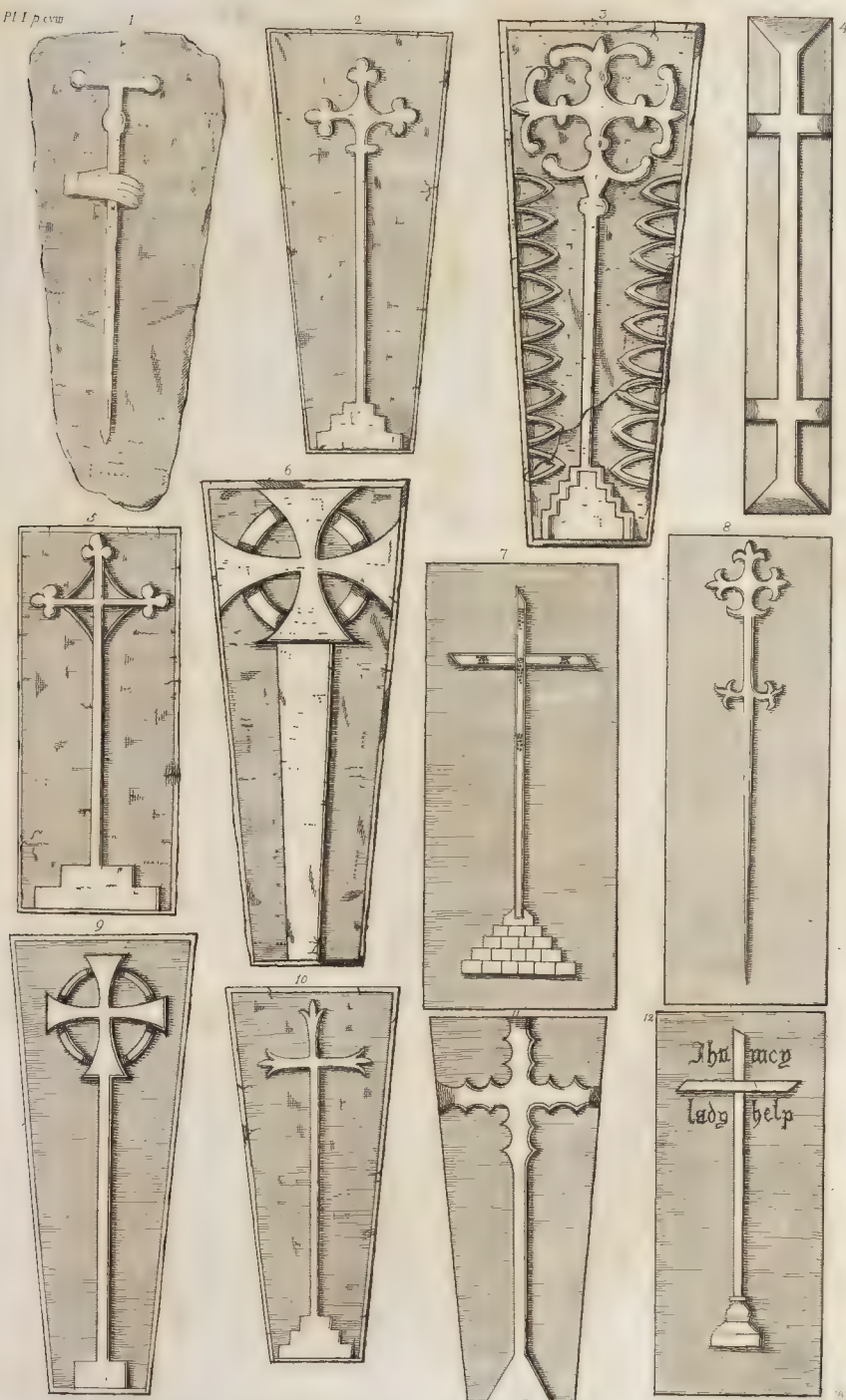
⁸ Dugd. Mon. Ebor. in Coll. Arm. f. 146. b.

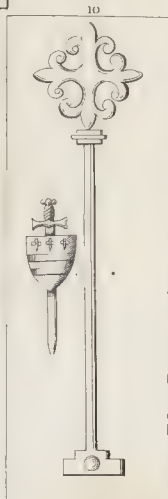
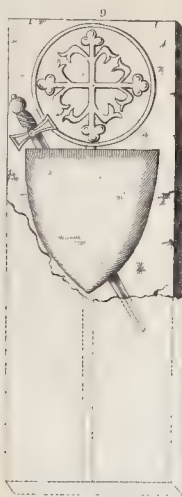
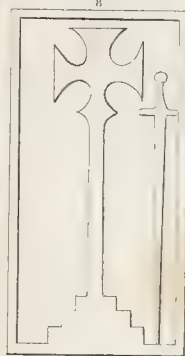
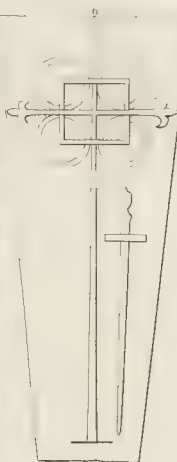
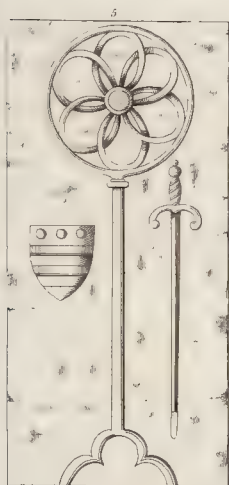
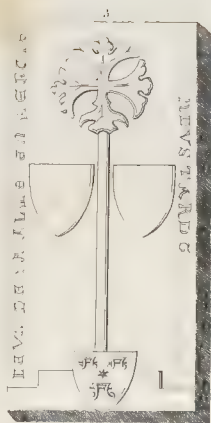
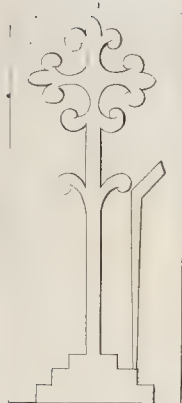
⁹ See Thoroton's Nott. 474.

¹⁰ Harl. MS. 911. p. 26.

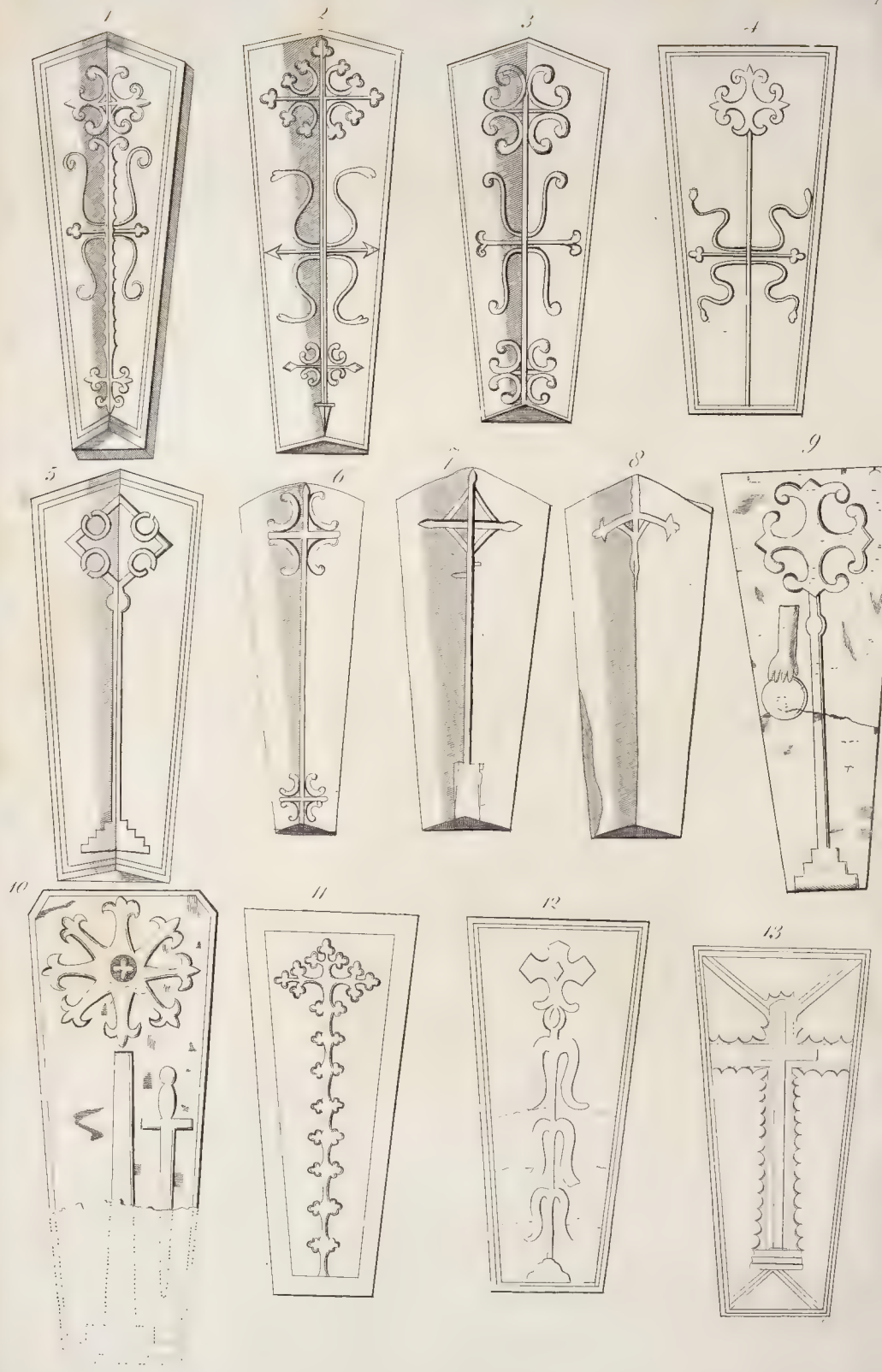
¹¹ See Thoroton's Nott. 474.

¹² Harl. MS. 911. p. 113.

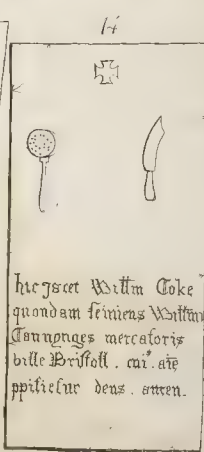
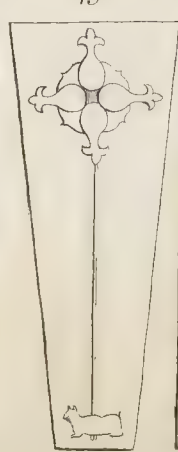
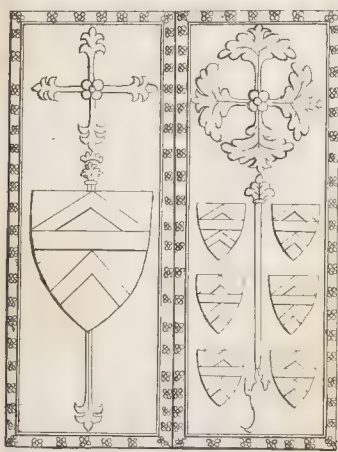
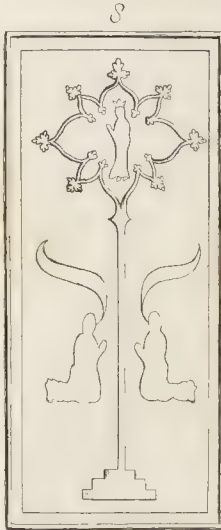
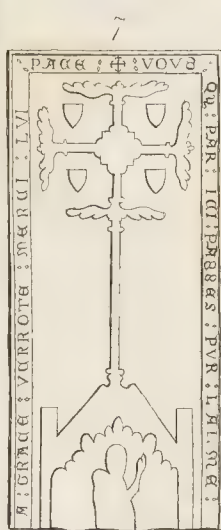
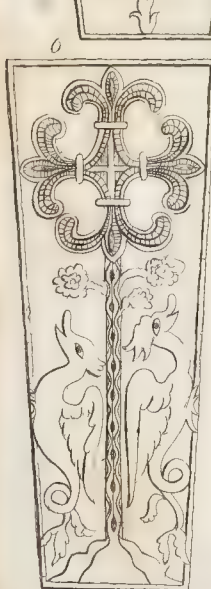
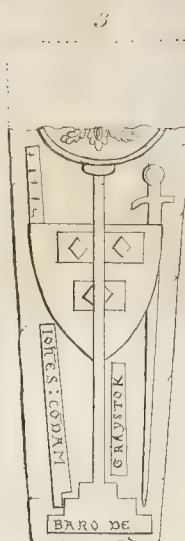
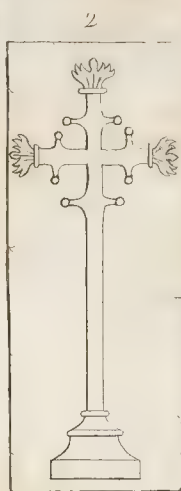
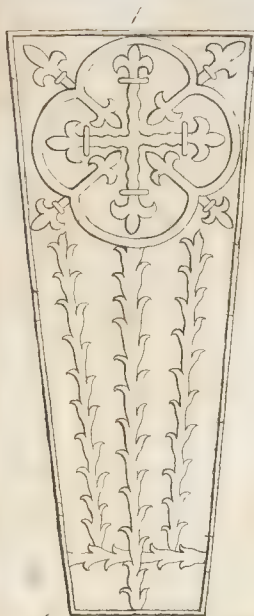












hieset Wiltm Coke
quondam frimius Wiltm
Tannoges mercatoris
bille Brifoll . car. ate
ppitetur dens . atten.

Plate III.

1. *Ramsley*, c. *Hunt*. East end of the church-yard. Such an one at *Soham* church.
2. *Landbeach* church, c. *Cambridge*.
3. *Steeple Gidding* church-yard, c. *Hunt*. See the first crofs in the History of *Thetford*, Pl. III.
4. *Ramsley* church yard, as a fence in the wall.
5. *Dorchester*, c. *Ox*. A fimilar one at *Malling* abbey, c. *Kent*.
6. 7. 8. On the wall of *Chesterford* churchyard, c. *Camb*.
9. *Kirkby in Ashfield*, c. *Nottingham*, South side of the churchyard.
10. *Devonbury*, c. *York*, now placed againft the vicarage houfe, but formerly in the South choir.
11. *Ramsley* church, North aile.
12. In the South side of the South aile of the choir of *Rocheſter* cathedral.
13. *Norwich* cathedral.

Plate IV.

1. In the chancel at *Founbope*, c. *Hereford*; in which the vine branches and crofs are united.
2. *Home Lacy*, in ſame county, near the South porch, free-ftone; ſuch another, but richer, inlaid in brafs, in the veſtry of *St. Mary's* church, *Lincoln*.
3. *Greyſtock*, c. *Glauberland*, within the rails of the altar, near the North wall: in freeſtone. This John lord Greyſtock was ſummoned to parliament from 23 to 34 Edward I. in which laſt year he died. The arms are G. three cuſhions A. taſſelled O.
4. *Aconbury*, c. *Hereford*, freeſtone laid looſe, near the Weſt end.
5. In the cemetery of the nunnery at *Kirklees*, *Yorkſhire*. *Douce Jeſu de Nazareth ei mercy a Elizabet de Stanton iadis prioires de ceſt maiſon*.
6. *Devonbury* church, *Yorkſhire*, now againſt the wall of the vicarage-houſe, but dug out of the South choir when the church was repaired a few years ago. It lay over one of the Soothills of Soothill in this pariſh, who bore G. an eagle diſplayed A. to which the animals on the ſtone are ſuppoſed to allude. This choir, with the manor of Soothill, belonged to the late Sir George Saville, of Thornhill and Rufford, bart. in right of the marriage of his anceſtor Sir Henry Saville, of Thornhill, knight of the Bath in the reign of Henry VIII. with Elizabeth daughter and heiress of Thomas Soothill, of Soothill, eſq.
7. In the chancel of *Buckworth*, c. *Hunt*. ſuppoſed for an antient rector. In brafs, now reaved.
8. *Henly on Thames*, in the chancel: the brafs reaved.
9. *Norton Diſney*, c. *Linc*. North chancel. Inſcription: *Ici giſt Joan que fuſt la femme mourr Gillam Dijni et ſile moun ſire Nicolas de Lancforte Deu eite merci de ſa alme. Amen.*
10. Found in digging the foundations of the Quaker's meeting-houſe at *Brifſol*, 17+9, on the ſite of the Blackfriars. Inſcription round it, *Reynald: Tolde: giſt: ici: deu: de ſa alme eit merci.* It had been uſed as a chimney-piece, and was ſince broken to pieces.
11. *Dore* abbey, *Herefordſhire*, in the ruins of the nave, in free-ftone.
12. In the North wall of the nave at *Burnt Pelbam*, c. *Herts*. deſcribed p. lxxxviii.

¹ See a wretched copy of it in the Account of Antiquities in and about Oxford, annexed to Leland's Itin. II. 128. It is alſo incorrectly copied in Thoreſby's Duc. Leod. p. 91.

13. In *Much Hadham* church, Herts. on the slab of a stone circumscribed in Gothic capitals, *Hic jacet Simon Flambarð, quondam rector hujus ecclesiæ* ¹.
14. In the South chancel of St. Mary Radcliffe, *Bristol*, near Cannings' tomb, over William Coke his servant, and as it should seem by the devices, a memorial in the kitchen, unless they are a rebus of his name.
15. *Dore abbey*, c. Hereford, South side of the church-yard, free-stone.

The two last stones in this Plate have very small crosses, accompanied with other devices.

There are so many proofs that the cross was not confined to the monuments of religious. Mr. Strutt ² gives one from a Saxon drawing on the lid of a royal coffin. I ascribe one in the Temple-church to a son of Henry II. Mr. Blomefield gives one at Fersfield over Sir Robert Bois and another formé, in Titfal chancel, over a religious who built that part of the church. A long great cross of brass was on the slab of William son of Sir John Rochford constable of Wisbech-castle, in Walpole church, in the same county ³. In *Gent. Mag.* 1749. p. 403. 551. one is described over a married woman at Carlisle. Leland ⁴ mentions one at Ofeney over Henry Doily, son of the foundress. Juga Baynard, foundress of Dunmow, is supposed to have one on her coffin in the wall of the church there ⁵. The laws of Kenneth king of Scotland, in the eighth century, order a cross to be put on every grave-stone.

One lies over archbishop Sudbury's father, in St. George's church at Sudbury: one over archbishop Chicheley's father, in Higham Ferrars church ⁶: two older than these in the church-yard at Matherne, c. Monmouth, over Urien de St. Pierre and wife, 1295 ⁷. In the East end of the South transept of Bangor cathedral is a cross on an altar tomb said to cover *Owen Glendwr*, or more probably *Owen Gwyneth*, Sovereign of North Wales, who died 1169, and was buried here with his brother Cadwallader, according to Giraldus Cambrensis ⁸. I have a drawing of one over a burghess and his wife, a plain cross, the shaft and transverbes, pointed: on each side of it labels with *Iesu: mercy! lady: helpe!* and at the foot, *memento!* and round the ledge,

*Hic jacet Johannes Barker quondam Burgensis istius ville
qui obiit xviij die mensis Aprilis anno dñi millesimo
cccclxxx cuius anime propicietur deus. Amen. In dño
confido.*

Mr. Lethieullier concludes,

"I shall only mention one monument more, which is somewhat peculiar; I mean the representation of a skeleton in a shroud, lying either under or on a table tomb. I have observed one of this make in almost all the cathedral and conventual churches throughout England, and scarcely ever more than one; but what age to attribute the unknown ones to, I can find no date to guess by, since there is one in York cathedral for Robert Claget, treasurer of that cathedral, as ancient as 1241; and in Bristol cathedral Paul Bush, the first bishop of that see, who died so late as 1558, is represented in the same manner, and I have observed some in every age between."

The least degree of reflection would have shewn that the figure here alluded to, which has created an unnecessary perplexity with several curious persons, and given rise to the foolish tales of vergers and sextons, was nothing more than a striking exemplification of the change of condition made by death contrasted

¹ See p. cii. & 178.

² I. 57. 66.

³ Parkins' Continuation of Blomefield's Norfolk, IV. 718.

⁴ It. II. 19.

⁵ See before, p. xxxv.

⁶ Engraved in the Stemmatæ Chicheleianæ.

⁷ See p. 68. Archæol. V. p. 76, 77. Pl. II. and the new edition of Camden's Britannia, II. pl. xvi.

⁸ It. Camb. in Willu's Bangor, p. 36.

with

with the appearance of the party on the upper story of the tomb. Instances of this kind are, among others, bishop Fleming at Lincoln, 1431. Archbishop Chicheley at Canterbury, 1443. Bishop Lacy at Exeter, 1455. Bishop Bekington at Wells, 1465. Dean Heywood at Lichfield, 1492. John Barret, in St. Mary's church, at St. Edmundsbury, 1463. Edmund Cornwall, baron of Burford, at Burford, Shropshire. Abbot Islip, at Westminster, 1510, now gone. Archdeacon Asheton in the antechapel of St. John's College Cambridge, 1522. Bishops Fox, 1528, and Gardiner, 1555, at Winchester. Prior Weston 1540, at Clerkenwell. Præcentor Bennet, 1558; and another at Salisbury, mis-called bishop Fox, and now shut up in doors like a presb. Edward Wakeman, esq. in a chapel at Tewksbury, 1634. Dean Colet's was the most complete skeleton of all these, carved in wood, and great part of it still remains, with its matrafs highly finished, in the vaults under St. Paul's. I suspect the figure in Westbury church, c. Gloucester, described as "a naked man, ill executed in stone," and referred to Carpenter bishop of Worcester, 1476, is nothing more. Lay figures of the kind are not very common among us, except one of the countess of Suffolk, at Ewelme; one of the noble family at Arundel, c. Suffex; Sir Marmaduke Constable 5 Edward IV. at Flamborough, in Yorkshire, 15. ⁴ Henry lord Windſor, at Tarbic, c. Warwick, 1605 ⁵; Sir John Golafre, at Fyfield, Berks ⁶; and Mr. Blount at Mamble, c. Worcester, 5 Eliz. 1563 ⁷. A writer in the Gentleman's Magazine says there are several in the royal abbey of St. Denis, near Paris ⁸; and another correspondent of Mr. Urban's describes one of a duke de Croy, in the church of the Celestines at Heverle near Louvain ⁹, where the skeleton is represented with the worms preying upon it, as Renè of Anjou is said to have painted his mistress after he had opened her tomb at Avignon, as he found her at his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem ¹⁰. This I suppose is the figure of Charles first duke of Croy and fourth of Arschot, who died 1612, having rebuilt the church of Heverle, 1569, and erected on it a series of monuments for his family and predecessors. He and his wife are represented in their ducal robes upon the tomb, and below as dead. At the entrance of the tomb is another figure of the duke on a copper plate, in the habit of a Capuchin, ducally crowned, and round it an inscription composed by himself, on which are the words *nunc putredo terræ et cibus vermiculorum* ¹¹. Probably this figure is like that of Philip Dengelberge before the altar at Vilvorde abbey, near Brussels, 1645, a corpse on a mat with worms preying on it ¹². A third correspondent of Mr. Urban's ¹³ supposes the different figures represented the party in their sepulchral dress, and in their emaciated state before death. He must have conceived all of them lived to be emaciated, but in truth the direct contrary is the design of these figures ¹⁴, which were succeeded or imitated by corpses in shrouds tyed at head and feet, not uncommon on brasses, though I do not recollect an instance of this kind, where the contrast abovementioned is observed, except it be on bishop Fleming's tomb in Lincoln minster. Dr. Donne's is a famous instance of the kind in stone, still remaining intire in the vaults under St. Paul's. Ashmole ¹⁵ mentions a man painted in a window praying in a winding sheet. A later instance is a good figure in Sandersted church, Surry, of Mary Bedell wife of Ralph Hautrey, and Ludolphus Audley, who died 1655. She is represented in white marble, lying on a mat and wrought cushion, in a shroud tied

⁴ Rudder, 803.

⁵ Ashmole, I. 106.

⁶ Gent. Mag. LIV. 486.

⁷ Breval's Travels, I. 138. A picture was made of the state in which William the Conqueror's corpse was found when the Hugonots broke open his tomb, 1571. Rech. de Normandie, Archæol. III. 391.

⁸ Supplément au théâtre de Brabant, I. 268. Sanderi Chorographia sacra Brabantie, II. 173.

⁹ See it engraved in Le Grand Théâtre sacré de Brabant, I. p. 83.

¹⁰ Gent. Mag. LIV. 51.

¹¹ Gent. Mag. LIV. 271. 348, 349. 409.

¹² Alton. Berks. II. 241.

¹³ Dugd. Warw. p. 549.

¹⁴ Gent. Mag. XXIII. 456.

¹⁵ Nath. II. 160.

¹⁶ Ib. 348.

at head and feet, her head bound with a chin-cloth, reclined to the right-hand, which lies across her waist, her left hanging down; her left knee lifted up. Mr. Blomefield calls these figures in brass "effigies looking out of their winding sheets". Salmon¹ says of such at Hitchin, "that they are effigies of men and women with part of their habits tied above their heads; the woman's hair hanging down at each side, like a long peruke." In Sabridge-worth church are a man and woman so apparelled, holding each an heart. Others on brasses of the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, in St. Laurence's church, Norwich². Others in Sedgfield church, co. Durham. The figure of lady Bruce on her monument in Exton church, c. Rutland, is so habited, 1627³.

The oldest figure I recollect of Death represented as a skeleton is on the brass plate of archdeacon Ruding, 1471, in Biggleswade church. There is a most beautiful and well-preserved little one in alabaster against the wall over the Morley tomb in the chancel at Little Hollingbury, Essex. There is a complete skeleton, praying in the East window of the Lennard chapel, at West Wickham, in Kent, probably of the middle of the sixteenth century. Petronius Arbiter says, that Trimalchio introduced with his wine a silver figure so contrived that the joints and vertebrae moved by springs, and after it had performed some gesticulations he repeated some verses on mortality⁴. In Spence's *Polymetis*, plate 41. death is represented by a human skeleton. Count Caylus remarks, that the ancients never represented death on their monuments, either in his proper figure or emblematically, and when they introduced skeletons, they considered them not as images of death, but of the structure of the body (*charpente du corps*⁵). This may be applied to all Christian monuments till Mr. Nightingal's: the skeletons are only for contrast.

I do not recollect that any notice has been taken of the circumstance of the soul carried to heaven by angels from the head of the effigies. Yet this is not uncommon, and will be found here on the monuments of Aymer de Valence, pl. XXIX. and lord Burghersh, pl. XXXV. It is also on the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings at Ely, in Norfolk, and on that rich one of Roger Thornton and wife in Allhallow's church, Newcastle; and in France, over the tomb of Dagobert at St. Dennis⁶; and over the dying St. Louis in the window of the same church⁷.

Mr. Blomefield⁸ describes an altar-cloth in St. Gregory's church at Norwich, used when mass for the dead was celebrated, having on it many angels holding sheets, those like men having a demi man naked in each sheet; and those like women a demi-woman; to represent that by their ministration the souls of the righteous are conducted to heaven.

It reminds us of the idea that the soul escapes with the last breath, consequently out of the mouth. Hence Tavernier tells us, the Parisis make use of a dog to receive the last breath of a person just expiring. In the monument of lord Burghersh, however, this groupe is at his feet.

Among the innumerable instances of figures on tombs, very few variations of attitude occur. The recumbent attitude with the hands elevated in devotion is adopted by persons of both sexes, and of all ranks. Croisaders are distinguished by crossing their legs; and prelates by lifting up the right hand, and extending the two first fingers to give the benediction; though they as frequently have their hands joined and elevated. Some religious, besides the croisers and prelates, which they hold in different attitudes, more or less elegant, have books or churches, which two last are put into the hands of kings or nobles⁹. Abbot Ranulph, at St. Albans, has his hands croft, and hanging down.

¹ Hist. III. 120.

² Hist. III. 120.

³ Hist. III. 120.

⁴ Hist. III. 120.

⁵ Hist. III. 120.

⁶ Hist. III. 120.

⁷ Hist. III. 120.

⁸ Hist. III. 120.

⁹ Hist. III. 120.

¹⁰ Hist. III. 120.

¹¹ Hist. III. 120.

¹² Hist. III. 120.

¹³ Hist. III. 120.

¹⁴ Hist. III. 120.

¹⁵ Hist. III. 120.

¹⁶ Hist. III. 120.

¹⁷ Hist. III. 120.

¹⁸ Hist. III. 120.

¹⁹ Hist. III. 120.

²⁰ Hist. III. 120.

²¹ Hist. III. 120.

²² Hist. III. 120.

²³ Hist. III. 120.

²⁴ Hist. III. 120.

²⁵ Hist. III. 120.

²⁶ Hist. III. 120.

²⁷ Hist. III. 120.

The figure at Hatfield Peverel assigned to the foundress of the abbey, but which I rather incline to give to some superior or priest of the house, has in its elevated hands what may pass for a chalice or a heart. A lady of the Brian family, at Brampton Bryan, Herefordshire, holds a heart in her hand; and, though the oldest of the family, has survived the devastations of the civil war, and is the best preserved figure of the kind. Leland describes at Ofeney an image of the foundress (1125) "Edithe, of stone, in thabbite of a woves, holding an hart "in her right hond, in the North side of the high altare". Agatha de Narborough, a half statue, holds an heart in her hands¹. So does a man in a short coat reaching only to his knees, and his sleeves only to his elbows, in Hatford chancel, Berks². The little figure in the chancel at Tenbury holds a large heart in its elevated hands, and so does a brass figure in Berkeley church, c. Gloucester, inscribed *mcv*, and bishop Wainfleet, at Winchester. Thomas Fisher and wife, in Warwick church, 1577, hold bibles³. Anne Grey, 1505, in Wotton Waveney church, has a very large string of beads⁴.

Bishop Rainelm, Sir John de la Rivere, and Sir John Cobham, hold models of Hereford cathedral, and of Tormarton⁵ and Cobham churches. John Wyrall has his horn and falchion; a forester at Glington his arrows and horn: an old cross-legged knight in mail, in Pershore church, has in his hand a horn fastened to his belt: on his left arm a shield, the end whereof a serpent bites, at his feet an hare⁶; William Malgeneste, one of the king of France's huntmen, who died 1301, has on his brass plate his hunting horn hanging from his right side, and holds a dog fastened to a strap past over his right arm⁷. Another figure in brass, in Baldock church, has at his right side a hunting horn, and at his left a couteau de chaffe, with something like a lesser couteau inserted on the same scabbard, and by the side of the larger one something like a skain of whipcord: John Ceyfill a purse; as has another man at Baldock with a large rosary.

Some few attitudes are varied to a degree of greater lightness and elegance, as some of the knights in the Temple church and elsewhere, drawing their swords. So the defaced Beches, at Aldworth and the Bracebridges at Kingsbury, c. Warwick⁸. Edmund Crouchback turns his back to the aisle, and looks behind him, lying on his right side; so does a prior in Normandy. "La tombe de Thomas de la Queue-d'haie, prieur du monastere de Sauffseuse, enterre dans "la chapelle de la vierge est remarquable en ceci qu'on l'y a represente comme "appuyee sur la coté droit, vetu en habit d'hyver, le rochet pendant jusqu' "aux talons comme une aube"⁹.

In the sixteenth century they supported their heads in their right hand: an attitude taken from the Greek and Roman monuments.

It has been supposed unusual to place the lady at the right hand of the man, and Dr. Salmon refers it to her being an heiress¹¹, but there are many instances, as the Haricks at South Acre, Norfolk; Delalee, at Albury, Herts; two knights and ladies at Beverly; the duke of Norfolk, at Framlingham. Richard the Second's queen, at Westminster, takes the right hand of her husband; so does Henry the Fourth's at Canterbury; as also the wife of lord Bardolf, at Donnington.

¹ Itin. II. 19.

² Dugd. 351.

³ Nam's Worcester, I. 251.

⁴ Nam's Mon. II. xxix. 6.

⁵ Dugd. Warw. p. 1061. Ed. Thomas.

⁶ Deser. de la haute Normandie, II. 311.

⁷ Herts. 113. 284. Survey, 575. Assm. Berk. I. 31.

⁸ Blomf. III. 470.

⁹ Ib. 603.

¹⁰ Ashmole, I. 175.

¹¹ Rudder, 774.

¹² The lower part of this figure is now broken off.

The usual place for children on brasses is under the feet of the respective parents; and those of each group looking towards each other: but this rule is not without exception. Elizabeth wife of Thomas lord Scrope, who died 9 Henry VIII. directed her executors to lay a stone over her grave, with three images, the one of her lord and husband, another of herself, and the third of her daughter, with their arms thereon, and an inscription making mention who they were, and this to the value of ten pounds¹. On a brass at Welwyn there is a son fronting, in the middle, between his brother and sisters. Under the pews in the North aisle of Orford church are a mother and son standing together, in Grecian attitudes. The sons of Sir Nicholas Hawberk and Reginald lord Braybrook, at Cobham, stand at their father's feet and left hand, on pedestals inscribed with their names. The kneeling attitude for children was not, I believe, introduced till after the reformation², any more than that of parents or other figures on monuments (except to the cross), nor the infant in swaddling clothes or cradle. There is indeed a figure of a lady at Bodenham in Herefordshire who is folding an infant under her mantle.

Salmon³ mentions the hair curled, and no defence about the head and face, as is usual to find of those buried since the Norman Conquest, as a peculiarity in the figure shewn for the emperor *Severus* in York Minster. Sir John Ros in the Temple church is a like figure.

An attentive comparison of the tombs of our princes and nobles of the thirteenth century will justify a conjecture, that foreign artists were employed about the statues if not about the whole: and the idea suggested by Mr. Walpole that Cavallini was the principal artist so employed, receives no little confirmation from the conformity of the various pieces executed by order of Edward I. and during his reign: such as the shrine of the Confessor, the tomb of his father Henry III. the pavement of the Confessor's chapel, and of the high altar in the same church, and the beautiful crosses erected to his comfort, an unparalleled memorial of conjugal affection and art united. To borrow the words of an excellent judge of these matters, Sir Henry Englefield, in his description of the cross at Geddington, read before the Society of Antiquaries, 1781, "The design of all the parts of this structure is very elegant, and the execution such as would not discredit any age. The roses that cover the base, though too crowded, and therefore wanting in effect, are of an antique appearance, and carved with much delicacy and spirit. The statues, though mannered, and rather stiff, have a great share of merit. The air of the head is graceful; the drapery falls in natural though too minute folds, and the hands and feet are well drawn. On the whole, the statues are thought to bear so great a resemblance to the style of the ancient Italian school, that it is highly probable Edward had artists of that nation in his service, if not sent for purposely on the occasion." Henry III. died 1272; Eleanor 1290. The tomb of the former was executed 8 Edward I⁴, or 1280; the tomb and crosses of the latter ten or fifteen years after. Aveline countess of Lancaster was living 4 Edward I. 1276; and how much longer does not appear: her consort Edmund Crouchback, died 1296. Sir Joseph Ayloffe⁵ was for ascribing the memorials of all these great personages, as well as the embellishments of the shrine of Sebert, 1308, to Pietro Cavallini, as the designer, if not the executor,

¹ Dugd. Bar. I. 661.

² A countess of Eppenstein at Crucensis, in the Palatinate, 1455, has however her two children kneeling on the same plane with herself at her feet. Hist. Acad. Teutob. Palatinate, I. 29.

³ New. & Trans. 576.

⁴ See p. 65.

⁵ Acc. and. of the Westminster Monuments.

as far as painting was concerned. I have indeed¹ dated the birth of that artist 1279, and his death 1364: but in the uncertainty under which the best writers labour as to dates, it is sufficient to the present purpose if he can be proved to have been contemporary, or indeed that any artists were engaged from Rome about this period. This is known to have been done by Richard de Ware, who went to Rome 1267, in order to be confirmed abbot of this splendid monastery, whose church had been destined to the honour of serving as a Mausoleum to our kings, and was then actually rebuilding by Henry III. Unfortunately for the artists of our own country, the known specimens of their talents are now no more: the silver image of Henry the Third's daughter Catherine, in Westminster abbey; and the monument of Henry II. at Fontevraud². Let us not then ascribe to them all the rude figures, and to foreigners all the more animated ones on our tombs: but candidly confess, that the English five centuries ago felt an emulation to excell in arts and sciences proportionable to that of their descendants of the present age.

Sir Henry Englefield will forgive me if a transcribe from his memoir his observation, that "whatever the origin of the now Gothic architecture was, it can admit of no doubt that the commerce with the East in the time of the croisades, brought into Europe a great share of elegance in the polite arts, as the rapid improvements in sculpture and ornamental architecture fully evince. Nothing could exceed the rudeness of the Saxon and early Norman attempts at the human form: yet at and about this period every thing had an elegant and picturesque turn. In the ruins of Tintern abbey, founded in the year 1131, is a mutilated statue of the Virgin, of very great beauty; and if it may be said that the statue is of a later date, no doubt can be entertained of the alto-reliefs with which the West front of the cathedral church of Wells, built during the long administration of bishop Jocelyn, from 1206 to 1242, is covered, and which are many of them of no despicable workmanship. At this period the taste of the carvers rather diminished, though their neatness and delicacy in ornament runs to excess." Mr. Effex ascribes the beautiful West front of Croyland abbey church with its Grecian imagery to the reign of Henry III³.

According to the rules for sepulchral monuments, in Anselme's "Palais de l'Honneur, Par. 1663⁴," "kings and princes, in whatever part, or by what means soever they died, were represented on their tombs clothed with their coats of arms, their shields, *bourlet* or pad, crown, crest, supporters, lambrequins or mantlings, orders, and devises upon their effigies and about their tombs. Knights and Gentlemen might not be represented with their coats of arms, unless they had lost their lives in some battle, single combat, or rencontre with the prince himself, or in his service, unless they died and were buried within their own manors and lordships; and then to shew that they died a natural death in their beds they were represented with their coat of armour ungirded, without a helmet, bareheaded, their eyes closed, their feet resting against the back of a greyhound, and without any sword. Those who died on the day of battle, or in any mortal rencontre, on the victorious side, were to be represented with a drawn sword in their right hand⁵, and a shield in their left, their helmet on, which some think ought to be closed, and the visor let down, in token that they fell fighting against their enemies, having their coat of arms girded over their armour, and at their feet a lion. Those who

¹ P. 14.² P. 50.³ Hist. of Croyland, p. 198.⁴ See also Colombiere, Science heroique, p. 447.⁵ The drawn sword is in the right hand of several Saxon princes, in Reyner's Monumenta Landgraver Thuringæ, &c. 1662.

died in prison, or before they had paid their ransom, were represented on their tombs without spurs or helmet, without coat of arms or swords, only the scabbard girded to, and hanging at their sides. Those who fell in battle or rencontre on the side of the conquered were to be represented without coats of arms, the sword at their side and in the scabbard, the visor raised and open, their hands joined on their breasts, and their feet resting against the back of a dead and overthrown lion. The child of a governor or commander in chief, if born in a besieged city, or in the army, however young he died, was represented on his tomb armed at all points, his head on his helmet, and clad in a coat of mail of his size at the time of his death, as may be seen at St. Oyn at Rouen.¹ The military man, who at the close of his life took on him a religious habit, and died in it, was represented completely armed, his sword by his side on the lower part; and on the upper the habit of the order which he had assumed, and under his feet the shield of his arms. The gentleman who has been conquered and slain in the lists in a combat of honour ought to be placed on his tomb armed at all points, his battle-axe lying by him, his left arm croft over the right. The gentleman victorious in the lists was exhibited on his tomb armed at all points, his battle-axe in his arms², his right arm croft over the left. If these rules are not of the same romantic cast with those said to be made by Charlemagne, and recited below³, they are probably observed, or

¹ Query, If the armed figures of small proportion, before mentioned, p. xcix. are to be so explained.

² The only instance of a battle-axe among us I recollect is on Richard Corbet's rude figure at Malvern, engraved in *Antiq. Repert.* III. p. 17.

³ "Ordinances made by Charles the Grete, who lived in the yere of our Saviour Chriſte 700, appoyntinge in

"what manere the image or representation of every man of noble and valurous courage ſhould be formed, and

"placed upon his ſepulchre in armes, accordinge to the worthynes of theyr adions performed in theyr lye-tyme."

From a MS. in the Scudamore Library, now the property of Charles Howard earl of Surrey, at Home Lacey,

com. Hereford, compared with another in the cathedral library at Lichfield.

28. If a man in his life-time hath encountered and fought with his enemy in cloſe liſts, and hath departed thence with honour, his effigy or representation ſhall be figured on his ſepulchre in complete armour, furnished with all pieces as *capte a pe*, having his helmet upon his head, the beaver open, his hands conjoined and erected, with his horſeman's battle-axe placed in the bowing of his arm: this ſword giſt unto him, and beſet along by his ſide, adorned with gilt ſpurs, if he be Miles Auratus, otherwiſe his ſpurs ſhall not be gilt.
29. If it ſhall happen a man to cope or encounter with his adverſary in cloſe liſts, and to be therein anyways ſlaid, ſo that he come not out of the field with honour, in ſuch a caſe he ſhall have his image or effigies inſculped upon his tomb, completely armed throughout, as the former, ſaving that his beaver ſhall be ſhut, his hands conjoined and his horſeman's battle-axe placed by his ſide.
30. If in caſe a knight or gentleman chauce to be killed in ſingle fight within the liſts, then ſhall his image be formed upon his tomb, armed throughout, yet having his beaver cloſe, his ſword drawn in his right hand, advancing the point upwards towards his head, and his ſhield on his left arm, and his ſcabbard beſet decently along by his ſide.
31. If by chance a General, Captain, or Lieutenant, be ſlain in a foughten ſield, on that part which was vanquiſhed or diſcombed, his representation ſhall be formed upon his ſepulchre in complete armour, his ſword in his ſcabbard, his beaver open, and his hands conjoined and erected as before.
32. If a man by chauce do happen to be taken priſoner in a battayle, and to dye in priſon before he hath paid his ranſom, his image ſhall be made upon his ſepulchre, armed, having his beaver open, but without either ſword or ſpurs, holding an empty ſcabbard in his hand.
33. It is to be obſerved, that no man may have his effigies or image inſculped upon his ſepulchre, adorned with his coat of arms, unleſs he be inſerred in the church or chapel whereof himſelf is patron, either by deſcent or by purchaſe, as a dignity inſeparably annexed to the lordſhip or manor whereof he is lord, and to whom the right of patronage doth properly appertain; in ſuch caſe both himſelf and his heirs after him may have their images or representations cut in ſtone, and inſet with their coat of arms over their armour.
34. If a martial man happen to reſer himſelf from the world, and betake hym to a monaſticall or other religious kind of life, in ſuch a caſe his effigies ſhall be carved upon his tomb, in the habit of the order of religion whereof he was proteſted, having his ſword placed along by his ſide, to ſignifie he was ſometime a proteſted martial man, un'il being fore ſpent by reſon of aged years, or of long following of militarye profeſſion, debilitye, or ſome other occaſion, he gave over the world, leavynge his active life, and taking upon him that conſemplative, wherein he woulde end his dayes, ſo that he might be ſpending the remainder of his ſhorthe tyme in the ſervice of God and prayer. This retired man (I ſaye) ſhall have his ſword placed along by his ſide, and his ſhield at his feet, to ſignifie thereby his reſolute determination to treade under his feet all pompe and glorye, &c.
35. If a martiall man having ſerved in hoſtile wars ſhall happen to be ſlayne in the battayle, he may have his effigies or representation completely armed at all points, his head only unarmed, and no coat of armes upon him.
36. If at any tyme a gentlewoman chauce to go to viſit hir huſbande lyinge at the ſiege of ſome citie, towne, or caſtelle, if ſhee be conceived with childe, and ſhall be delivered (the ſiege enduringe) of a man-child, dyinge, his image or portrature ſhall be inſculped or graven upon his tomb, armed throughout, habited in his coat of armes, over his harnyſſe, his hands conjoined and elevated (as before is ſhewed) ſavinge only his head ſhall be unarmed, his helmet placed upon his head, and his battayle-axe by his ſide.
37. Note, All theſe representations may be ſet forth in their coat of armes, ſo as they have ſerved in the field, where the ſovereigne or prince of the contry was perſonally preſent, of whom they received neither paye nor wages, but have ſerved freelye att theyr owne charges, otherwiſe none can be inſet in coate of armes, but a Kinge, Prince, Duke, Marqueſſe, Eaſle, or Grete Barrene.

intended to be observed, only on the continent. Colombiere ' expressly says, they were left to the discretion of the parties themselves, or their survivors. It is believed they were never enforced among us. They are however a specimen of monumental punctilio.

The place for rectors or vicars was near and about the altar or in the chancel, as John Cowall rector of Stratton St. Michael, Norfolk, in the middle of the chancel, which he built, 1487¹. John Wright, 1491, at Stratton²; Henry Herveys, 1460, at Blickling in the same county³; as incumbents at present. Chaplains and chantry priests were buried in their respective chapels, churches, and religious houses or colleges. Lords of manors, patrons and founders, were also interred in the chancel, and sometimes, though not so frequently, within the rails. In the chancel of the collegiate church at Ingham, Norfolk, is a series of the founder's family, who all refer themselves to him in their several inscriptions⁴: so do the Cobhams, at Cobham in Kent. In the South wall of Aldenham church, Herts, Weever⁵ describes the figures of two sisters cut in stone, the foundresses of this church, and coheirs to the lordship, which at their death they gave to Westminster abbey. That of Torrington, founder of Great Berkhamsfed church, he describes in the body of the church⁶.

In the middle aisle of Baldock church is a stone with a cross fleury, circumscribed,

*Reignald d'Argentein ci gist
Qui cette chapell joire fist
Prest chevalier Saint Marie
Chescun pardon pour l'alme prie.*

translated by Weever⁷ as if he was a knight of St. Mary. What remained of this inscription, 1783, shews that he was a knight, and that the Virgin is to be intreated for his soul. I read it thus:

*Reynaud: de: Argentein: ci: gist:
. . . chapele: sere: fist:
Fu: chevalier: Seynt: . . .
Pradom: ky: pur: alme: prie*

Or it may be *Pru* chevalier; good knight.

On each side of a cross florè were two shields. Salmon⁸ supposes the church was rebuilt since Stephen's time; for otherwise this stone would have lain in a chapel. Who shall say it has not been removed from the chapel of his building? The style of the inscription is about the reign of one of the three Edwards.

The figure ascribed to one of the abbots of St. Austin, Bristol, on a raised tomb in the North aisle of Almondsbury church, c. Gloucester. which belonged to that abbey, may represent a founder or early incumbent⁹. The founder of Dumbleton church, in the same county, has the old French epitaph in Saxon capitals. Sometimes their only memorial was an arch in the wall¹⁰. The cross-legged knight, in the North wall of the chancel at Hawsted, Suffolk, was probably the founder thereof, and supposed to be one of the Fitz Eustaces, lords there in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I¹¹. In the North wall of the chancel of Buckland, c. Berks, is an arch with a fair gravestone, and thereon a cross em-

¹ Science heroïque, p. 479.

² Blomf. III. 132.

³ Ib. III. 595.

⁴ Ib. III. 641.

⁵ Parkins' contin. of Blomf. V. 873. See p. 219.

⁶ P. 592.

⁷ Ib. 592.

⁸ P. 545.

⁹ Herts, p. 281.

¹⁰ Rudder, 224.

¹¹ Ib. 421.

¹² Hist. of Hawsted, p. 49.

bossed, and opposite to it a like arch with a plain gravestone¹. The tomb of Suger, abbot of St. Denys, and prime minister to Louis le Jeune, who died 1151, is like these formed in the wall of the South transept of his church. Felibien says it was generally thought to have been made by himself, when he rebuilt this church: but this is a mistake, since his body was not removed into it till 1259, when abbot Matthew de Vendôme transferred hither under the two arches on the side of the great door of the cloister the bodies of Suger and five more of his predecessors. Before the former is a stone with some ornaments cut on it, and this inscription,

Hic jacet Sugerius abbas.

which conveys more than all the long panegyrics offered up to his memory².

The tradition of Whittington, in Shropshire, buries Fitz Warine, founder of the castle, in the church porch, it being, says Mr. Pennant³, an action of devotion for all persons on their entrance into churches and religious houses to pray for the souls of the founders and benefactors. Fulk Fitz Warine, seventh of the name, who had the greatest revenue of any of the family, by his will dated 15 Richard II. directed his body to be buried in the chancel. It is most probable, the first of the family was buried there. The porch was not an unusual place. The ancient parochial churches dependent on abbeys had commonly a cemetery near them, and the dead were buried there, even in the *parvis* or *atrium* of the church, whence it has been supposed *Atrium* came frequently to signify a cemetery⁴.

Leofric earl of Mercia and his countess Godiva were buried in the porches of the abbey church at Coventry, which they had founded⁵. Three of the Tankervilles, father, son, and grandson, in the chapter-house of Kenilworth-priory⁶.

Milo, earl of Gloucester, who founded Lanthoni abbey, near Gloucester, with his two daughters, and four of the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, allied to his family, were all buried in the *chapter-house* of that priory⁷. So were the earls of Chester at Chester.

We are not however to conclude, that every ancient slab to be seen in a church porch is in its original situation, so many circumstances occasioning the removal of such monuments.

The abbots of St. Albans before Robert the 19th, who died 1166, were buried in the chapter-house, which he built. He deposited them there, *nimis abjecte et sine hominum discretorum notitia*, by the advice of his mason, who dying suddenly, the memory of the spot was lost⁸. *Polyandrium* was the name given to the common burying grounds of abbeys, in which, as it seems from Matthew Paris⁹, *the faithful under interdiction* might be buried. It is of Greek extract, applied to the tomb of the Thebans who fell fighting against Philip¹⁰, to the Argives who accompanied the Athenians to the conquest of Sicily¹¹, and who fell victorious over the Lacedæmonians at Hyfa¹². The council of Tribur under Charlemagne ordaining that graves in churches be levelled with the pavement, that no footstep of a grave appear, adds, if this cannot be conveniently done on account of the multitude of corpses, let the place be turned into a *polyandrium*, or cemetery¹³.

¹ Aſm. I. 104.

² Felibien, *Hist. de l'abbaye de St. Denys*, p. 190.

³ Wales, I. 245.

⁴ Lebeuf, *Hist. du dioc. de Paris*, II. 44. In the porch of St. Sulpice were found, in 1729, two stone coffins, the first turned to the East, one about five or six hundred, the other a thousand years old. The proof of the latter being of the twelfth century, or thereabouts, was a plate of copper, enamelled, with the history of Elijah and the widow of Sarepta, which proves it to have been Christian; the other was also the tomb of a Christian named Herluin, with this inscription in characters of the eighth century at latest.

Hic jacet inclusus Tetopi de stripe creatus,

Harlunus comdam vocatus nomine qui obiit. Lebeuf, Ib. Merc. Franc. Mai, 1724.

⁵ Dugdale, *Warwicksh.* p. 157, ed. Thomas, quoting Malmesbury, 165. 2. but no such thing is there.

⁶ Leland II. VI. 73.

⁷ *Hist. Abb. Lanthoni*, Mon. Angl. II. 66, 67.

⁸ *Vit. Abb. S. Alb.* p. 92.

⁹ *Ib.* p. 119. In later times it was applied to the tomb of one person only. See Du Cange in voc.

¹⁰ *Paulin. Brev. c. 40.*

¹¹ *Paulin. Corinth. c. 22.*

¹² *Ib. c. 24.*

¹³ Bingham, 23 c. 1. §. 7. So the parish of Stepney lately served their cemetery.

Matthew Paris has a remarkable story about the privilege of being buried before the high altar granted to a woman. "Cecily Sanford a lady of condition, relict of William Gosham, governess of Joan sister of Henry III. and widow of William Marshall, junior, died 1251, about a mile from St. Albans. She had made a vow of perpetual widowhood, and with her wedding ring assumed the russet habit, the usual sign of such resolution. Her scholar did the same; but preferring to be a mother, obtained a dispensation of the Pope for a second marriage. Cecily, on her death-bed, having past through the usual forms with her confessor, he observed a gold ring on her finger, which he ordered her attendants to take off. The lady just expiring, recovered herself enough to tell them that she would never part with this ring, which she intended to carry to heaven with her into the presence of her celestial spouse, in testimony of her constant observance of her vow, and to receive the promised reward. She had no sooner said this than she expired; and this being attested by her confessor, she was honourably interred in St. Alban's abbey-church, in a stone coffin, before the altar of St. Andrew, on account of her vow and her rank'.

Archbishop Thoresby, who died 1353, was laid before the altar of the blessed Virgin Mary, in his new work of the choir. No stone or monument now marks the place of his interment; but so long as this part of the fabric stands it cannot want a memorial'.

Mr. Hacklitt told Leland, that the body of Merewald king of Mercia was found in a wall of the old church of Wenlock where his daughter founded a nunnery'.

Fossa is the antient name of a *grave*, merely from its being an opening dug in the earth: so in Bede's epitaph, and that of Thomas de Cailey, rector of Bradenham in Norfolk', in imitation of it. So Lebeuf⁵ speaks of a man buried "dans une fosse particuliere," in the present century; and Hall⁶, speaking of the spot whereon the French slain in the battle of Agincourt were buried, calls it a *grove*, converted afterwards into a churchyard.

There are few, if any, instances among us of tombs revertit in situation, as has happened to an old coffin-fashioned one in the church of Ville Taneuse, near Paris, which Mr. Lebeuf mentions as having the head to the altar, in proof that it was removed from an older church'.

"Among the monuments of antiquity now remaining none decline so fast as the old stones with brass plates. The plates fall a prey to petty church robbers,

¹ Propter exaltatum ejus privilegium & generis sui nobilitatem in ecclesia ista ante altare beati Andree honorifice in lapideo sarcophago sepeliebatur. Matr. Par. p. 818.

The following form of a vow of chastity made by a Countess of Suffolk, 1381. is taken from the register of Fordham bishop of Ely, fol. 39. b.

² Votum castitatis d'ne comitisse Suff'. M'd q'd nobilis d'na d'na Isabella comitissa Suff. 21^o die mens. Martii coram summo altari prioratus predicti [Lampigny Norwic dioc.] in presentia rev. patrum d'orum Thome ep'i Elien^t missam tunc ib'm sollempniter celebrantis & Hen^o Norwicen^o ep'i pontificalibus induti & alior' plurimorum abbatum & priorum eidem assentientium votum vovit sollempniter prout sequitur in hoc verba: 'Jeo Isabella jady la femme William de Ufforde count de Suff. vowe a Dieu & a notre dame Seinte Marie & a touz seynz en presence de tres reverentz piers en Dien eveq's de Ely & de Norwicz qe jeo doi esly: chait d'ors en avant ma vie durante.' Et d'ns Elien^t vice & auctoritate dicti d'ni Norwic. votum hujusmodi recepit & admisit, & mantellum sive claudem ac annulum dicte reverentia sollempniter benedixit & imposuit super eam. Presentibus etiam ib'm comite Warwic. d'no de Wyloweby, d'no de Scales, ac aliis militibus & armigeris & aliis in multitudine copiosis."

Compare this with that of Philippa countess of Warwick, 1360. Dugd. Bar. I. 235.

³ Drake, 291.

⁴ Itin. IV. 178. a. Francis lord Lovel, who fled after the battle of Stoke, and was said to have lived long after in a cave or vault, (Bacon's Hist. of Henry VII. p. 31.) was supposed to have been found in a vault at Minister Lovel house, c. Oxon. 1708. But the circumstances of the discovery, as related in Peck's Appendix of Historical pieces to his Memoirs of Cromwell, p. 87, are not very probable. He tells, p. 86. another extraordinary story of a skeleton found crammed into a cellar in Collyweston house, c. Northampton, supposed of some person made away by Henry VIII's order. Immuring of state prisoners should seem to have been antiently no uncommon practice. In one of the towers of Thornton college, c. Lincoln, in a room whose door had been walled up, was found in the last century a skeleton, with a table, brass candlestick, and book. In the very substance of an old stone wall of Dublin castle was found a skeleton, with a strange old pair of wooden clogs at the feet, and a seal with a priest praying to the Virgin and Child, circumscribed *S. Maurici viator de Hyddia*. Gent. Mag. vol. xxv. p. 212. In the centre of a thick wall at Norham castle the skeleton of a man was found entire, in a recumbent posture. Hutchinson's Hist. of Durham, I. 150.

⁵ Biomet. III. 142. See before, p. cii.

⁶ Hist. du dioc. de Par. II. 333.

⁷ Dioc. de Paris, II. 330.

⁸ Fol. li. b.

whose behaviour is countenanced by the bad example of great ones, or the negligence of their superiors; so that in another century, unless greater care be taken, but very few of these will be found remaining ¹."

In the body of York cathedral, of an hundred and thirteen epitaphs not twenty were left at the time of new paving, 1734, and half of these were cut in stone, which plainly proves, that the poor lucre of the brasses was the great motive to the defacing these venerable remains of antiquity. Of fifty-two epitaphs in the church, which Mr. Drake gives, near thirty were entire and legible before the above paving, being preserved by the doors being kept shut ².

When Browne Willis ³ was at Lincoln, 1718, he counted about two hundred and seven grave stones that had been stript of their brasses; but the better half of them preserved in bishop Sanderfon's MS. account of the monuments there, and printed in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*.

In some late essential repairs to the West front of Hereford cathedral several capital brasses, which I copied ten years before, were torn up by the rapacity of the workmen before the vergers could prevent them.

Browne Willis shewed the Society of Antiquaries, 1737, from the Augmentation Office, a particular of the dissolution of religious houses, 30 Henry VIII. which, because it shews how monuments and brasses were then disposed of, I shall subjoin from their Minutes.

"County of Warwick; Mirival, six gravestones, with brasses on them, 5*s*. four bells, by estimation £ 30.

County of Stafford; Brewood or Rywood ⁴, in the steeple three bells.

Littlehull, seven bells, weight 37 C. not sold, but valued at £ 66. 13*s*. 4*d*. Sir Thomas Stafford, jun. four bells, val. £ 54.

Delacres, the paving of the church, with isles, *gravestones*, roof, &c. sold for £ 13. 6*s*. 8*d*. Six bells, weight 50 C. val. £ 37. 10*s*. Gilt plate 87 oz. white plate 30 oz.

Darley, the *tombs* and *gravestones*, with the *metal* on them, and roof of the church, isles, &c. sold for £ 20. roof, &c. of the cloisters, sold for £ 10. Gilt plate 98 oz. Six bells, sold for £. 45. 10*s*.

Dale. The clock sold for 6*s*. iron, glass, gravestones, &c. for £ 18. the cloisters for £ 6. six bells, weight 47 C.

Repton. The church sold for 50*s*. the *gravestones* and paving remain unsold, with four bells. Mr. Thatchet put into possession of the late priory.

County of Leicester; Grace Dieu. The church sold for £ 15. the cloisters for £ 3. 6*s*. 8*d*. three bells, by estimation, weight 9 C.

County of Northampton; Pipewell. The church, valued at £ 16. 3*s*. The whole goods sold for £ 121. 1*s*. five bells, weight 56 C. Gilt plate 70 oz. white plate 271 oz.

County of Cambridge; Barnwell church, valued at £ 16. 11*s*. 4*d*. the whole building at £ 61. 15*s*. 2*d*. Six bells, weight 25 C.⁵

The brasses in Thatcham church were stolen when it was broken open ⁶.

The bells at Mepham in Kent being to be new cast, some mischievous persons tore off the brasses to add to the metal ⁶.

When the late lord Colerane rebuilt Driffild church, c. Gloucester, the old monuments were not put up again ⁷. On rebuilding Tarbick church, c. Worcester, in pulling down lord Plymouth's chancel the family monuments were so

¹ MS. account of Campton, communicated to Mr. Rudder, Gloucesterth. p. 324.

² Ubi supra, 592. Mr. Drake gives, p. 494, a plan of the old pavement, with all the inscriptions remaining in the time of Mr. Torre, by whom it was taken, which must be allowed a great curiosity, since the whole, except in the choir end, is now quite taken up and erased. Ib. p. 519. In the new edition of Camden's *Britannia* will be found a similar plan of the cathedral of Lincoln, before its new paving, 1783. The choir there has hitherto escaped alteration.

³ Survey of Lincoln cathedral, p. 31.

⁴ Ashm. II. 325.

⁵ Haisted, I. 469.

⁶ Q. Brewood or Byrwood, Shropshire. Tanner.

⁷ Rudder, 420.

broken as not to be put up again'. They are however engraved in Dugdale's Warwickshire'. I have heard of a church in Suffolk where all the monuments of former lords of the manor were sacrificed to the vanity of the present proprietor, who having no train of ancestry to boast of, could not bear the memorials of those who had. One brass only escaped, which I have engraved. The miserable state of the fine series of the monuments of the Wingfield and Naunton families, at Letheringham in the same county, is a sad memorial of controverted inheritance.

The churchwardens of Allhallows Stayning pulled down their monuments, and swept them out of the church, for which they were forced to make a large account of twelve shillings for brooms, &c. besides carrying away the stones and brass at their own expence'. Dr. Hammer vicar of Shoreditch of late, says Stowe', for covetousness of the brass, which he converted into coined silver, plucked up many plates fixed on the graves.

In the appraisement of St. Andrew's church, Lincoln, 1551, when its materials were sold by the corporation for £ 32. 16s. 8d. "the plate in the chapel with the plate of other stones in the church," was valued at 40s. and "the *fellaring* over the tomb (which I suppose was a wooden or stone canopy over some particular tomb) at 12d.

A brass of Sir Adrian Fortescue, 1653, from his tomb in Hodington church, c. Worcester, is preserved in an alehouse in the village¹.

1646, a brass statue in Windsor was ordered by Parliament to be sold, and the money to go for pay of the garrison².

A fine brass of the Clifton family at Methwold was sold by the clerk to a tinker, from whom only a few uninteresting fragments could be recovered³.

Brasses stolen from Hilburgh church by a tinker, in the civil war, were found by the rector after the Restoration at Swaffham⁴.

Mr. Johnson bought of a dealer in hardware, who was going to melt it down, a brass plate, 20 inches by 16, on which was an elderly man bareheaded and bearded, in a ruff and fur gown, four sons behind him kneeling at a table and two books: a woman in a coif set back and hood hanging down behind, a ruff round her neck and ruffles at her wrists; five daughters kneeling behind. Arms, a chevron S. between three wolf's heads, impaling G. a chevron O. between three fleurs de lis O. under them *Love and Lyve*, in black letter, and the following inscription:

"Here within this chauncell on the North side doth lye the corpeffis of
"Thomas Lovell, esquire, and Margaret Pyckeringe his wyfe who was to him
"full deare, they lyved together in the state of holy matrimonye 33 yeares and
"11 dayes, and had issue between them 1x children, 1111 sonnes and v daugh-
"ters; viz. Thomas, William, John, and Dudley; Elizabeth and Elizabeth, Mar-
"garet, Ellenor, and Luce, whose mother decafed in the fayth of Christe the
"sixthe daye of Julye, Ano Domini 1597, being of the age of 1x yeares 10."

The brasses of the younger branches of the Delapole family, at Wingfield in Suffolk, which had been carefully preserved in the church chest as they came off, and were there seen and copied by me twenty years ago, have since, on a late repair and beautifying of the church, been converted into money by one of the churchwardens.

¹ Nash, II. 408.

² Stow's Survey, p. 222.

³ Symphon's MS Collections, p. 140.

⁴ Whitelock's Memor. p. 206.

⁵ Ib. III. 439.

⁶ Ed. Thomas, p. 734, 735.

⁷ Ib. p. 474.

⁸ Nash, I. 292.

⁹ Blomefield's Norf. I. 509.

¹⁰ Spalding Society Minutes.

The monumental slabs with the brasses on them in the chancel at Attleborough church, Norfolk, were taken by Robert earl of Suffex, to whom Henry VIII. granted it at the dissolution of the college there, to pave his hall, kitchen, and larder¹. Dean Whittingham and his widow, 1579, made the like application of many monumental slabs in Durham cathedral². I have heard a similar charge brought against the chapter at Worcester some years ago. A like use seems to have been made of the slabs with brasses in Stoke Gourney church, c. Somerset.

The slab which covers the tomb of Thomas Seckford in his chapel at Woodbridge has had on its now under-side a brass cross, on which stood two figures in niches; and at the sides of the cross two shields: but all the brass is reversed. This slab seems to have served some other family, and to be here out of its place. In the abbey church of Bridlington a large coffin-fashioned slab of black marble, seven feet long, whose under side was adorned with reliefs, has been turned, and inscribed, in memory, I think, of Sir R. Preston, 1587.

I cannot omit an instance of frugality in making the brass plate of one family serve for another by turning it, were it only to express my obligation to the Rev. Dr. Disney, who having engraved this memorial of his family in the church of Norton Disney, c. Lincoln, has permitted me to take a number of impressions, and carried his politeness so far as to make me the offer of the plate itself. It commemorates William Disney, esq. sheriff of London, 1532. and Richard Disney, esq. his eldest son and heir, burgess for Grantham, 1554, and sheriff of Lincolnshire, 1557 and 1566, with their wives and issue, to whose memory it was put up, probably by Jane second wife and widow of the latter, about the middle of the reign of Elizabeth. At the back is a long inscription, in the German or Low Dutch language, recording the foundation of a chantry somewhere on the Continent, which I shall give at large in the Appendix.

The communion table at Stow Bardolf, Norfolk, is made of the slab of Sir Ralph Hare, knight of the Bath, who died 1623, taken down in erecting the monument of his grandson Sir Thomas Hare, bart³. The reverse has happened to an altar stone at St. Edmund's Bury, converted into a slab for the tomb of Mary Queen of France, afterwards Dutches of Suffolk; to another which covers a tomb in the South aisle of the abbey church at St. Albans; and to a third, which makes a part of the pavement of the church at Hawsted in Suffolk⁴. These once consecrated stones are known by a cross cut in the centre and four at the corners, in allusion to the five wounds of CHRIST. A very fine one twelve feet long and three feet wide makes part of the pavement of the choir of Bridlington abbey church.

A MS. communicated to Mr. Rudder mentions the preservation of a fine stone monument in Campden church, Gloucester, which would have fallen a sacrifice to the lucre of an iron grate that encompassed it, the sale of which would have put a few pounds into the spoiler's pocket⁵.

Some curious inscriptions in Gothic capitals, four or five hundred years old, in the church of St. John Baptiste lez St. Julian at Paris, were worn out by laying the stones to make a wall round the outside of the church⁶.

The inscription round the tomb of Anselm de Bercey bishop of Laudun, who died 1238, in the abbey church of Vauluisant, sets forth, that the monument was originally of copper, but that abbot Henry sold it, 1448, to repair the church, and made another in stone.

¹ Dilect. I. 324. from the Porfirii register.

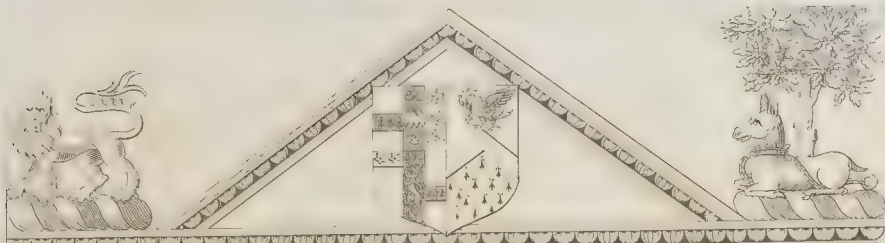
² Antiq. of Durham Cathedral, p. 774—779.

³ Parkin's Hist. of Norfolk. IV. 179.

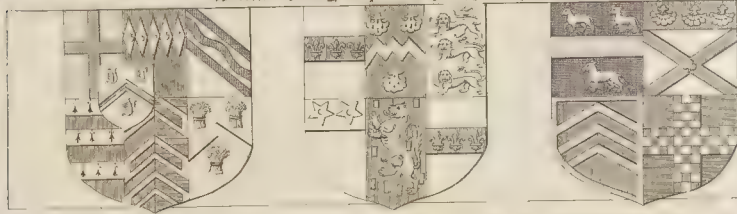
⁵ P. 324.

⁴ Hist. of Hawsted, p. 48.

⁶ Lebeuf, Hist. du diocèse de Paris, I. 175.



Willm Disney Esquier & Margaret Jomer



Sara: Elter: Indeth:
Indeth and Susan:



Nele daughter of S^r Willm Bulon ladyet Richard Disney Jarne daugh^r of S^r Willm Aylcougher k^t.

The lufe, conberlacion, and Service, of the first above named Willm Disney and of Richard Disney his Sonne the're commendable amongst the Prig^r bours trewe and fathetast to ther prince and cūtre & acceptable to Thall- mighty of Whome the trust they are receved to Salvation accordinge to the Stridfast faythe Which they had in & throughe the mercy and merit of shrist o^r Savior Thes truthe is thus left forthe that in all ages God may be thankfully glorified for thes and sucche lyke his graciūs benefiter.

"Hic jacet Anselmus de Bricca natus quondam laudunens. ep's qui obiit x'cio nona Septēbris and
 "m' duceno xxxviii. sed urgēte iōpia ano m' cccc' xlviii'. xii' Novēbris hui' loci abbas Hen-
 "ricus nōie cuperū tumulū vendit quō p'fat erex'at de cui vendicōe hāc celta tūba i cillice
 "sculpsit & hinc ecclie que tūc ruinosa p'multū erat possētenu altissimo disponente subvēt
 "pro eis orate."

A freestone in the wall of the chancel at South Acre, Norfolk, is thus inscribed: "Aug. 1725, the Rev. Mr. William Brocklebank, rector, new paved
 "this chancel with stone at his own charge, had the gravestones cleaned and
 "laid even; removed none that had any inscription; but gave three plain ones
 "to be laid in the body of the church".

The monuments of the Freman family are all set up in Abfeden church, Herts, being rescued by major William Freman, from the hands of those who had stolen them from St. Michael's, Cornhill, in the fire of London.

Sir Hugh Calverley's tomb at Beeston is kept clean by legacy.

Mr. Hearne* explains the lions at the feet of effigies as emblems of vigilance, industry, and courage, and parallels them with the lion on the tomb of the Beronians, who died fighting against Philip, and were buried in one common *polyandrum*. I doubt this etymology, and rather incline to think the practice derived from the allusion to the words in Psalm xci. 13. "*Super aspidem & basiliscum ambulabis, conculcabis leonem et draconem.*" "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet." Nor should it be objected, that this relates only to the clergy; for the words are applicable to Christians in general. Indeed there are not a few instances in which animals so placed are family supporters, as was the case perhaps universally after the reformation. Thus the buck at the feet of Bois, p. 82. 104. is the family crest. Such perhaps might be the meaning of the bear at the feet of bishop March, at Wells; the two rabbits at those of lady Tiptoft, at Ely. At the feet of Thomas Cecil, earl of Exeter, in Westminster abbey, 1621, are his lions supporting the gerbe. Or they are rebuses of the name, as two hares at the feet of bishop Harewell at Wells, and at those of the knight at Pershore before mentioned, who is supposed to have borne the same name. Under those of one of the figures in the Temple church⁸ are two human heads, perhaps alluding to the Infidels slain in the crusades; under the right foot of a knight in Ryther church, York, is a collared dog, under his left an old bearded head: between the feet of Thomas de Inglethorpe bishop of Rochester 1291, is a demon's head pierced by his crozier. Under the feet of archbishop Grey in York minster are two human figures writhing as if in pain, while a dragon bites the point of his crozier. Raymond Ragnier lord of Ourchy, 1421, in the church of the Celestines at Marcouffy, has a muzzled dog under his feet. A man in the choir of the church of Nanteuil stands on a naked child. Under a knight in Ardenne abbey in Normandy are two basilisks: under an abbeys at Port royal des champs, two fish⁹; under a countess of Vendosme, 1305, in the Mathurines church, at Paris, an ass couchant; under the wife of Hervé de Neanville, in the Carthusian church there, 1413, two lambs. Under the figure of William Rufus painted on an abbey wall in France¹⁰, under that of bishop Wermund de la Buiffiere, 1272, in Noien cathedral, under an abbeys of St.

* Blomef. III. 418.

¹ Pennant's Journey from Chester, p. 18.

² Pautan, Bæot. p. 606. Ed. Hanov. 1613.

³ In the parish church of Ville Taneule, near Paris, Lifard the patron is represented with a black animal at his feet, the serpent or dragon mentioned in his life. Lebeuf, Hist. dioc. de Paris, II. 332. Q. If the figure did not give rise to the legend, instead of the legend to the figure.

⁴ Bentham, pl. xxxviii.

⁵ Molcan, p. 234.

⁶ Salmon, Herts, p. 319.

⁷ Roper's Life of More, p. 270.

⁸ Fl. xix. p. 50.

⁹ Monif. I. pl. 14.

Saviour at Evreux, 1298, and several others, is a double-bodied sphinx or griffin. Charles of Anjou, earl of Maine, 1472, in the cathedral of Mans, has only a helmet at his feet. At the feet of John lord Ruffel, who died 1584, and has a monument in Westminster abbey, is a small figure of his infant son Francis, who died in the same year. Under the feet of John Perient, in Digswell church, Herts, 1415, Salmon describes a creature like a cat, and under his wife's feet one like a rat; the former is really a leopard, the latter an hedge-hog: one of the Swinborns, at Little Horkesley, Essex, has a cat at his feet. "What the meaning "is of chusing such things I could never," says Salmon, "arrive at. They are "sometimes their crest, but frequently arbitrary, and with relation to their arms." Thus the lion of bronze gilt, large as life, on the tomb or mausoleum of the dukes of Brabant, restored by the archduke Albert, is the arms of the said duke, which he also holds in a shield, in the church of St. Michael and St. Jude, in Brussels. In this tomb rests the body of duke John II. who died 1312. and his consort Margaret, sixth daughter of our Edward I. who died 1318.

The learned antiquary Lebeuf, in a dissertation on the statue of queen Pedauque, or the *goosefooted*, whom he explains the Queen of the South or Sheba, *Regina Aysiri*, has a curious conjecture on lions in porches of churches, serving as supporters of the seats of ecclesiastical judges; whence the sentences of Officials, Deans, &c. have this formula. "*Datum or Actum inter duos "leones*."

To account for *dogs*, one or more, at the feet of ladies, or even of knights, may not be so easy. They may only allude to their favourite lapdogs. Chaucer's prioress kept small houndes². Judith daughter of the emperor Conrad is represented on her tomb, 1191, with one in her left hand³. Those at the feet of countess Aveline Sir Joseph Ayloffe⁴ calls *tallot wobelps*; they are couchant, the head of one lying over and resting on that of the other.

Lacombe⁵ says, *Gocet* is "petit chien de bois qu'on mettoit au pied du lit:" Quere, if the dogs at feet of ladies, whose drapery is tucked or gathered round their feet, as Matilda at Dunmow priory, lady Crosbie in St. Helen's, London, and other instances, allude to this; as also the instances of dogs holding up the robe at the feet. They are not unfrequent at the side of the feet looking up to the faces of their mistresses. Mary countess de St. Paul kneeling on her monument at Vendome has her dog on the skirts of her robe. Sir Bryan Stapleton, on his brass at Ingham, c. Norfolk, rests one foot on a lion, the other on a dog, whose name is recorded on a label, *Jakke*⁶. Round the collar of a dog at the feet of an old stone figure of a knight in Tollethunt Knight's church, Essex, I traced five other capitals, somewhat like *Hougo*⁷. King Richard II. had a favourite greyhound, named *Matt*, whose transfer of attachment from him to the usurper of his crown is naturally told by Froissart. By this it should seem

² Histoire de l'Acad. des Inf. XI, 405. 12mo.

³ Custerb. Tales, L. 146. ⁴ Reynet, ubi sup.

⁵ Account of the Westminster monuments, p. 5.

⁶ Dict. du vieux langage François.

⁷ Pl. XLV. p. 119.

⁸ Perhaps for *Hugo* or *Hugh*.

Among Sir David Lindsay's poems is "the Complaint of the king's old hound called *Baß*, directed to *Bawty*, the king's bell beloved dog."

The dog at the feet of Thomas II. lord of Savoy and count of Maurienne and Piedmont, who died 1233, on his tomb at Aoul, has on his collar inscribed in Gothic capitals the word FERT, and on his breast a shield, with the arms of Savoy, of which house this word was the ancient device. Guichenon, who has given a print of this monument, Hist. de Savoye, p. 251, confesses himself (p. 141.) unable to explain the meaning of the device, which he says is plainly a word, there being no stops between the letters. Notwithstanding this, Pere Hardouin (than whom no man was fonder of a conceit) in a dissertation professedly on the subject, takes no little pains to give each of these four letters a distinct meaning, in the same manner as he explained away the legends of ancient coins. See his note on Pliny, D. H. VIII. c. 9.

Feijoo, in his Vulgar Errors, tells a wonderful story of a dog named *Gordien*.

that

that our ancestors gave their Christian names to their dogs'. Knights and nobles may have them at their feet as the companions of their sports, or symbols of their rank. The greyhound is introduced in pictures of ceremonials from the Bayeux tapestry to the Champ de drap d'or¹.

Archbishop Greenfield, 1317, in York minster, has at his feet two dogs, one a prick-eared hock, the other strait-haired and flap-eared; so have the wives of Robert Braunché at Lynne, 1364². An abbot of L'Espau near Mans, and another of Evron in Maine, have a greyhound under their feet.

On the French monuments one or both dogs are continually represented gnawing bones or eating acorns; and under the feet of Henry seigneur de Pary, in Jard church, is a dog running.

One of the latest instances in which statues have animals at their feet is that of Lionel Cranfield earl of Middlesex, 1645, and his countess, in Westminster abbey. At those of Louis Stuart duke of Richmond and his duchess there, 1639, they are on coronets in that situation. They hold shields of arms on the corners of the slab of the Duke of Norfolk, at Framlingham. In all these instances they are known supporters of the family arms. At the feet of Louis de la Tremouille, who was killed at the battle of Pavia, 1524, in the church of Notre Dame de Thouars, the dog lies as usual, but has the arms on his side.

Charles de Bourbon earl of Soissons and his countess have a lion and a dog at their feet, 1633-1643, in the Carthusian church of Gaillon.

The next disposition in which we find animals is as supporters of various memorials of the parties whose arms or supporters they are. Thus two elephants of white marble bear up the black marble sarcophagus of Sir Henry Wood, knight and baronet, 1671, in the South aisle of Ufford church, c. Suffolk; and two griffins the obelisk on the Marquis of Halifax's monument in Westminster-abbey, 1715.

Cumbent figures continued in fashion as late as William Cavendish Duke of Newcastle, 1676, in Westminster abbey; and the beautiful ones of an alderman and his wife at Gloucester, evidently wrought from a design of Vandyck. Mr. Walpole calls it a tasteless attitude. It is however the most natural attitude, expressing the last act of a human being imploring mercy in the extremities of life. Either the whole or half cumbent posture is a very common one on all the sepulchral monuments transmitted to us from the antient Greeks and Romans, and it certainly is the most natural.

On the fronts of two sepulchres at Palmyra are cumbent figures, with the hands reclined on the belly, and under one of them, on two sarcophagi, are busts of other persons of the same family, with inscriptions below them³. Thus in our own country, on a slab of the Carew family, at Beddington church, we see under their parents' feet the busts of thirteen children, with their names supercribed.

In Maffei's *Verona Illustrata*, p. cxxxvii. is a cumbent figure, its left arm supporting its head, at which is a Cupid or Genius with a Cornucopiae.

¹ So the antients gave the names of men to dogs. Lyfimachus's dog, who leapt into the fire of his master's funeral pile, was called *Hircanus*. Pliny, N. H. VIII. 11. Solinus, c. 15. *Ælian*, Hist. Anim. VI. 25. Plutarch de solert. animal. p. 670. and that of Gelo the tyrant of Sicily was called *Pyrrhus*. Plin. 1b. *Ælian*, H. An. VI. 62.

² See Sir Joseph Ayloffe's description of the Windsor picture, *Archæol.* III. p. 209.

³ Pl. XLV. p. 115.

⁴ Ruins of Palmyra, Pl. LV. LVI.

The article of our ancient habits derives much light from sepulchral monuments, which supplied the place of portraits before we had painters among us, which is indeed almost till the time of Holbein'. "In elder times much must be depended on tombs for dresses," was the opinion of an excellent judge in these matters, when he was promoting a design which, had the gentlemen to whom he assigned their several parts been living, would have done honour to this age and country; "*An History of Gothic architecture in its various periods, with a history of fashions and dresses in England.*" This observation is not to be entirely confined to female dress, because almost all our male figures till the 15th century are clad in armour; for in that article very material varieties will be found from the prince to the various orders of his subjects.

None of our historians have attended to such minutiae. Facts, not manners or fashions, were their object. Montfaucon was the first who thought of them in France. Mr. Strutt adopted his plan in England, and has succeeded in proportion to the extent of his observations.

It is amazing how superficial is Mr. Granger on an article for enlarging on which he had such advantage. For the piked shoes of Richard the Second, and a law made to limit them to two inches, he quotes Baker's Chronicle. Had not Mr. Granger read original authors? But he did not carry his views in this kind beyond the reign of Henry VII^s.

The industrious Hearne is not much more explicit, nor does he carry his views much further back. "Tis also, says he, from old monuments that we learn the shape of the shoes and other habits of our countrymen in former times. The make of the shoes, 10 Henry VIII. we have in the church of Ewelme; and of those in 31 Henry VIII. in the church of East Halkborn. The figure of those 37 Henry VI. may be seen in the church of Lechlade in Gloucestershire, as those of the reign of Henry V. may be found in John Dade's MS. treatise of arms in the Bodleian library. The habit of Prince Arthur's auditor may be seen in the church of Brightwell, in Berks: where may likewise be seen the habits of the women in the beginning of Henry the Eighth's reign. We have the habit of a bachelor of divinity, 9 Henry VIII. in the church of Ewelme, where we have also the shape of the

¹ Some of the finest illuminations in our MSS. are the work of foreign Artists, particularly the Froissart in the Rev. Library. The illuminated copy of *Mat. Paris*, in the British Museum, was certainly a presentation book to Henry III. There is another very neatly illuminated with the histories in outlines in Benet College Library. Mr. Walpole has comprised our painters, &c. from Henry III. to Henry VI. in thirty quarto pages. Our oldest drawings are in the Saxon MSS. of which Mr. Strutt has made good use. Probably the histories of Alexander the Great, the Crusade, the sacred and other figures and histories on the walls of the royal apartments in the reign of Henry III. were of this kind. They certainly were not better than the seven champions painted on the walls of private houses in the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII. as over the gatechamber of Nether-hall, Essex, over the cloister at Wenlock abbey, with mottoes; or the single figures in compartments on the North side of the room adjoining to Selby abbey church, which is shewn for the chamber where Henry the First was born, when an inscription round the cornice expressly says it was built by abbot Depung just before the dissolution. The Deity, or the Trinity, with angels, and the symbols of the Evangelists, were depicted on the ceilings of the wooden canopies over the royal and other monuments in Westminster abbey; the Virgin and Child, or Saints with worshippers, at the back of several monuments, as in Hereford library, &c. Instances of this sort were more common in France than in England. St. Christopher, on the wall of the North transept of Winchester cathedral, and on the doors of some parish churches in Norfolk, the saints, fathers, and apostles, on the screens of Woodbridge and several other churches in Suffolk. The legends of St. Cuthbert and St. Aulin on the back of the Western falls in the cathedral at Carlisle. The figures of saints, kings, queens, and prelates, on panels over the door and on the roof of the chapter-house at York, of the time of archbishop Gray, in the beginning of the 13th century; those on the ceiling of the nave of Peterborough minster, of the 14th; those on the ceilings of Salisbury cathedral, St. Alban's abbey church, and innumerable others, which might be referred to one of these two centuries. The half-effaced legends of the Virgin Mary, in her chapel in Winchester cathedral, ascribed to bishop Langton, in the reign of Henry VII. The gars and blue ground in churches and apartments. The *gesta Antiochie*, or history of the Crusade, ordered to be painted in a low chamber in the garden at Westminster, probably a summer or banquetting house, might be in the style of the figures on the tomb of Edmund Crouchback at Westminster, or the now effaced siege of Damietta (which turns out, however, to be only a representation of the wife-men's offering) in Canterbury cathedral. William of Florence was one of Henry III's artists. Walpole, l. 66.

If the *Antiochia* were the first historical piece in which we were interested, the coronation of Edward I. in the bishop's palace at Lichfield was the second. One may venture to affirm, there was more historical precision than in his grandson's triumphs by Verro, at Windsor. On the outside of the choir next the South aisle of St. George's chapel there are supposed portraits of three of our kings and prince Edward son of Henry VI. and on the opposite side of the choir in the chapel over the tomb of William lord Hastings, the history of his patron St. Stephen, in four panels.

Painting in glass is first mentioned in the Claus Roll 20 Henry III. Aubrey quotes Sir William Dugdale for its being first done in the reign of John. Walp. l. 5.

² see Granger, l. 86, 87.

bands that were in use i 3 Henry VII. And in the foresaid church of Brightwell is the habit of a Master of Arts, 23 Henry VII. which, as it varied at the different times, so we meet with the figures of it sometimes in old printed books, as we do with the figures of a Master of Grammar in old grammatical tracts, the frontispieces of which may be in some measure illustrated from the old hieroglyphical figures in the quadrangle of Magdalen College, Oxford. And by the same observations we may gather the forms of other habits from one age to another, as we may likewise the figures of the military instruments; and the nature of the occupations in which they were engaged. We may know the figures of the swords before Edward the Third's time from the monuments in Aldworth church, and the figures in Lechlade church do as naturally shew that the persons upon whose monuments they are expressed were woollmen, as if there had been no inscriptions to testify the same¹."

Bishop Nicolson's censure of Hall for reciting the fashions of each reign implies how little his lordship esteemed such matters.

He brings a charge against that valuable historian, that his principal merit consists in describing "what sort of cloaths were worn in each king's reign, and how the fashions altered." The fact is, as Hearne observes in his defence, that he declines giving an account of cloaths and fashions, excepting on some solemn occasions in the reign of Henry VIII². For the dresses and entertainments at the receiving of Henry the Sixth's Queen, Margaret, he refers to the Chronicle of London, and Robert Fabian, who is not at all diffuse on the subject. Except this and his description of an armed man preparing for a tournament, hereafter given, he says nothing of these things in an earlier period than that in which he lived.

What few observations have been made on the subject have not been carried higher than the 15th century, when monuments of every kind became more numerous. But though I feel myself here deserted by the assistance of preceding Historians and Antiquaries, and entering upon unexplored ground, in which I have no guide but my own experience and observation, I do not despair of forming a tolerable collection for the preceding centuries, up to the Norman Conquest.

The figures on the sides of the tombs of Aymer de Valence and John of Eltham at Westminster are good representations of habits, and the latter well preserved; so are those on the sides of the tombs of Thomas Beauchamp at Warwick, of Robert de Vere at Earl's Colne; not to mention others.

What can be said of the wretched representations of those on the sides of monuments in Bedal church in the Registrum Honoris de Richmond, p. 242: or of the monuments themselves, as there drawn, which even after all the injuries of time make a better appearance?

The author of the Roman de la Rose, who lived in the close of the thirteenth century, gives us the following inventory of a wardrobe in France.

Ja pour leur manteaulx sebelins,
Ne pour furcoiz, ne pour tonelles,
Ne pour guimples, ne pour cotelles.
Ne pour chemises, ne pelices,
Ne pour joyaulx, ne pour delices,
Ne pour leur moes desguisees,
Ne pour leur luyans superficies³.
Qui bien les auroit advisees.
Dont ils usent par artifices;
Ne pour chapeaulx de fleurs nouvelles,
Ne leur semblaissent estre belles⁴.

¹ Roper's Life of Moore, 271, 272.

² Appendix to Heming's Chartulary.

³ Q. painted complexions.

⁴ L. 9347—9357.

That chitchat historian Rofs of Warwick is the first who gives a brief view of the fashions of each reign.

"In the Confessor's time the garments reached to the knees, the arms were loaded with golden bracelets, the head was shaved, the beard let to grow on the upper lip, except of priests, and the skin disfigured with various marks. Their arms were staves and battle axes: those of the Normans swords and arrows¹.

"After the Conquest the Norman fashion of shaving the beard, and letting the hair flow to the shoulders was adopted². Malmesbury says³ the men's hair was so long that they looked like women; and a young foldier letting his grow to his knees was shamed out of it by a dream: he presently cut his hair short, and all his comrades adopted his fashion; but this did not obtain long, for within the year all who would be thought courtiers relapt into the former folly, letting their hair grow as long as that of the women, and supplying the want of it by artificial hair. Henry I. rounded the hair to shew the ears; and ordered that his foldiers should trim it round to a decent length⁴.

"In William Rufus's time a great abuse of dress, and luxury in wearing the hair, and a horrid fashion of picked and turned up shoes obtained, and men adopted a mincing gait and a loofer dress⁵.

"In the reign of John, as appears by the seals, the men wore tunics over their coats of mail; but not before; and the tunics reached down to their heels⁶.

"In that of Henry III. they had, as usual, on their seals, horsemen in armour, with their swords, and first introduced their coats of arms in shields, at the back of their shields, and the faces of images first had *umbrelles*⁷.

"After the taking of John King of France by Edward the Third, the English, who till then had worn their beards and shaved their heads, and worn tunics, *colobia*, and bracelets, first came to wear long robes and hair, and shaved their beards; and leaving out the figures of horsemen on their seals, put their arms into small shields⁸.

"In Richard the Second's time began the detestable use of picked shoes, fastened with silver, and sometimes gilt chains, to the knees. The ladies of quality then wore high head-dresses, with horns and long mantles, with trains, and rode on side-saddles; a fashion first introduced by the respectable Queen Anne, who was daughter to the king of Bohemia⁹."

The monkish writer of Richard the Second's life¹⁰ says, Queen Anne brought from Bohemia those cursed fashions¹¹ of shoes with long points, called in English *Cracovys*, or *Pyls*, half a yard long; so that the wearers were obliged to fasten them to the leg with silver chains before they could walk. He adds¹², that

¹ Hus dabus Angliis vestibus solebant uti protensis ad medium genu, brachiis oneratis annulis aureis. Tunc erant Anglie veste superiori ad medium genu expediti, crines tonsi, barbis in superiore labro nunquam rasi exceptis solum proclibiteris, annulis etiam aureis brachiis oneratis, putaris (f. *puncturatis*) signatibus cute insigniti—Pugnabant baculis et bipennibus, Normanni ensibus et sagittis. P. 99. Ed. Hearne.

² In Anglia qui more Trojanorum et aliorum Orientalium barbas nutrierunt, exemplo Normannorum eas raserunt, & crines ad humeros crescere permittabant. Ib. 100. b. See Granger, I. 87.

³ Hist. Novel. 99. b.

⁴ Cuius nostri omni quid nati sunt in muliebri sexus habitum capillorum longitudine seipso transformant.—Vix anno elapso tunc, qui sibi curiales esse videbantur in prius vitium reciderunt: longitudine capillorum cum feminis certabant, & ubi crines deficient involucre quendam innodabant. ⁵ Holinshed, 341.

⁶ Iltus regis tempore erat in usa nova inventionis abito vestium, lux (l. *luxus*) crinium, et horribilis asperitas sotularium rostratorum, id est, cum armatis aculeis. Solebant tunc homines *gressus frangere*, gesso soluto, et nudo latere incedere. Rofs, lb. p. 101. b.

⁷ His diebus in sigillis dominorum erant tunice super loricas, antea non, & ipse tunice erant longæ ad talos. Ib. p. 102. b.

⁸ Cuius hæc tempora domini in sigillis modo solito habebant equites armatos cum gladiis, & in dorso sigillorum de novo armis suis posuerunt in scutis, & facies ymaginum primo habuerant *umbrelles*. Ib. 163. a.

⁹ Post captivum regis France Johannis Angliæ prius barbati et capili capitis tonsi etiam ad tunice et colobia & armantes inciperant ubi (l. *ut*) togæ et longis crinibus in capite, et radere barbas, ac domini et generosi reliquis ymaginibus equitum in sigillis impositæ erant arma sua patris scutis, P. 163. b.

¹⁰ Dicitur etiam fuis incepti detestabilis usus sotularium rostratorum cum ligaturis catenarum de argento & quandoque vel edibus *interdubis* equorum. Etiam mulieres nobiles tunc utebantur thiaris altis et *cornuati* cum togis caudatis & scillis antedictis. Rofs, p. 166. a. Stone, p. 205. see these sleeves in Strutt's Regal Antiquities, pl. xix. p. 15. In a drawing in Froul. rit. Habel, Edward the Second's Queen, enters Paris, 1324, riding thus.

¹¹ P. 126.

¹² *abysinus cucurbitiles*.

¹³ P. 156.

Richard had one garment ' so richly adorned with beryls² and other precious stones and gold, of his own ordering³, that it was valued at 3000 marks.

These picked cracows, as they were called, were common in the 14th century in France. See Montfaucon. Mr. Strutt says, Verstegan mistakes in making this a part of our dress before the Conquest; for it is not seen in any delineation whatever⁴. Something like them however we have before heard of in the reign of Rufus.

Of the extravagant fashions of his own time the reign of Henry VII. Rofs gives this picture: "They let their hair grow so long that it hid their forehead, which bore the mark of the cross in baptism; they scarce concealed the parts which nature bids us conceal, and in walking shewed their backsides, by the shortness of their garments, or by having servants following to lift up their trains. The capes of their tunics and mantles were as short as if they were preparing to be beheaded. Formerly they were made high, that they might stand up to keep the cold out of their necks; but now they are short, as if intended to be out of the way of the executioner's ax. The women of the present time wear mourning hoods, as if in mourning for some near relation⁵."

In the fashion of beards and hair Harrison is ready to concur with Rofs: "Our heads are sometimes polled, sometimes curled, or suffered to grow at length, like woman's locks, manie times cut off above or under the ears, round as by a wooden dish: our varietie of beards, of which some are shaven from the chin, like those of the Turks; not a few cut short, like to the beard of marquis Otto; some made round, like a rubbing brush, others with a *pique devant* (O fine fashion!) or now and then suffered to grow long; the barbers being grown to be so cunning in this behalf as the tailors. And therefore if a man have a leane and streight face a marquette Otton's cut will make it broad and large; if it be platter like, a long slender beard will make it seeme the narrower; if he be wefell beeked, then much heere left on the cheekes will make the owner looke big like a bowlded hen and so grim as a goofe, if Cornelis of Chelmeresford say true. Manie old men do weare no beards at all⁶."

To judge from the broad seals of our Norman Princes in Sandford, William the Conqueror wore short hair, large whiskers, and a short round beard. Rufus his hair a degree longer than his father, but no beard or whiskers. Henry I. and Stephen neither hair, beard, nor whiskers⁷. Henry II. short hair, no beard or whiskers on his first seal; but on his second large whiskers, and short double-pointed beard. Richard I. longish hair, without beard or whiskers. John, short hair, large whiskers, and short curled beard, and the same on his monument. Henry III. middling hair, no beard or whiskers on first seal; on second whiskers and short round beard; on his monument whiskers, and a broad long beard. Edward I and II. short hair, no beard or whiskers; John of Eltham, whiskers on his monument. Edward III. long hair, no beard or whiskers on first and second seal, shorter hair, large whiskers, and double pointed beard on third. Richard II. in his picture and monument at Westminster short curling hair, and a small two pointed curling beard. In his seal both longer. He has the same beard on the screen in York minster, which is said to have been brought from St. Mary's abbey there. The statue of Henry III. thereon has the same bifid beard; that of Edward III. has a very long one; Henry IV. and V. none.

Can one help admiring Hearne's⁸ curious reasoning on the rude coins of the Conqueror and Rufus, that the ugly features, thin hair and beard, prove the

¹ tunica.

² perilli.

³ de propria sua ordinatione.

⁴ Dopsa, p. 47.

⁵ Longitudine crinium faciem in baptismo sancte crucis signo signatum abscondunt, pudenda palam faciunt, de vicis non pudet, & in ambulando nates denudant aut togarum curtitudine aut famulorum sequentium juvenine & sursum sublevatione. Decollationi etiam se aptant colariorum tunica et togis decurtatione. Olim erant alta ad fignu expellendum, sed nunc sunt curta, non quia impeditia nec resistentia securi percussentis manu promi ad decollandum. Mulieres etiam moderne utuntur capitis lenocinis quasi carorum suorum necem plangentis. P. 116. a.

⁷ Description of England, c. 7. of apparel, p. 173.

⁸ 1104. 4 Henry I. Serlo bishop of Sees preaching at Carenton before the King against long hair, caused him, and all his courtiers to be immediately cropped.

⁹ Pref. ad Gul. Neubrig. p. xviii.

corrupt manners of the times, and the king to be a complete debaucher, as well as avaricious tyrant; and his son blood-thirsty and sacrilegious; as if any of our coins before the Edwards bore the impress of a human figure?

In France Charles de Blois, who was killed at the battle of Avrai, 1364, is represented with a beard, contrary, says Montfaucon³, to the custom of that time. One might believe that Philip Augustus king of France, who died 1223, introduced the custom of shaving, because both he and his son Louis VIII. have beards on their seals. Thus much is certain, that neither St. Louis nor his successors to Francis I. wore them⁴.

Thorn has thought it of importance to record in his Chronicle the æra when the monks of St. Austin's ceased to scrape off one another's beards; and he has remarked, that a pious commemoration was instituted for the soul of abbat Roger, who, with the concurrence of the convent, had ordained, that the brethren should be shaved by seculars—"propter læsuras et diversa pericula quæ frequenter contigerunt inter eos qui rudes & nefarii erant in officio radendi⁵." This was about A. D. 1264. Mr. Tanner, in his preface to the *Notitia Monastica*⁶, on the authority of Ingulphus, says, that it was within the province of the *Infirmarius* to shave all in the convent, but by Lanfranc's constitution the monks were to shave one another. "Alter alterum radat, magistri pueros radant, & ipsi a pueris radantur:" with this proviso however, "si tamen hujusmodi scientiam habent⁷." This is a complete system of monastic pogonotomy.

Chaucer's monk's

Hed was balled (bald) and shone as any glas,
And eke his face as it had been anoin'd⁸.

His Reve's beard was—"shave as neighe as ever he can?" The merchant and the sailor wore their beards⁹.

To begin the varieties of dress, as Mr. Aubrey¹⁰ does, with crowns: he observes, that "the first crowns used by the Roman emperors were only diadems with the addition of pointed spikes, which they afterwards adorned and tipped with pearls, and afterwards adorned the intervals with trefoils." The radiate crown seems to have been first assumed by the thirty tyrants, or by emperors about their time; before which the heads of emperors, on their coins, are bound with laurel. After the time of Constantine the fillet of pearls came into use. This the later Byzantine emperors turned into a kind of coronet, with a broader band in front, surmounted by a cross, as appears on the coins of Tiberius Constantius¹¹; and on those of Maurice it seems to come over a helmet¹². Phocas wears a plainer crown¹³; and later emperors varied its form according to their fancy. The Virgin Mary on a coin of the emperor Michael Ducas wears a radiate crown, whose spikes are tipped with pearls¹⁴; and when we come to the time of Manuel Palæologus, who was crowned 1363, he is represented wearing a close crown studded with pearls, and his queen with a very different one¹⁵. The trefoil is thought to have been of Gothic introduction. We find it on the crowns of Clovis and his sons, which has induced some antiquaries to call it the *fleur de lis*¹⁶; but the truth is, these trefoils were used on Constantinopolitan crowns before the time of the Franks¹⁷, and afterwards on those of German

³ II. 289.

⁵ X Script. col. 1915.

⁶ Canterb. Tales, l. 198, 199.

⁷ Monumenta Britannica, MS.

⁸ Du Cange Hist. Byzant. p. 102.

⁹ Ib. 159.

¹⁰ Ib. 159.

¹¹ Ib. 159.

¹² Ib. 159.

¹³ Ib. 159.

¹⁴ Ib. 159.

¹⁵ Ib. 159.

¹⁶ Ib. 159.

¹⁷ Ib. 159.

¹⁰ Ib. p. 110.

¹¹ XXX. not. d. d.

¹² Ib. l. 590.

¹³ Ib. 104.

¹⁴ Ib. 104.

¹⁵ Ib. 104.

¹⁶ Ib. 104.

¹⁷ Ib. 104.

¹⁸ Wilkins Conc. I. 351.

¹⁹ Ib. l. 272. 408.

²⁰ Ib. 109.

²¹ Ib. 109.

²² Ib. 109.

²³ Ib. 109.

²⁴ Ib. 109.

²⁵ Ib. 109.

²⁶ Ib. 109.

²⁷ Ib. 109.

²⁸ Ib. 109.

²⁹ Ib. 109.

³⁰ Ib. 109.

³¹ Ib. 109.

³² Ib. 109.

³³ Ib. 109.

³⁴ Ib. 109.

³⁵ Ib. 109.

³⁶ Ib. 109.

³⁷ Ib. 109.

³⁸ Ib. 109.

³⁹ Ib. 109.

⁴⁰ Ib. 109.

⁴¹ Ib. 109.

⁴² Ib. 109.

⁴³ Ib. 109.

⁴⁴ Ib. 109.

⁴⁵ Ib. 109.

⁴⁶ Ib. 109.

⁴⁷ Ib. 109.

⁴⁸ Ib. 109.

⁴⁹ Ib. 109.

⁵⁰ Ib. 109.

⁵¹ Ib. 109.

⁵² Ib. 109.

⁵³ Ib. 109.

⁵⁴ Ib. 109.

⁵⁵ Ib. 109.

⁵⁶ Ib. 109.

⁵⁷ Ib. 109.

⁵⁸ Ib. 109.

princes no way allied to Charlemagne'. This ornament was adopted by our Norman kings, and continued on their coins till the Restoration, when, except in a few instances of both, the laurel wreath took place, as it still continues to do, of the crown. Edward the Confessor wears the trefoil in the tapestry of Bayeux. It appears on the Great Seals of the Conqueror and his wife in Sandford, and it probably adorned the figures on his monument, as it does that of his son Robert Curthose, at Gloucester, and of all the kings his successors of whom we have any monuments in England; for those at Font Evraud are of modern workmanship. Mr. Aubrey¹, observed a like crown on the head of king Ethelred, in the windows of Kingston St. Michael, c. Wilts, and on the keystone of the North door there; as also on a grave-stone at Wimborn. The last of these instances is very modern, though it may be a copy of an older figure; the others are of better authority. He noticed a similar on the head of Ethelred's queen. Such crowns were worn by Edward II. and his queen, and are often found on borders of glass windows in churches both in England and France, and on the mouldings of porches of Suffolk churches. Aubrey remarks that "Edward the Confessor wore a barred crown: the former Saxon kings crowns of silver like our coronets: Canute, a coped helmet like a mitre. Then came in use the regal circle after the manner of the Greeks. The kings of England first wore the arched barred crown. In France Louis XII. wore a single bar arched over his crown, about 1500, before only a cap till he married Henry the Eighth's sister; see his coins. Till Francis I. an open flowery border, somewhat like our ducal coronet, was generally used. In Spain, Philip, after he had married Queen Mary, used a barred crown. In Germany Maximilian, grandfather of Charles V. first wore an arch over a ducal coronet. In Denmark Christian III. after he came into England, used the barred crown. James IV. on his marriage with Margaret daughter of Henry VII. introduced it in Scotland. John duke of Braganza was the first who wore it in Portugal."

The close or arched crown appears on the coins of our first Norman Princes, and of the Byzantine Emperors. This is properly called the *Imperial* crown, and was worn by Charlemagne, after he had been declared Emperor at Rome, on whose statue at Aix-la-Chapelle it was copied for Montfaucon². If we may trust the seal of Dagobert, and the many figures on the porch of St. Denis, we may believe the kings of France, before Charlemagne's time, wore a crown closed at top. The Emperors of Constantinople were not in a condition to hinder their wearing the same kind of crown as themselves³. Mr. Evelyn indeed says⁴, the monarchs of England were the first who pretended to the arched crown. Selden says Edward V. was the first of them. It appears in Scotland first on the groats of James III. Others say it was first worn in France by Charles VIII. 1485. Henry III. brought the closed crown into Poland, and was soon imitated by the Swedes.

"The crowns on our antientest coins are much different both from one another and from that Imperial crown of England (as it is styled) which is on the modern ones. The two Williams have the pearled diadem, having labels at each ear, and something like an arch that goes across the head." This is Selden's description of it⁵. Henry I. is crowned with an open crown of three fleurs de lis, without any rays between the fleurs, which are raised but little, and labels of pearls hanging at each ear⁶. Stephen's crown is much the same arch, the flowers are raised higher, like those of the empress Maud and Henry II. on their seals. The son of Henry I. who was crowned in his father's life-time, and John, have

¹ Montf. I. xxxiii.

² I. II. last crown on the 5th row.

³ Titles of Honour, p. 134.

⁴ Ubi sup.

⁵ Montf. Ib. p. xxix.

⁶ Ib.

⁷ Numism. p. 34.

the same on their seals; but the latter king's is only pointed with short rays, instead of flowers. Henry III. wears on his seals a crown fleurie pointed or rayed, the points raised, but not high, between the flowers; in his second seal the points are wanting, as on that on his tomb. But in Matthew Paris we read he was first crowned with a circle of gold¹. Edward I. has a similar crown on his coins and seals, and his queen on her tomb; so have his successors Edward II. and III. Richard II. Henry IV. and V. Mr. Selden had read in a book of the institution of the garter, written in the time of Henry VIII. that Henry VI. first made him an Imperial crown, and archbishop Sharpe found it first on his coins; and from Henry VII. downward the arched crown, with the globe and cross, has been also used on coins. Francis Thinne, in a MS. on arms, attributed it to Edward III. But Henry the Sixth's crown differs not on his coins from that of Henry V. being both fleurie and arched, with a globe and cross over the arch, almost like our present crown. That drawn in the illumination of the "Ordo Coronationis," written long before Henry VI. is fleury, not without an arch, having a globe and cross on it. Edward V. and Richard III. have both crowns fleury. The old crowns with crosses fleury, and without arches, may be seen on the statues of kings within and on the front of Westminster-hall.

The crown of Scotland, as described in the instrument upon lodging the regalia in Edinburgh castle, March 26, 1707, (the original of which, signed by the notaries and witnesses, and curiously illuminated, was presented by the present earl of Buchan to the Society of Antiquaries of London), is described as composed of a large broad circle or fillet, which goes round the head: above the great circle is another small one: the upper circle is heightened with ten crosses florè, interchanged with ten high fleurs de lis. This is said to be the ancient form of the crown of Scotland, since the league made betwixt Achaius king of Scots and Charlemagne. The specific form of this crown differs from other Imperial crowns in that it is heightened with crosses florè and fleurs de lis alternately: the crown of France is heightened only with fleurs de lis; and that of England with crosses patee alternately with fleurs de lis. The Scottish crown since James VI. went to England has been ignorantly represented like the English crowns. From the upper circle proceed four arches which meet and close at top, surmounted with a mound or globe of gold enamelled with a large cross patée, such as tops the church of Holyrood-house, and cantoned with other four in the angles. At the foot of this cross are these characters, J. R. V. by which it would appear that James V. was the first who closed this crown with arches, and topped it with a mound and cross patee. But it is evident that the coins of James III. and IV. have a close crown, and that the arches have been added to the ancient regal crown².

King John's name is said to have been inscribed *within* his crown, on his monument at Worcester; but no trace of it now remains.

Henry the Sixth's high cap of estate, called *Abococket*, was garnished with two rich crowns, and was taken at the battle of Hexham³.

Most of the kings of England, to Edward I. have sceptres on their coins, and some have two. From that time we meet with none till Henry the Eighth's pence and halfpence⁴. The oldest pattern of a sceptre is on the coins of William the Conqueror, his son, Henry I. and Stephen, surmounted by the cross patée, or made of pellets, or by a trefoil formed of pointed leaves or pellets. The Conqueror and his wife had a trefoil sceptre in their portraits⁵. The queen has a singular but

¹ *circulus aureus*. ² Maitland's Hist. of Edinb. p. 161. See in Arnott's Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 291. a doubt what is become of these regalia.

³ Hall, fol. cxc. b. ⁴ Archbishop Sharpe on Coins, in Ives's Select Papers; and second edition in Bibl. Top. Brit. N° XXXV. p. 12, 13. ⁵ Montfaucon, 1. pl. LV.

rude imitation of it on her seal. Henry III. has such an one on his coins, being the last prince with that mark on our coins; but on his great seal in Sandford he bears the sceptre with the dove, as still used. His Queen Eleanor on her seal bears both the sceptre with the cross, and that with the dove, and sometimes that with the trefoil. The sceptre with the cross was evidently borrowed from that borne by the Byzantine Emperors on their coins, and continued on our latest great seals engraved by Sandford. This sceptre was found in the right hand of Edward I. and that with the dove in his left.

Henry I. fourth duke of Lorrain and Brabant, who died 1235, bears in his right hand a sceptre surmounted by a fleur-de-lis, on his tomb in St. Peter's church at Lorrain¹. Alice countess of Bretagne, wife of Peter de Dreux, who died 1221, has a flowered sceptre in her right hand on her tomb at St. Yvet de Braine.

Mr. Aubrey² says the fleur de lis is really a spear head adorned: no flower of that kind having the middle part solid.

Edward I. in his tomb, holds in his right hand the sceptre with the cross, made of copper gilt, two feet six inches long, and of most elegant workmanship. Its upper part extends to and rests on the shoulder. In his left hand he holds the rod or sceptre with the dove, which passing over his left shoulder reaches up as high as his ear. This rod is five inches and an half long, the stalk is divided into two equal parts by a knob or fillet, and at bottom is a flat ferule³.

Leland describing a Mohun effigy at Dunstun, c. Somerset, says, "it has a garland round the helmet, and so were lordes of old time used to be buried⁴." He probably means, so were they represented on their tombs. The same attentive antiquary gives an instance of one of the Bruces in Pickering church, Yorkshire, who had a garland about his helmet⁵. Other examples might be adduced to shew that this was no uncommon ornament.

The crown on the head of the statue of Philip king of Navarre over his heart in the Jacobines church at Paris is said by Montfaucon to resemble the cap called *mortier*⁶.

John of Eltham has a coronet on his head, the form whereof indeed is fleury, or as at this day a duke's is with us. But he died almost two years before any duke was made in England, whence we may perhaps collect also that the coronet of our earls, before the creation of dukes, was of like form to those of dukes; and in the later ages an earl's is pointed and pearled on the top of the points as we see it at this day. But also long before the death of this earl we have exact testimony of an earl's coronet in Aymer de Valence⁷.

William de Hatfield son of Edward III. at York, has a trefoil coronet.

The coronets of Agnes countess of Dreux, and of other ladies, are so various that P. Montfaucon could fix no standard⁸.

Those of the countess of Evreux wife of Louis of France brother of Philip the fair; of Mary wife of Charles count d'Alencon, 1379, in the Jacobins church at Paris; of Catharine wife of John de Bourbon earl of Vendôme, in the collegiate church of Vendôme, and that of the queen of René, king of Anjou, at the Celestines at Paris, are absolutely mural crowns. Francis II. duke of Bretagne and his wife, 1488, at Nantz, have coronets of fleur de lis: so has the countess d'Alencon, 1492, in the church of Alencon: Joan of France queen of Navarre, 1349, has one indented and studded on her tomb at St. Denis. Margaret

¹ Theatre sacre de Brabant, I. 94.

² Archæol. III. 384.

³ II. p. 288. L. 2.

⁴ Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 561. Camden's Apology, subjoined to his Britannia, 4to, p. 73.

⁵ II. 71. Pl. xii. 6.

⁶ Ubi sup.

⁷ It. II. 61, 62.

countess of Evreux, 1311, has what Montfaucon² calls *crenelé*, on her tomb in the Jacobine church at Paris. Louis duke of Bourbon, 1341, at the Jacobines in Paris, has a very small one. That of Catharine wife of the Count de Maulevrier at Pavilly in Normandy is formed of pellets. Isabel d'Artois daughter of John earl of Eu, 1379, and Charles earl of Eu and wife, 14 . . . 1448, on their tombs in the abbey of Eu, all wear beautiful circles studded with stones.

John Gower the poet, who died 1402, has a chaplet of flowers, with four roses placed at equal distances, on his monument in St. Saviour's, Southwark. Shall we fancy this has any reference to the chaplet of roses which crowns Polyhymnia, in the collection of Pope Clement XIV.

The habits of our kings have been so happily illustrated in the description of those in which Edward the First's body was found arrayed, already given, p. lv. after Sir Joseph Ayloffe's account, that I must refer back to it.

Walsingham, in his account of the coronation of Richard II. mentions that the king was invested with a stole: first with the tunic of *St. Edward*, and then with his dalmatic, and a stole round his neck. The investing with a white stole, in *modum crucis in pectore*, is particularly mentioned in several foreign ceremonials.

The *fibula* on the right shoulder of the image of Henry III. exactly resembles that of Edward the First, except that it has the shape of a rose, in the centre of which is the *acus*: and this, like the other, takes hold both of the pallium or chlamys and stole. So it does on the great seal of Louis king of France³. That on the figure of John king of France is of a very different form⁴.

Sir Joseph Ayloffe observes, that "the shape and form of the crown, sceptres, and fibula, and the manner in which the latter is fixed to the mantle or chlamys, exactly correspond with the representations of those of the broad seal of this king in Sandford." It seems to me, however, that the *fibula* on the seals fastens the mantle across the breast, but on the great seal of Henry III. the mantle is fastened by the *fibula* on the right shoulder, as also on the figure of Philip de Valois, king of France, who died 1300, on his tomb at St. Denis. The mantle in which king John's figure is habited on his tomb is more like a carter's frock or surplice, with a rich cape and wristbands, studded with pearls, something like the cape on his and his son Henry the Third's great seals. Richard I. and Henry I. have the like cape and wristbands to their undergarments on their seals.

The *Paludamentum*, or *Chlamys* (*un habit de campagne*) was fastened generally on the right shoulder, with a large button, and fell over the left shoulder. The tunic under the chlamys was fastened with two belts or girdles⁵. The first of these dresses is the upper garment of Henry the Third's statue on his tomb, and of Edward the First's body on his tomb. The second is the surcoat of figures in armour, or otherwise habited.

"The feet of Edward I. with their toes, soles, and heels, seemed to be perfectly intire, but whether they have sandals on them or not is uncertain, as the cloth tuckt over them was not removed."

The feet and legs of Henry the Third's figure are covered with embroidered half-boots. Herein the figures differ from the bodies, that the latter, probably like this of Edward I. and the images of many ladies, have the feet tuckt up in the robe.

The apparelling the corpse of this monarch in his royal vestments accompanied with the ensigns of regality as before described, is not to be considered as a peculiar mark of respect paid to him in contradistinction to preceding

² H. 213. Pl. xxxviii. 4.

³ Montf. II. x. 4.

⁴ Ib. II. 17. 4.

⁵ Fabroni sur les Statues de Niobe, p. 10.

kings, but as being done merely in conformity to usual and ancient custom. He was on this occasion habited *more regio*, i. e. in the same manner that the corpses of all other kings his predecessors had been dressed in order to their sepulture, and similar, except in some few particulars only, to a mode or regulation established by authority, *de exequiis regalibus*. A copy of this regulation is entered in the *Liber Regalis*, immediately after the formulary for the coronation of our English monarchs. After the body has been washed and embalmed, follows the dressing.

"Deinde corpus induitur tunica usque ad talos longa, et desuper pallio regali adornabitur. Barba vero ipsius decenter componitur super pectus illius. Et postmodum caput cum facie ipsius sudario serico cooperatur. Ac deinde corona regia aut diadema capiti ejusdem apponetur. Postea induentur manus ejus cirothecis cum aurifragiis ornatis, et in medio digito dextræ manus imponetur annulus aureus aut deauratus. Et in dextra manu sua ponetur pila rotunda deaurata in qua virga deaurata erit fixa a manu ipsius usque ad pectus protensa, in cujus virgæ summitate erit signum dominicæ crucis, quod super pectus ejusdem principis honeste debet collocari. In sinistra vero manu sceptrum deauratum habebit usque ad aurem sinistram decenter protensum. Ac postremo tibie ac pedes ipsius caligis sericis et sandaliis induentur."

"A similar practice of arraying the dead in those habits of splendor, dignity, and ceremony, to which they were intitled in their life-time, antiently extended itself to those of inferior degree, as well clergy as laity; most of which were usually buried in the dress properly belonging to their respective qualities. Thus emperors were entombed in their imperial and kings in their royal robes: knights were interred in their military garments; bishops were laid in the grave in their pontifical habits; priests in their sacerdotal vestments; and monks in the dress of the particular order to which they belonged.

Constantine the Great was put into a chest of gold, clothed in the imperial purple, with a diadem of gold, and decorated with ensigns of royalty¹. The Normans demolishing the tomb of king Clovis, in the church of St. Genevieve, found part of his royal robes, and several jewels, and other treasures². We have already seen the contents of Childeric's tomb, and how Charlemagne was dressed in his. On rebuilding the abbey church of Westminster, by Henry III. the sepulchre of Sebert king of the East Angles was opened, and part of his royal robes seen, with his thumb ring, in which was set a ruby of great value³. The like contents of the grave of Canute⁴, Edward the Confessor, and William Rufus, have been already mentioned. The body of William the Conqueror was found royally clothed, as perfect as when just buried, on the opening of his tomb at Caen, 1522⁵; and his queen in like manner, 1562⁶. The younger Henry was buried 1183, in the vestments that had been consecrated at his coronation⁷. Henry II. his father, was habited in like manner⁸. Richard II. directed, by his will, that his body should be clad in white satin or velvet, *more regio*, and so interred, with the crown and sceptre, gilded, but without any stones, and on his finger a ring, *more regio*, with a precious stone of the value of twenty marks English money⁹.

¹ Archæol. III. ubi sup.

² Euseb. in Vita, IV. 66.

³ Archæolog. III. 390.

⁴ Or rather Henry de Blois bishop of that see. See p. 28.

⁵ Antiquitez de Normandie.

⁶ Rekenbert Antiquitez de la Province de Neustrie.

⁷ Math. Paris, p. 121.

⁸ Rymer, Fœd. VIII. 75. Royal Wills, p. 194.

⁹ Anglo-Norm. Ant. p. 53.

"On a careful inspection of both hands of Edward I. no ring could be discovered. However, as it cannot be supposed that the corpse was deposited without that usual attendant ensign of royalty, we may with great probability conjecture, that on the shrinking of the fingers by length of time, the royal ring had slipped off and buried itself in some part of the robes."²

William of Windsor, son of Edward III. who died in his infancy, and is buried in Westminster-abbey, has the short coat buttoned quite to the bottom, and on the close sleeves from the elbow to the wrist, and girded round the waist with a rich girdle: over this is a mantle with a standing cape, having buttons, but let down and unbuttoned, the seams on the shoulders trimmed, and the edges of the mantle, as well as the plaits at the bottom, hatched like a nobleman's gown in our universities; his hose are all of one piece³.

William of Hatfield, in York minster, is dressed in flowing hair with a coronet of trefoils, a mantle fringed with fur, fastened down the front of the shoulder with four roses, with which the neckband is also adorned; such also go above the back of his hands, and come down the front of his shirt; his furcoat or coat of mail, richly embroidered or enamelled; his stockings plain, his shoes reticulated with quatrefoils; no sword or dagger. Under his head are two tasseled cushions, and at his feet a lion. This elegant little alabaster figure of a royal infant has been removed from its neglected situation, and placed out of reach of injury, in a niche in the North wall of the church, by the care and good taste of the present Precentor.

Gloves are represented on the hands of kings and prelates on their monuments, and gauntlets on those of military men. The mother of Aymer de Valence earl of Pembroke, on the side of his tomb in Westminster abbey, 1323, holds hers in her hands⁴: so does a lady in Worcester cathedral. A king holds his in his left hand, on the tomb of John of Eltham. Montfaucon gives them on the hands of two lords of St. Louis' court⁵. Officers of state, and other noblemen, are represented with one at the right hand, for the purpose of supporting a hawk, while the other is off, and held in the left hand. In the abbey church of Barbeau in Brie a young man has his glove on his left hand, which holds the glove of the other hand; so Robert earl of Dreux, 1233, holds his right glove doubled in his right hand⁶. The last abbot of Evesham, 1557, in Worcester cathedral, has a glove on his left hand.

The jewels on the back of the gloves appear on the hands of king John's effigies at Worcester, and are appendages to most episcopal and many abbatial figures.

Pass we from kings to nobles, knights, and military men, almost the only persons of the laity who merited distinguished monuments, as they were the only class above the mechanics and peasantry. The profession of all this class being arms, their habit of course was military, and the distinguishing features of it the helmet, furcoat, and coat of mail or armour.

Hall, in his Chronicle⁷, speaking of the preparation for jousts, in the first year of Henry IV. gives the following description of an armed man: "Some had the helme, the visere, the two baviars, and the two plachardes of the same curiously graven, and conningly costed: some had their collers fretted, and other had them set with gilt bullions; one company had the plachard, the rest, the port, the burley, the tassels, the lamboys, the backpiece, the tapull, and the border of

² Archæol. III. lb.

³ Pl. XXXIV. p. 98.

⁴ Pl. XXXII. p. 94.

⁵ Montf. II. xxxiv. l. 2.

⁶ Montf. II. xxxix. l.

⁷ Fol. 12.

the curace, all gylte, and another bande had them all enamyled azure. One fort had the vambrases, the pacegardes, the grandgardes, the poldren, the polalletes parted with gold and azure, and another flocke had them silver and fable; some had the mainferres, the clofe gantlettes, the guiffettes, the flancardes, droped and gutted with red, and other had them speckled with grene. One fort had the quiffes, the greves, the furlettes, the fockettes on the right side, and on the left side silver. Some had the spere, the burre, the cronet all yelow, and other had them of diverse colours. One band had the scafferon, the cranet, the bard of the horse all white, and other had them all gilt. Some had their armyng sweardes freshly burnished, and some had them conningley vernished. Some spurres were whit, some gylt, and some cole blacke. One parte had their plumes all whyte, one had them all redde, and the third had them of several colours. One ware on his head-piece his lady's fleeve, and another bare on his helme the glove of his dearling. But to declare the costlye bases, the riche barde, the pleasaunt frapperie, both of goldefmithes worke and embraudery no lesse sumptuously than curiously wrought it would aske a long time to declare; for every man after his appetite devised, his fantasy everifying the old proverb, so many heades, so many wittes."

"The armour of a man at arms, till near the middle of the fourteenth century, consisted of the following particulars; a loose garment stuffed with cotton or wool, called a *gambeson*, over which was worn a coat of mail, formed of double rings or mafcles of iron interwoven like the meshes of a net, called a *hauberk*. To it were fixed a hood, sleeves, and hose also of mail. The head was defended with a helmet, and by a leather thong round the neck hung a shield. The heels of the knight were equipt with spurs having rowels near three inches in length. Over all these men of considerable family wore rich furcoats, like those of the heralds, charged with their armorial bearings."

The oldest form of the helmet was the *round*, though it must be confessed the seals of our early Norman kings and the tapestry of Bayeux exhibit them pointed also. The first on monuments is that of Robert Curthofe, round, as is that of his son William earl of Flanders at St. Omer, though on this earl's seals his helmet is pointed¹. Henry I. wears one like a cap of maintenance on his great seal². Richard I. both round and pointed. Those of Geoffrey Magnaville and the Marshalls earls of Pembroke are round on their monuments in the Temple-church³. King John, in the thirteenth century, has a round helmet on his great seal⁴; so has Edmund earl of Cornwall⁵. Edmund earl of Lancafter⁶, and William Longespe earl of Salisbury⁷, on their tombs; those of Edward I. and his sons, on their seals⁸, and Richard earl of Cornwall⁹, are flat on the top. Philip earl of Boulogne, slain at a tournament at Corbie, 1223, is represented with a helmet flat at top, as were all the helmets of the age of St. Louis. He is also in mail from the helmet to the sole of his foot¹⁰.

The earls of Flanders, in the twelfth century, have the flat helmet¹¹. Raoul de Beaumont was painted in a chapel of the abbey of Eftival, which he founded 1210, armed in a singular manner, with a helmet like a kettle reverft, flat at top, after the fashion of the times. A piece of iron reaching from the top of the helmet to his chin is intended to parry a blow of the sword. He is in mail from head to foot and to his fingers' ends, and wears his sword in an

¹ Grose's Additions to the Preface to his Antiquities.

² Sandford, 17, 19. Vredius doubts the arms on his shield, p. 11.

³ Sandford, 56.

⁴ Ib. 94.

⁵ Sandf. 120—125.

⁷ Pl. XXVI.

¹⁰ Ib. 94.

⁸ Pl. XIII.

¹¹ Montf. II. 112. Pl. xiv. 4.

⁶ Sandf. 55.

⁹ Vredius.

extraordinary manner across his thighs from right to left¹. Thibald count de Blois, who died 1218, has a helmet guarded in front with frame work or grates²: So has St. Louis himself³; Ferdinand king of Castille, who died 1252⁴; Peter de Dreux duke of Bretagne, earl of Richmond, 1250⁵; and other instances throughout this century⁶. Gilbert de Clare, 1295⁷. Hugh Vidame of Chalon has one guarded by a cross fleury⁸. That of Sufane the herald, 1260, is round, and of mail⁹. It continued to the reign of Edward III. See his seal to a deed in the possession of Mr. Astle, as also others of John earl Warren, 1254—1276, who has the flat helmet guarded with lattice work, or gratings, and the escarboucle of his arms on it.

These flat helmets have the nose-piece, or grating, or bar work, to the vizors both on the French and English monuments before cited; of which the first instance among us is on the figure of Geoffrey Magnavile. The helmets given by Mr. Grose, with such defences, are many of them of late date. They illustrate, however, the lifting up and letting down these defences. The nose pieces, which he gives to Grecian helmets, in the British Museum, if genuine, may be paralleled with those in the tapestry de Bayeux, except that the latter are more prominent¹⁰. Nor does it follow that Pompey's troops at Pharsalia wanted this defence to their faces; for the Roman sword was of the stabbing or thrusting kind; and it is well known Cæsar directed his men to aim at the faces of their enemies, because they affected a too great tenderness of their persons. Fauchet says, that a lucky stroke on the nose-piece, *ventaille*, or *visiere*, would turn a helmet quite round on the head, as happened to a French knight at the battle of Bovines.

Of the helmets of the Warren family, that of William earl Warren 1089, in Philpot's Ebor. MS. Coll. Arm. is round with bars to the eyes, and a mail apron from them. On Hameline's seal, 1202, square and pointed. A seal of earl John's has a pointed helmet with gratings. One of Waleran earl of Worcester, 1166, pointed with a pendant before the nose.

The mail helmets were always round¹¹. The earls of Burgundy, in the 13th century, have flat helmets¹². The round, or, as Mr. Grose calls them, conical, or cylindrical helmets, he distinguishes by the name of *chappe de fer*; but P. Daniel, whose authority he quotes, describes them as the lightest of all helmets without visor or gorget; and like those afterwards called *Basinet*¹³.

In the 14th century the helmets were both round and pointed. Of the first sort is that of John of Eltham, 1334¹⁴; Philip de Valois, 1350¹⁵. But in this century the helmets, like the armour, were hammered and plated. Fauchet says, when helmets better fitted the head, they were called *bourguignotes*, by which I understand that they were an improvement on the other.

One of the Sewals, from 4 Richard I. to 44 Henry III. or of the Shirleys, from 44 Henry III. to Dugdale's time, appears in complete armour, with a round helmet, in Eatendun church, c. Warwick¹⁶.

Thomas earl of Lancaster, eldest son of Edmund Crouchback, is the first whose helmet is surmounted by a crest¹⁷. Radulph de Monthermer earl of Gloucester and Hereford, and John St. John, have them on their seals appendant to the barons' letter to the Pope, 1300.

We see them on the great seal of Edward III¹⁸. and Edward the Black Prince and his brothers¹⁹. and of Richard II²⁰. The seals of the dukes of Burgundy,

¹ Montf. II. Pl. xiv. 7. ² Ib. xvi. 3. ³ Ib. xxi. 3. ⁴ Ib. xxix. 2.
⁵ Ib. xxx. 3. ⁶ Ib. xxxii. 5. xxxiii. 1, 2, 3. xxxiv. 5. See these helmets in Grose, Pl. VIII. 1, 2, 5. IX. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16. VIII. 1, 2. X. 1, 2. are of the beginning of the 13th century, 5. is of Henry the Eighth's time. ⁷ Sandf. 139. ⁸ Montf. II. xxxvi. ⁹ Ib. xxix. 3.
¹⁰ See another in Grose, IX. 3. ¹¹ Montf. II. xxxviii. 10. ¹² Seaux de Bourgogne. Pl. I.
¹³ Fauchet and Grose. They were worn in the time of Edward II. and III. and Richard II. See also *grates*.
¹⁴ Ib. Pl. xxvi. ¹⁵ Montf. II. xlix. P. 1. ¹⁶ Dugd. 478.
¹⁷ Sandf. 102. Ant. Soc. Scals. Pl. IV. ¹⁸ Ib. p. 125. ¹⁹ Ib. p. 190.

1315; and some of the dukes afterwards kings of France, 1366, 1405; have crests¹. On monuments the crest is on the helmet that lies under the head of the figure.

The seals of Hugh V. duke of Burgundy, and Lewis of Burgundy, both 1315, have a kind of wings to the helmet².

Sometimes the part which covers the neck, and connects the helmet and hauberk or mail coat, is fixed to the former; sometimes it is separated, and is called a *Gorget*, or throat-piece, and is generally of mail. In some instances there is no separation between it and the helmet of mail, in which case it becomes the hood before described, and is frequently seen on monuments, particularly in France, thrown off behind, and falling on the shoulders, or it reaches to the chin, the ears, or even to the eyes, even when the helmet is not of mail. The *chaperon de mailles* continued in fashion above two centuries³.

What we call the *gorget* the French distinguish by the name of *chaperon*, or little cape. Charles I. king of Naples, and Robert earl of Clermont, and Peter de Dreux duke of Bretagne, all in the thirteenth century, have it on their tombs⁴. It falls down on the back and shoulders, and was drawn up over the head in time of action. Gaucher de Chatillon constable of France, 1329, has the same "*chaperon de mailles rebattu sur les epaules*," as the greater number of warriors on French monuments have. Louis I. duke of Bourbon, 1341⁵. Lord Clifford letting it down, or putting it off, for heat or pain, at the battle of Ferrybridge, was shot in the throat with an arrow. Ros has this to his surcoat in the Temple church.

This is what Matthew Paris calls the *collar*, when he says that Ernald de Mounteney lost his life in a tournament at Walden, 1252, his throat being pierced for want of a collar to protect it by the lance of Roger de Leiburne, which was sharp, when on such an occasion it ought to have been blunt⁶.

The mouth-piece, or the *gorget*, is up to the mouth of one of the figures in the Temple church, Pl. V. fig. 2. and one of the St. Cleres, at Danbury, Pl. VI. fig. 3, which is one of the strongest arguments for the antiquity of wooden figures.

The facings of helmets are various over the forehead and down the sides of the face, which may be called frontlet and side pieces: some are studded in both parts; some in the frontlets only: some frontlets are enriched with flowers and foliage; some, as that of a Vere at Earl's Coln, and a Neville at Staindrop, inscribed with letters, **Thus Nazarenus**. This inscription is frequent on rings⁷. On the hinge of Munassing church-door, in Essex, is this rude inscription, which has puzzled all antiquaries:

Iesus Nazarenus Rex Judeorum miserere meorum.

Alberic de Vere, 1215. Pl. IX. had round his helmet a fillet studded with stones; so have the Nevilles at Coverham, Pl. XIV. William de Valence earl of Pembroke, 1304, Pl. XXVII. That of Thomas Furnivall, at Wyrkōp, particularly noticed in the rhyming genealogy of his family⁸:

With his helme on his head well en quere
With precious stones sometyne yt were fette there,
And a noble charbuncle on hit doth he bere
On his hedde to fee they may who fo will.

¹ Seux de Bourgogne, Pl. I. IV. V.

² Montf. II. 289.

³ Ib. 121. 162, 165.

⁴ Ib. Pl. IV. 3, 4.

⁵ Ib. pl. LII. 2.

⁶ Ib. LI. 3.

⁷ Rogers fuisse aptans lanceam, cuius mucro prout debuit non erat hebetatus, sub galea Heraldii guttur ejus cum trachea preceidit & arterias. Erat enim ea parte discooperata & carens cellaris, M. Paris, 846.

⁸ See Hutchins's Dorset, I. 556. and Gent. Mag. LIV. 134. 827.

⁹ Mon. Angl. II. 926.

The helmets of John of Eltham, and the Black Prince, and many others, have coronets or chaplets round them.

The beam, or vizor, of the helmet of Sir Hugh Hastings is expressly exhibited as lifted up; and so are those of three knights at the sides of his canopy. The mail gorget of the earl of Pembroke there has above it a plated cape, and his sword has no transverse bar.

The vizor was let down in time of action. Richard H. stoppt the combat between the dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, just as the former had closed his *barrier*¹. In the old painting on the walls of part of Thanet-house, by Templebar, which being uncovered for rebuilding was copied for me by Mr. Bafire, and was of the time of Henry VII. or VIII. several figures had elevated over their helmets a kind of bar, which, when let down by rivets, would have guarded the eyes or nose.

Upon comparing the English with the French helmets on monuments, I find great variety in the former.

The various kinds of helmets enumerated by Mr. Grose, in his scientific treatise on our antient armour, by the names of *Chapelle de fer*, *Burgonet*, *Bafinet*, *Salet*, *Scull* or *Husken*, *Caple*, *Pot* and *Morion*, are too light to appear on monumental figures, where parade was principally consulted; for I do not conceive the first of these helmets was of the heavy kind, or confined to cavalry.

The armour that covered the body and limbs was divided into two sorts, mail and plated. I do not agree with Mr. Grose's definition of chain and plate mail; as I conceive mail, from its derivation, to imply net or ring work of meshes intirely distinct from the scales of plated armour, which were sewed together, or on a lining, while the mail meshes were connected together like links of a chain without any other assistance.

The figure of Sir Hugh Bardolph, engraved Pl. X. and XI. is the completest specimen of an armed knight among us, and most happily illustrated by Mr. Kerrich's description of it, p. 36.

The hauberk was a complete covering of mail from head to foot. It consisted of a hood joined to a jacket with sleeves, breeches, stockings, and shoes of double chain mail, to which were added gauntlets of the same. Fauchet describes a knight as arming himself with the breeches upwards to the *gobiffon* or *gambeson*². This he defines a long garment reaching down to the knees, and

¹ Hollinshed, p. 494.

² Le chevalier commence a s'armer par les chausses, puis endoiffert un gobiffon—c'estoit un vestement long jusques fus les cuisses & contre-poitrine. Ce montre l'auteur et le peintre du livre intitule "Le Pelerinage de l'ame" aut. t.

Et tout ainsi comme fait est

Des pontures le *Goubiffon*

al. *Gambesson*.

Pourquoi pourpoint les appelle on, &c.

Et encore le mesme auteur dit que c'estoit la premiere piece du harnois.

Car dessous vale *Gambeson*

Qui armer se veut par raison.

Par la peinture que j'en ai il semble long jusques au dessous des genoux : et le mesme auteur montre que les femmes en portoitent sus leur chair : mais il est croyable qu'ils estoient legerement contre poitrine, je croi, comme encore elles font aujourd'hui pour se montrer avoir le corps droit ou cacher leur defaut de nature : car il dit.

Et fa campagne au *Gambeson*

Chantoit une telle chanson :

Je chanteray faire le doi

Rien je ne porte avec moi

Au petit guichet retenue

Ne serai pas, car je suis nue.

Deffus ce *Gambeson* ils avoient une chemise de mailles longues jusques au dessous des genoux appelée *Aubr* ou *Haubert*, je crois du mot *albus*, car *Albanus* se tourne en François *Aulbin*, *Adarum* *Aubier*, qui est le blanc de tout bois, *Alba* aube, et autres sensibiles, et celui-ci en *Auber*, pource que les mailles de fer bien polies, frottes, et reluisantes en sembloient plus blanches.

A ces chemises estoient cousues les chausses : ce disent les annales de France parlans de Regnault comte de Damsartin combattant en la bataille de Bovines. Un capuchon ou coiffe aussi de maille y tenoit pour mettre la teste dedans ; lequel capuchon se rejetoit derriere apres que le chevalier s'estoit ote le heaume, et quand ils vouloient se rafraichir ils evert tout leur harnois ; ainsi que l'on voit en plusieurs sepultures.

Le *Haubert* ou *Brugne*, ceints d'une ceinture ou large courroye appelée jadis *Balous* et des anciens François *Baudrier*, pource qu'il estoit fait de cuir sec et mané par un *Baudroyeur*, qui est un ouvrier qui baudroye et endurec les peaux en les mmiant.³ II. 4. p. 107, 108.

counter pointed or fringed, not unlike what the women wore by way of boddicæ to regulate their shapes.

Over this Gambeson they had a shirt of mail, reaching below their knees; called *Auber* or *Hauber*, q. d. from *Albus*; from the whiteness or glittering of its scales or plates¹.

We see here the *shirt* of mail distinguished from the *coat* of mail, as plainly in our monuments. The outer coat was afterwards made of plated armour, of which Mr. Grose gives many varieties, but I think none of great antiquity. He seems to mistake when he says the mail shirt was *without sleeves*. Sometimes the mail shirt was covered with a furcoat of linen or woollen; like a tabard on which the family arms were embroidered; but this was laid aside when plated armour came into general use.

The variety of fastenings of the mail-shirt are numerous; sometimes like the plated armour it seems to be tied on the arms or at the elbows, by thongs in a bow, sometimes differently². Neville at Coverham has it fastened at his ears by a bow strap. One of the Rythers, at Ryther, at his elbows: one of the knights at Harwood, in plated armour, on his elbows and shoulders. A Middleton in Ilkley chancel at his wrists. It is a fastening common on our Northern monuments. Sir Richard Harcourt, 1470, has the plated armour, with bows at the elbows and wrist. James lord Berkeley, 1463, and the figure by his side, at Berkeley, have two bows on and above each elbow.

To this shirt were fastened the breeches, and a hood of mail, to put the head into, which hood the cavalier threw back when he put off the helmet, or would refresh himself without totally disarming as appears on many sepulchral monuments.

The Hauber was girt round with a belt or long strap called *Baltes*, and by the French *Baudrier*³, from its being of tanned leather.

In France only persons possessed of a certain estate, called "un fief de hauber," were permitted to wear an hauberk, which was the armour of a knight; esquires might only wear a simple coat of mail without the hood and hose⁴.

The *Haubergeon* was a coat composed either of plate or chain mail without sleeves.

The *jazerant* seems to have been another name for a *coat of mail*, or rather for mail itself. Thus in the inventory of Louis le Gros, 1316, cited by Du Cange are three "*coleretes pizaines de jazeran d'acier et une couverture de jazeran de fer*." And so Du Cange describes it as a garment of woollen or cotton stuff, quilted and fitted to the body, to preserve it from the injury of the armour, or as the statutes of the armourers and *coufres pointiers* of Paris direct, "*que elles soient couchees denement sur neufes estoifes & pointees enfermees, faites a deux fois, bien & nettement emplies des bonnes estoifes soient de cotton ou d'autres estoifes*," &c. No man was to make "*cote gamboifice ou il noit trois livrés de cotton tout net, si elles ne sont faites en fremes & au dessous soient faites entremains & que il y ait un ply de viel linge emprenz l'en-droit de demie aulne & demy quartier devant & autant derriere*." Thus also P. Daniel⁵ calls it a kind of long pourpoint waistcoat of taffety or leather and wadding of wool, tow, or hair, to break the stroke of the lance. In an inventory cited by Du Cange, *Alberis* and *Contrapointes* are expressly distinguished.

¹ Under the Hauberk was sometimes worn a bresplate of iron, for the greater security in tilting. P. Daniel *Mil. Fr.* I. 388. This is well expressed by a citation from William le Breton's description of a tilting match.

Utraque per clipeos ad corpora fraxinus ibat,
Gambelungue audax ferat, et thoraca trilicem
Disjicit; ardenti nimium prorumpere tandem
Vix obstat ferro fabricata pectora recedo.

² See the straps and knots in the armour of Arthur duke of Bretagne, Lobineau, I. 665.

³ Whence our *Baudrick*.

⁴ Grose, p. 15.

⁵ *Mil. Fr.* I. 387.

The German name *Wambasum* is nothing more than a corruption of *Gambeson*, and is explained, "*Tunica spissa ex lino & stuppa vel veteribus pannis confuta*" "*& defuper camiffia ferrea.*" It is the *Tborax* of the antients, the *Jupas* of the Spaniards, the *Guspon* of the Italians, the *Pourpoint* of the French, and the *Doublet* of the English. The *Jack*, or *Jaque*, was of the same materials, and the *Jacket* or *Jaquette* of deer skin :

Un pourpoint de chamois
Farci de boure fus & fous. *Coquillart.*

The *Haqueton*, or *Aketon*, was another name for the same habit, and a MS. Chronicle of Bertrand Guefclin describes it as resisting the blows which broke the shield and good jazerant, because it was made of buckram :

L'escu li derompi & le bon jazerant:
Mais le Haucton fut fort, qui fut de bouquerant

The coat of armour was lined, or had a jacket under it. So Chaucer's knight

Of fustian wored a *gipon*
Alle befmotred with his habergeon.

Baldwin de Betencourt, in Orcamp abbey, in France, has the mail and surcoat without any hide armour.

The suit of mail armour in the possession of Mr. Green of Lichfield, engraved by Mr. Grose, pl. XXI. will give a perfect idea of that ancient kind of casing of the body: the rings at the extremities of the arms and thighs are smaller than those of the body and head, every ring being drilled and rivetted. On many of our monuments the mail has the appearance of SS, or such links as forms a jack chain. The large suit in Mr. Grose's plate weighs altogether thirty-nine pounds. On the breast and back are a set of plates, on those on the breast are clasps to make them fast by a leather strap, the whole coat being open before.

Over the coat of armour was the surcoat of stuff, of which some of our first examples are the Temple figures. On this the arms were embroidered, but on the breast of the plated armour they were enamelled or relieved. One of the first examples of the first sort on the plated armour among us is William de Valence earl of Pembroke, 1296¹. Of the latter, Thomas second lord Berkeley, at Bristol². In France, of the surcoat, Thibald earl of Blois, who died 1218³, in the windows of the cathedral of Chartres, where he is represented "*revetu de son blason*," according to the antient mode of expressing it; see also Peter de Dreux, surnamed Mauclerc, duke of Bretagne, and earl of Richmond, 1250, twice in the windows of Notre Dame de Chartres⁴, and others there; but not on tombs till 1279, on that of Hugh vidame of Chalon at Chalon⁵. Before that they seem in France to have been on small painted shields, as if fastened to the belt; which was a very general mode in that kingdom, though, according to the general opinion, blazonry and coats of arms were first introduced in the reign of Louis le jeune, in the end of the twelfth century. Montfaucon doubts⁶ if they were worn on garments so early, or before the reign of St. Louis, which was near an hundred years later, at which time they were also, he thinks, put into lozenges. Peter de Dreux, before mentioned, duke of Bretagne, 1250, in the abbey of St. Ived de Braine, has his arms enamelled on the pomel of his sword. Henry Spanheim at Hemmeurode has a long surcoat over all his armour, and nothing but his

¹ Pl. XXVII.

² Ib. XXXVI. 5.

³ Pl. XIV.

⁴ Montf. II. 124. xvi. 3.

⁵ Ib. xxx. 2. 3.

⁶ II. 70.

sword,

sword, shield of arms, and spurs, bespeak him a knight¹. The fame may be said of Simon de Thouars count de Dreux, 1365².

John count de Roucy and Braine, "the lusty earl of Rouffi," as our Shakspeare calls him, killed at Agincourt, 1415, on the day of St. Crispin and St. Crispinian, is habited on his monument at Yved de Braine, in a mail gorget and a surcoat, which intirely covers his armour, except the lower joint of the arm. His coat of arms is at the back of his head.

The Black Prince is represented in black armour embost with gold, and with a golden lion on his breast, a hat with a white feather, and a large ruby exactly in the shape of the rough ruby still in the crown. Mr. Walpole³ has stampd originality on this portrait, and Mr. Godfrey has engraved it⁴. It was in the hands of the Speaker Onflow, now of his son George, and came out of Betchworth-castle, Surry. I know not how to controvert such authorities; but the lion *rampant*, as here, is neither the Black Prince's coat nor creit. What Mr. Walpole calls *armour*, the engraver represents as a surcoat with a plated gorget and mail sleeves; the ruby still in the crown would hardly have ever been in the Prince of Wales's bonnet.

The arms of Robert du Bois, at Fersfield, 1311, are painted alternately with those of his lady on the *folds* of his surcoat⁵, Sir John Say, at Broxborne, about 1473, bears his on the breast-plate, and skirts, as well as the arm plates of his plated armour. In the brass figure of Trumpington they are on his shield and scabbard, and on two standing shoulder pieces or pennons behind him⁶.

These pennons or gonfannons are extremely common on French monuments: Thus Sir Jerre de Bleneu, 1285, at Senlis and Herevil de Cherify, in Longpont abbey, Robert fifth earl of Dreux, 1329, at Dreux, with arms. Plain and in front are those of St. Peter sire de Candoirre, 1297, at Orcamp abbey, Guy lord of Plaisier Brioun, Flament, John de Bretigni, 1315. In front with arms those of Sir Oudart Huart, 1261. John sire de Candoirre, 1265. Jehans, 1300, and two other knights, all in Orcamp abbey. We have one more instance among us in a brass knight at Gorleston, c. Suffolk.

The surcoat of Sir Robert de Buers, 1361⁷, falls lightly in handsome plaits, gathered round his waist by a kind of cord, and fringed at the bottom and sides. His belt, in every part of it, is also more ornamented.

That of Simon de Thouars count de Dreux, killed in a tilting match on his wedding day, 1365, on his tomb in the abbey of Notre Dame d'Eu, is plaited in the waist, and close girt at the waistband. That of Louis of France earl of Evreux, 1319, in the Jacobines church at Paris, is hemmed with furr.

Mail armour maintained its ground from the Norman invasion to the fifteenth century. Henry IV. is the last of our kings who appears in it on his great seal⁸.

The transition from mail to plated armour is strongly marked on the brass of Creyk. Montfaucon gives no instance of it in France after the thirteenth century⁹. Chalo de St. Mars appears in plated armour, in the reign of Philip the Fourth¹⁰.

¹ Ada Acad. Theod.-Pal. III. 49.

² Montf. II. xv. 2.

³ Anecdotes of Painting, I. 26.

⁴ Antiq. Repert.

⁵ P. 82.

⁶ See it engraved in the Antiq. Rep. II. 225. from the drawing by Mr. Tyfon. As my late friend inclined to fix the date of this *cross-legged* figure prior to the year 1312, I shall here add, to what has been already observed, p. civ. as a confirmation of what is there advanced, the circumstances which he thought entitled other persons besides Knights Templars to be so represented: 1. Having served personally, though for hire, in the Holy Land. 2. Having made a vow to go thither, though prevented by sickness or death. 3. Having contributed to the fitting out soldiers or vessels for the service. 4. Having been born with the army in Palestine. Lastly, having been a considerable benefactor to the order of Knights Templars persons were rendered partakers of the merits and honour of that fraternity, and buried with their disinctions, an idea which has been more recently adopted abroad by many great personages who have been interred in the habits of capuchins." Antiq. Rep. II. 226. The fourth of these reasons accounts for the cross-legged figures of small proportion.

⁷ Pl. XLII.

⁸ Sandf. 244.

⁹ Pl. LVI.

¹⁰ Montf. II. 218. pl. xli.

but

but Montfaucon refers the painting which represents him to the reign of Francis I. Mail occurs on the Burgundian seals, 1405; and on those of the earls of Flanders, 1349¹, and mixt with plated, 1366, and as late as 1460². The gorgets are mail, while the leg and thigh pieces are plated, on the soldiers of the duke of Lancaster, temp. Richard II. in the drawings of that time, engraved by Mr. Strutt, pl. 29. 31. See also Robert Chamberlayne, in the service of Henry V. at Agincourt, 1417³, which is a compleat example of an armed knight. Fauchet, from Froissart, says, armour made of plates of iron was not in common use till 1330. The genouailles, or knee-pieces, of Bardolph, 1203, are plated; so are those of the Coverham knights; of John lord Montacute, at Salisbury in the 13th century. Thomas lord Berkeley, 1361, has the mail coat and gorget. Sir John Beauchamp, in Old St. Paul's, 1361, had the mail coat and gorget, and round helmet.

Sir Humphry Littlebury, at Holbeach⁴, and Sir Hugh Hastings, 1347, has armour *mi-partie*, plated and mail; as have also the figures at the sides of the latter's canopy. John lord Montacute has the mail gorget and skirt. Thomas de Vere earl of Oxford, 1371, has plated armour, with mail gorget, arm-piece, skirts, and shoes. Edward lord Despenser, 1375, has the mail-gorget. Sir Guy de Brian, 1391, has a mail-gorget, his surcoat richly diapered. Sir John de Creke, in the reign of Edward III. has the same *mi-partie* armour, gorget, and mail-coat, finishing in a point, over which is an embroidered apron and a surcoat, short and plaited, and an helmet elegantly adorned and incircled by a fanciful fillet, a sword plain, the knee-pieces ornamented, and the rowels roses.

Sir John Crosby, 1475, has the plated armour, strapped at the elbows, and buckled at the waistband; mail appears between the thighs. Over the shoulders is a falling mantle, with a standing cape, and round his neck a collar. His helmet is round, and under his head a helmet and torse without crest. He is "clad in complete steel"; armed from head to foot, or *cap a pee*, q. d. *a capite ad pedem*.

Sir Richard Harcourt, 1470, has the plated armour strapped on the elbows and wrist, mail at his gorget and between his thighs, and a kind of ruffle turned back at his wrists. A mantle of the garter, with a rich cape and a cordon, his belt charged with oakleaves, his head bare, and hair flowing; the garter round his left knee. Grey, at St. Albans, 1490, has plated armour buckled at the waistband, mail under his gorget or cape, his hands covered to the fingers ends with one plate; at his elbows a trefoil ornament. The Bardolfs, at Wotton, 1438, have the plated armour, with pointed shoulder-pieces, mail between the thighs, and the hair cut close above the ears. John Vere earl of Oxford, 1513, at Earl's Colne, had plated armour buckled at the waist, a stiff standing cape, flowing hair, bareheaded, and over all the mantle of the garter.

John Borel, at Broxborn, 1531, has plated armour, with mail skirts, gauntlets in scales, close at the back of his hands, in his left hand a large mace; his helmet and gorget under it; the vizor up.

In France Charles earl of Alencon, 1348, in the Jacobines church at Paris has mail mixt with plated armour. Peter I. duke of Bourbon, 1357, in the same church, shows mail at his neck, shoulders, arms, skirt, knees and instep.

Edward Tiptoft earl of Worcester, at Ely, though in full armour, has his head and hair bare; so has Fitz Walter at Dunmow, but his hair is cropped like a roundhead, as by a bowl, so are Grey, the Bardolfs, the earl of Lancaster on Sir Hugh Hastings' brass, and two knights at Harwood.

¹ Vredius, 47. Pl. 26.

² Strutt, pl. lix.

³ Comus, 420.

⁴ Ib. 56. Pl. xi.

⁵ P. 97. Stukeley It. Cur. I.

When plated armour came into fashion¹ it was composed of different pieces for the back, breast, shoulders, arms, hands, thighs, legs, and feet, under the several names of *Cuirafs*, consisting of a back and breast-piece, *Pouldrons*, *Brassart*, or *Gondebras*, or *Avant bras* (corruptly in English *Vambraces*) *Gauntlets*, *Cuissarts*, with *Genouillieres*, *Greaves*, and iron shoes.

The Vambraces included all the defence of the arms from the shoulder to the wrist. At the joint or bend of the arm they were cut obliquely, and the vacancies on the inside, when the arms were extended, were covered by plates called *Gouffets*, of various forms, as hearts, rounds, ovals, irregular triangles and squares, &c. more or less adorned. Sometimes these arm pieces, in the upper division, or from the elbow to the shoulder, left the mail shirt partially bare, or only covered the outer half of the arms. Sometimes the shoulder pieces were divided into several scales or folds, at a greater or less distance from each other.

The older Gauntlets were of mail: afterwards they were made of small plates of iron or steel rivetted together in imitation of a lobster's tail, so as to yield to every motion of the hand; some inclosed the whole hand in one case, others were divided into fingers, each finger consisting of eight or ten joints, lined with buff leather like a glove: in general they reached no higher than to the wrist. The gauntlets, if of mail, were really divided into fingers, though apparently the division is not shewn. The plated ones were fingered: and the brass of Sir John Harfycck exhibits a singular pattern of gauntlets reaching only to the second joint, like cut fingered gloves. Those of Gaucher de Chastillon constable of France 1329, reach only to the knuckles². So do those of one of the Rythers in Ryther church, c. York.

The gauntlets of John of Eltham are of a new pattern about the wrists.

Those of Robert de Dreux baron Esneval, in the Jacobines church at Rouen, 1478, hang to the hilt of his sword.

To the back part of the Cuirafs was affixed a piece of armour called *Garde des reins* or *Cuilettes*, but in the older armour this was supplied by *tassets*, or skirts, hooked or otherwise fastened on, resembling the finish of the Roman and Grecian coats of armour³.

Mr. Pennant describes a Pollard at St. Andrew's Auckland, cross-legged, armed in mail to his finger's ends, with a *skirt formed of stripes* reaching to his knees. Is not this the common plaited furcoat? The strange figure of Sir Stephen Hatfield, Antiq. Repert. IV. 116. is the same kind.

The Cuisses were composed either of stripes of iron plate laid horizontally over each other, and rivetted together, or of an intire upper and under casing, and sometimes only an under, leaving the part next the horse bare. They were made flexible at the knees by joints or kneepieces.

The cuisses of Peletot, Pl. XLI. are studded; as are the gauntlets of a knight in Kent.

The cuisses of Charles earl of Alencon, 1346, in the Jacobine church at Paris are adorned with double rows of flowers. Those of Robert de Dreux baron Esneval, at the Jacobines in Rouen, 1478, as well as his greaves have the holly leaf.

¹ Mr. Grose (p. 74.) says, plated armour was completely introduced, both here and in France, about the middle of the fourteenth century. Paine de Chaworth held the manor of East Garsdon, c. Berks, by service of finding a knight, armed with *plated armour*, in the king's army, when it should be in the territory of Kidwelly in Wales. (Efic. 11 Ed. I. p. 35. Blount's Tenures, p. 14.) Blount gives (p. 38.) and Mr. Beckwith (p. 75.) an original record, Plac. Cor. 12 Edward I. wherein Patrie Chaworth holds this manor for finding "armigerum armatum" for the Welsh wars. I do not here see the distinction of the kind of armour; nor was it probably in the original of the record before cited.

² Montf. II. lib. 2.

³ Grose, p. 21. 23.

The mail on Robert de Vere's cuisses, Pl. VIII. is the most laboured and neat I recollect.

The knee-pieces of Sir Hugh Hastings have pointed bosses, and also those of King Edward on the same bras. Those of Robert de Buers, Pl. XLII. are highly ornamented.

Below the knees of William Marshall, in the Temple, and Brian Fitz Alan, temp. Henry III. at Bedal, are bands or garters, as if to separate the cuisses from the greaves. John of Eltham, 1334, has the like, but ornamented. Such appear double at the bend of the arms of William de Valence, at Westminster, Pl. XXVII. who has also wriftbands, and both these and the arm-pieces are flowered. These bands, when perpendicular on the greaves, whether of mail or plated armour, denote the separation of the plates, or mark the shin.

The Greaves were either of iron plates, or cases, covering only the front of the leg, or of two parts inclosing the whole. They had pointed or square broad toed iron shoes, with joints at the ankle reaching to the toes, and sometimes they had *Sabatons* of mail.

The most antient armour for the foot was long pointed; the plated armour grew shorter, and was jointed.

Two sorts of spurs seem to have been in use about the time of the Conqueror, the *pryck* or fingle point, and the *rouelle* or wheel. The first obtained on the cross-legged figures and others to the time of Edward III. and so do the other occasionally, and both are used by the same person on different monuments. Montfaucon noticed it on the figure of Louis earl of Evreux youngest son of Philip le Hardi, who died 1319, in the windows of Notre Dame the Evreux. It is not straight, but waving, as on the Temple knights. The rowel with points like stars appears on William Longespee, at Salisbury, 1226; others like roses, on Sir Hugh Hastings. See also the figure of Robert Chamberlain, before referred to. As it is not easy to conceive of what use the wheel-spur could be, we may suppose its circle was soon left off, though the name is retained to this day.

Of the great variety of *Shields*, some reach from the shoulder to the ground, inclosing half the body in a semicircular defence; others are of a middle size; and others do not exceed the first bone of the arm. That of Sir Hugh Hastings is barely of the size of an escoccheon of arms. The Norman and those of the cross-legged knights are triangular, vulgarly called by the modern name of *Heater shields*, of great length, generally a little convex, and very rarely flat. This is the general form on our antient tombs, only varying the length. Those in the tapestry of Bayeux have the upper extremities circular, if this be not an error in the designing. In France the pendant shield, a mere escoccheon of arms, is the prevailing fashion, though not to the total exclusion of the other. I have seen but one instance of the pendant shield among us, and that is on a mutilated neglected figure of a lady resting each hand on such a shield on the North side of the nave of Selby abbey-church. That of Sir Hugh Hastings is not of a larger proportion. Some of our longest shields, if not so contracted at the point, would almost have served the purpose of the *Pavache*, a large shield, or rather a portable mantlet, used as the *Testudo* of the ancients to cover the sap of walls, as when the earl of Derby took the fortrefs of Roche Milan in France. Edward the Third's shield of state in Westminster abbey is three feet long, with a boss or umbo.

² Froissart, I, c. 109.



Before and after arms were put on shields they were adorned with a beautiful work called *diapering*; such is the shield of Robert Vere at Hatfield Broad Oak, and such probably was that of Richard de Lucy at Lefnes abbey, ill described by Weever¹. Such the shield of Conan duke of Bretagne, 1171, on his seal². This diaper work is a ground of painting on glass.

The *Sword*, universally of the stabbing and long kind, is worn either perpendicularly by the side, as in the Temple figures and William Longespe, or across the thighs and legs in front, as Raoul de Beaumont beforementioned. This Montfaucon calls, *lepee en bande brochant*³.

Peter de Navarre earl of Mortaigne, 1412, in the Carthusian church at Paris, has one end of his hilt bent down and not the other.

Grandefon, at St. Mary Ottery, has his sword drawn in his crossed hands⁴; or it is in the act of drawing, as by William Marshall earl of Pembroke, Pl. V. fig. 3. and Robert de Vere, Pl. VIII. Another Templar, Pl. XIX. draws the exact *Parazonium*⁵ on Roman coins⁶. It is also worn by one of the Nevilles at Coverham, Berkeley at Bristol, and Sir Hugh Bardolph. This on the tomb of John count of Spanheim, 1399, at Hemenrod in the Palatinate, is turned with the point up⁷.

In the annexed plate, fig. 3. is the sword of Edward III. in Westminster abbey, described hereafter, p. 140.

N^o 4. at Armathwaite castle, c. Cumberland, is a falchion with a basket hilt, and on the blade,

on one side, EDWARDVS

on the other, PRINS ANGLIE.

supposed to have belonged to Edward II. probably left by him when his father's head quarters were at Lanercost. It is mentioned by Mr. Machel in his MS Collections for Cumberland and Westmoreland, VI. 679. and in Dugdale's visitation of Cumberland, 1665, when the castle belonged to the Skeltons, but now to William Milburn, esq⁸.

Mr. Watfon, Feb. 8, 1781, sent a drawing of a sword belonging to Mr. Thomas Barritt of Manchester, who said that sixty or seventy years ago it was used by a park keeper at Garfwood-hall, in Lancashire, the seat of the Gerards. Its whole length was twenty-eight inches and an half, the blade twenty-two inches and a quarter; the handle stag's horn, and the cap at the pommel, the guard and ring on the handle iron, once gilt. On one side of the blade is written *Edwardus*, and after it some animal: on the other *Prins Anglie*; the letters punct with a tool, and filled with gold wire. The style of the inscription would refer it to the Black Prince, who had the title of *Princeps Anglie*, till he was thirteen, when 1343 he was created Prince of Wales. The inverted s and inscriptions on coins would prove it of higher date, and perhaps to have been the property of Edward son of Henry III. who was many years *Princeps Anglie*, during the reign of his father.

N^o 5. is Edward the Third's sword of state, preserved in the chapter-house at Windfor, both edges sharp. It is six feet long, 8 inches of the point broken off; the handle of wood, one foot four inches; the cross bar iron, one foot four inches.

¹ See p. 28.

² Reg. Hon. Richmond.

³ Il. 214.

⁴ P. 95.

⁵ See the plate of swords, fig. 1. and 2.

⁶ Count Caylus (Recueil, II. p. 323. pl. xciii. 1.) supposes the *parazonium* to have been the short Spanish sword, not unlike those blades found in England and Ireland, and worn on the right side, like our dagger. See also Lipius de milit. Rom. II. 3. 175.

⁷ Ad. Acad. Theod. Pal. III. 49.

⁸ Burn's Westminster, II. 343.

N° 6. The sword of state of Edward prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, Mortimer and Ulster, earl of Chester, &c. eldest son of king Edward IV. It is six feet long from pomel to point, the blade near five feet, both edges sharp, three inches broad at the hilt, the cross bar sixteen inches long, the handle fifteen inches; single letters in the angles of the pomel, making together the words *aves fortes*: the cross and two sides of the hilt were also charged with Dutch rhyming inscriptions, defaced; on one side of the hilt, which is brass, are these coats of copper enamelled; O 3 lions passant guardant G. *Kings of Wales*. S. bezantè, *Cornwall*. England and France under a label of 3, crowned and borne up by angels. On the other side *Mortimer* quartering *Ulster*. *Chester*. Arg. a chief Az. In a round in the middle of the pomel A. a cross G. *St. George*. This prince was born 1470, and next year after the death of the son of Henry VI. was created Prince of Wales, 1475, duke of Cornwall, earl of Chester, and custos of the realm of England during his abode beyond the sea in France and Flanders. But the Prince of Wales was at Ludlow when the king his father died, living in state as Prince of Wales, and being then about thirteen years old, he proceeded to London to be crowned, and was murdered in the Tower. For him it is most probable this great sword of state was used. It may have been made in the Low Countries, and afterwards brought to England, and the coats of arms added.

Fig. 7. was said to have been sent as a present to Henry VIII. and a cap of Maintenance, with the title of *Defender of the Faith*: some parts of the handle are made of rock chrytal, and that mounted in silver, chased, and gilt with gold. To this time when the king sits in parliament on his throne the cap is supported by a nobleman on one side, and a great sword on the other.

Fig. 8 is the sword, and fig. 9 the dagger, taken from James IV. king of Scotland, when he was slain at the battle of Flodden. The blade of the sword is three feet and half an inch, and the handle six inches and an half: the blade of the dagger fourteen inches, the handle five inches long. The hilt of this sword may be accounted the first advance to the basket or close hilt of the 17th century.

Fig. 10. is the sword of Sir William Bruce, temp. Elizabeth, preserved at Handal abbey, c. York (where it is also carved in stone) but now in the possession of Mr. Beckwith, of York, F. S. A.; the blade three feet nine inches long, the handle and cross bar each fifteen inches.

Fig. 11 is an antient sword found in the Thames, about eight feet below the bed of the river, by Mr. Smith, who contracted for drawing ballast out of the river for the roads, 1745.

Fig. 12. is the handle of a sword on the monument of one of the knights at Harwood, c. York, with the word *ih̄s* inscribed on it. Arms are not unfrequent on the pomels of swords.

Mr. Brereton shewed the Society of Antiquaries, 1764, a sword in form of a tuck, which has been in his family above an hundred years. The blade is damaskt with gold to within two inches of the point, and the twelve apostles, with their names engraved thereon and gilt. It is likely to have received papal benediction, or to have been employed in the crusades. The handle is of agate, with a silver scallop on one side of the hilt. Whether the mounting is of the same antiquity with the blade is not very clear, most probably not.

Mr. Henry Baker shewed another very like it, with the twelve apostles engraved on the blade, the mounting quite modern, and nothing singular in it, and its age unknown.

The varieties of older swords may be seen in the several monuments here engraved.

The hilt and scabbard, as well as the belt, are variously shaped and studded. One sees many belts in Montfaucon adorned like those of the three Templars, Pl. XIX. Some scabbards have the coat of arms on them, as one of the Markenfelds at Ripon, p. 143.

Henry III. in his thirty-sixth year, orders an elegant sword, with a scabbard¹ well covered with silk, and a pomel² with silver, and a handsome belt, to be got ready for him to knight the king of Scots at York the ensuing Christmas³. The scabbard of Robert de Bueis, 1361, Pl. XLII. is highly ornamented.

The sword of horsemen, frequently on seals, appears to be fastened on by a chain.

The dagger was worn on the right side. This was called the *misericorde*. "Pour ce que de ce *ferrement* volontiers estoient occis les chevaliers abbatus, et lesquels voyans telles armes en la main de leurs ennemis demandoient *misericorde* s'ils desiroient estre repitez de la mort⁴."

It seems by Fauchet as if this weapon first came in use in the reign of Philip Augustus. Pity, in the Roman de la Rose, is represented holding, instead of a sword, a *misericorde*, sharp enough to pierce a diamond. Fauchet compares them to the Scotch daggers, called *dagues à roelles*, because they had at the ends of the cross-bar two rounds to protect the hand completely.

Knyghton⁵ describes Wat Tyler "cultellum evaginatum quem *dagger* vulgus vocat in manu gerens," and slain by Walworth "arrepto *basilardo*." Stowe calls this latter weapon *basilard*; Froissart⁶, "grand *badelaire* qu'il portait." Charpentier explains it *Coutelas olim Bazelaire*, and cites records where it is called *Bafalardum* five *cultellum*; petit *coussel* portatif appelle *Baudelaire*.

Mr. Warton⁷ explains *Curtle-ax* in Shakspeare⁸ a kind of shew-dagger worn on the kirtle or furcoat.

Of the *anelace* and *pavade* see hereafter.

The rest for the spear on the right breast is well expressed in the portrait of Arthur second duke of Bretagne and Constable of France 1457, in Lobineau, I. 665. John V. duke of Bretagne, who died 1399, and has a monument in the middle of the choir of the cathedral at Nantz, has two projections from the armour on his breasts that resemble rests. His helmet under his head, like that on it, has a flowered frontlet, and over his mail gorget he has the collar of Ermines. His armour is plated: the lion under his feet holds in his mouth a label, with his motto, *A ma vie*.

Another instrument in the hands of some figures is the mace, as in that of one of Philip the Fair's attendants, when Jehan de Meun presented his translation of Boetius de Consolatione⁹, and of our Henry V. when John de Galopes presented his translation of Bonaventure's Life of Christ¹⁰. I recollect but one instance of a mace on monuments, and that is on the brass of John Borrel at Broxbourn, 1531.

The rich caparison of horses may be seen in the pediments of the tombs of Edmund earl of Lancaster and Aymer de Valence at Westminster, and of Sir Hugh Hastings at Elving.

¹ *scaberg*.

² *ponellum*.

³ Quod cum festinatione perquirat quendam pulchrum gladium et scaberg ejusd. de serico, et ponellum de argento bene et orate cooperiri, et quendam pulchrum zonam eidem appendi faciat, de quo rex Alexandrum regem Scocie singulo militari decorare possit, Rot. Clauf. 6 Hen. III. m. 31.

⁴ III. 549.

⁵ Col. 2656.

⁷ On Milton, p. 279.

⁸ Montf. II. x.

⁹ II. c. 77. p. 130.

¹⁰ As you like it, Act I. Sc. III.

¹¹ Archæol. III. 194.

The clerical habit of the times may be learnt from various monuments both of dignified and inferior clergy. Prelates and abbats add to the common pontificalia only the mitre, crozier, and gloves, and a more costly fashion of trimming the robes.

Mr. Lewis¹ has thus described the habit of a priest illustrated with an example of a brass figure of Thomas Cardiff, 1515, in St. John's church, Margate.

The upper vestment was a close *Cope* like a surplice without sleeves, with a standing cape. Under that was the *Chasuble* or *Chefible*, a sort of cope open only on the sides, and worn at mass both by the priest, who has it round at bottom, and by his assistants and the subdeacon, who have it square. As he lifts up his hands from under the close cape are seen the sleeves of the *Alb* (on which are two flaps) which he wears under the *Chefible*. On his left side, just under the *Alb*, is seen the end of the flannen, or *maniple*, as it is called, which the priest wears round his left arm when he celebrates mass. It was first worn in imitation of the Jewish or Pagan priests, who used a towel or napkin when offering burnt sacrifices. It is embroidered round with crosses, and fringed at the bottom. At each side of the border of the *Chefible* (which is likewise embroidered with crosses) appear the two ends of the *Stole*, which the priests wore about their necks over the *Alb*. This also is embroidered with a cross and fringed at the bottom. In the middle of the border of the *Alb* is another flap embroidered with a cross, with which is interwoven the Greek X.

One of the richest figures of what seems to be a private priest is that of alabaster in the North transept of Beverley minster. His *Alb* is fringed, as well as his *Maniple*, and over his *Chefible* falls in front a rich pall or scarf. On the hem of the *Alb* are these shields; a chevron between three escallops, and *semé de lis* a saltire impaling three lions passant guardant. At his feet a lion, and under his head, which is covered with a cowl, two angels hold a cushion.

In the porch at the door of the church of the abbey of Port Royal in France is the tomb of a priest habited in his sacerdotal vestments, a *chasuble* round on all sides, and not scollop², raised up on his arms, so as to form a point before and behind; his *maniple* no broader at bottom than top, as well as the *stole*, which is not crost on the breast, but worn as at present by bishops, Carthusians, and the antient monks of Cluny, who in this instance have adopted no new mode: His *albe* at bottom has ornaments conformable to the other ornaments such as is called in briefs *Alba parata*, and still used in cathedrals and antient abbeys³.

As a matter of curiosity merely, it may be mentioned there is still remaining in the MS library at Lambeth⁴ the habit of a priest, consisting of a stole, maniple, chasuble, cord, two bands marked with the letter P. and the corporal, together with a crucifix of base metal, with a string of beads, and a box of relics.

In the church of St. Andrew at Paris is a tomb with a figure in relief of a priest in his sacerdotal habits and chefible, after the antient fashion, with an amice on his head, falsely ascribed to Anthony de Mentholon lord of la Pleffe, who died 1694, and was only an Auditor of Accounts. But both the date and the dress contradict this supposition, and it is more probably the tomb of one of his ancestors, perhaps Jacques de Montholon canon and great archdeacon of Chartres, son of the keeper of the seals of that name⁵.

¹ See Le Beau's Hist. of the Isle of Thynes, p. 241. second Edit. Peter de Lacy, rector of Northfleet, 1375. John Grobourn, rector of Hottenden; Ricard Wolfe, rector of Tunstall, 1225; and John Seys, rector of West Hanny, c. 1200.

² Scollop, a shell.

³ Dr. Ducarel, in MS History of Lambeth Palace.

⁴ Le Beau, Hist. du dioc. de Paris, II. 461.

The amice (*amisse*) was the antient covering of the head among religious men, as the veil of the women; but in 1682 the Augustine nuns of Chaillot had the amice black spotted with white, which Du Moulinet remarks as a new custom¹.

Milton's morning "came forth, with pilgrim-steps in amice gray:" This, says Mr. Warton², is what is called *gravius amictus* in the Roman ritual; so the gray hooded evening in *Comus*³.

A priest in Magdalen chapel, Oxford, has the tonsure, the hood down from his head over his shoulders, short sleeves, and an upper tunic over the other.

A priest vested for the altar, holding the chalice in both hands, has been engraved by Mr. Thorpe.

Mr. Pennant⁴ describing the figure of Oswald Dykes, in his priestly vestments, with his chalice in his hand, in Wenfley church, Yorkshire, who, his epitaph says, had been rector of the parish, and died 1607, presumes "by his habit he was only nominal rector." What can this mean?

William Bois rector of Fersfield, 1352, had his gown painted black, cassock red, gilt all over in imitation of embroidery, and powdered with ermine the field of his arms, and fastened round with a green girdle buckled on his breast⁵. From the neck to the girdle was the complete arms of Bois, a circumstance rather unusual on a priest's habit. One may presume this to have been the original painting. On each side of him, as of Rahere, in St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, kneel two priests in surplices, which on the prior's tomb are black gowns, or at least painted so now.

If one could trust the representation of the priest at Bedal⁶ he holds a book with a crucifix on it; but as plainly as I could distinguish it, 1785, it was a chalice on a book. The variety of chalices on monuments has been already treated of. This sacred vessel was both buried with the priests and inscribed on their tombs, where they sometimes hold it in their elevated hands, and sometimes we see it carved on one or both sides of a cross.

Philip prior of St. Frideswide has a plain habit, short hair and beard. But the greatest peculiarity is on the figure of Patreshul bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 1243, that though he is pontifically habited, he is said to have the wounds of CHRIST painted on his hands and feet.

In the will of Edmund earl of March⁷, and other wills, these various drestes are enumerated as parts of the complete furniture of a chapel, *amytes, essoles, ceyntres, cheffible, tonicles, cbapes, frounteles, towaille, avec un frontell*.

The *pallium*, or *pall*, was the peculiar vestment of the monks⁸, inasmuch that pope Celestine reproved the Gallican bishops for using it. We see it inscribed with letters on bishop Roger, and richly adorned on the officiating parochial priests in Kent, &c. The prior of St. Swithin's at Winchester gave to the church of Dorchester for two books a pall, on which was embroidered in silver the history of St. Birinus⁹.

The maniple is not often part of the abbatial or episcopal dress on monuments, as it was not the constant habit of abbots or bishops. Compare the Peterborough abbots, pl. III. who all hold bibles in their left hands; so do two figures on the wall of St. Leonard's hospital chapel at York, and one dug out of the ruins of St. Mary's abbey there, which I saw soon after it was found, but which was gone 1785: all which bear marks of great antiquity.

¹ P. 144. Lebeuf, *Hist. du dioc. de Paris*, II. 58.

² Far. Reginald, IV. 426.

³ Tour in Scotland, 1772, p. 348.

⁴ P. 102.

⁵ Royal Wills, p. 105.

⁶ Reg. privat. S. Swithin, in Warton's second *Dissertat.* prefixt to *Hist. of Poetry*, vol. I.

⁷ Reg. Hon. de Richm., p. 255.

⁸ I. 188.

⁹ *Monachorum vestis propria fuit, De Congr.*

The habit of monks, if we wanted examples, may be seen on the sides of the tomb of bishop Burghersh at Lincoln.

Prior Rahere has the same habit on his tomb; and so have the two monks who kneel on each side of him; but they are misrepresented in flowing hair, whereas they really are shorne.

The old Salisbury bishops, and one coeval discovered at Glastonbury, 1783, now fixt up in the abbat's kitchen, are habited as priests, the maniple excepted; and Roger, as I suppose him, has down his breast in addition to his habit a pall, whereon is the inscription which so pointedly marks him in my eyes. See Pl. IV.

Robert Waldeby archbishop of Dublin and York, 1397, has the complete habit with maniple, pall, and fringe.

Bishop Burghersh, at Lincoln, is richly habited and fringed, but his mitre gone.

Archbishop Langham and bishop Goodrich have a double fringe.

Archbishop Wolstan, buried in Ely cathedral, when removed by bishop Nigel into the North West of the choir, was found in his calula and pallium fastened together with gilt pins¹.

Bishop Inglethorp, at Rochester, 1291, appears to have the maniple. He and bishop St. Martin there, 1273, are copies of the Margate priest, as is the brass figure of bishop Goodrich at Ely, 1554, on which he bears the great seal as chancellor². Bishop Heaton at Ely, has the pontifical robe without the mitre³.

Luxembourg bishop of Ely, 1443, is the only instance of a cardinal's figure and habit among us⁴. Archbishops Langham and Courtney, and bishop Beaufort, the only prelates raised to that dignity who have monuments with figures on them among us, are content to wear their mitres. Kemp and Wolfey's hats appear only on the gates erected by them at Cawood and Christchurch.

The copes of many of our prelates, both in stone and brass, are thick set with saints and apostles. Bishop Waltham, in the Confessor's chapel, has them down his pall in front, where bishop Roger has an inscription. The copes of Thomas Eyre and John Newcourt, deans of St. Pauls, 1400 and 1485. William Rythyn minor canon, 1400, in the same cathedral, are richly embroidered with such figures, and even scripture history.

Bishop Fitz Hugh has a rich embroidered rochet. Bishop Braybrook, Thomas Okeford, Richard Lichfield, Roger Brabazon, canons: Dean Worsley, Dr. Grene, have rich embroidered facings to theirs.

Bishop Heaton, 1609, at Ely, is a singular instance of a bishop *after the Reformation* having saints embroidered on his cope.

I am told, bishop Wykeham's robe, kept at New college, is faced with silk and the buttons are rubies.

The jewels on the back of their gloves are not confined to archbishops, as appears on those of Betun, Melun, Foliot, and Bruse, bishops of Hereford; bishop Ruthall of Durham, archbishop Grey at York, Peckham and Langton at Canterbury; abbot Ramridge, at St. Albans; Hawford abbot of Evesham, at Worcester; also abbot Colchefer of Westminster, in Dart's print, but not at present.

Archbishop Kemp's gloves are yellow, and well represented in the marriage of Henry VI⁵.

Langton bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 1321, has gloves more strongly expressed. He has a jewel en croix on his breast: so has the figure called Constantine the Great in York minster. Dean Aquablanc has a lozenge.

¹ *Ancientis spinis affixum.*

² See Bentham, pl. XXV.

³ Walp. Anecd. of Relating, I. 37.

⁴ Ib. Pl. XXVI.

⁵ Ib. Pl. XIX.

The usual posture of prelates' right hands is to be lifted up, with the two fore-fingers extended, giving the benediction.

The mitres of Christian prelates were borrowed from the *Apex* or *Tutulus* of the Flamen Dialis¹.

In the collegiate church of St. Marcel at Paris is the tomb of the celebrated Peter Lombard, who died bishop of Paris, 1160. His figure and inscription are not of that time; but above an hundred years later, as is thought from the *height of the mitre*².

The mitres of abbots differed a little from those of bishops, who carried their croziers in their left hand, but the abbots in the right³. In the procession roll, 3 Henry VIII. the abbots are drawn with barons' caps, not mitres, as MS Ashmole, but in the parliament house, 15 Henry VIII. they are drawn with mitres on their heads, as Fiddes' Life of Wolsey, p. 303. Mitred abbots had episcopal authority within their own limits, and were exempted from the jurisdiction of the diocesan, but were not always summoned to parliament nor necessarily so in consequence of being mitred⁴.

Mr. Bridges⁵ describes in Wapenham church, near Towcester, in the middle aisle, under the pulpit, part of the brass pourtraiture of a religious person, mitred, with a label out of his mouth, inscribed *Ihu, mercy!* and four shields, torn from the corners of the slab.

The rules before mentioned from Anselm's "Palais de l'Honneur," say, "As to what concerns ecclesiastics it is usual to represent them clothed in their sacerdotal habits, the canons with the surplice, square cap, and aumasse or amice; abbots with their mitres and croziers turned to the left; bishops with their great copes, their gloves on their hands, holding their croziers with their left hands, and seeming to give the benediction with the right; their mitres on their heads, and their armorial bearings round their tombs, supported by angels. Popes, Cardinals, Patriarchs, and Archbishops, are likewise all represented in their official habits."

The varieties of crozier heads are infinite from the plain one in bishop Grosted's coffin to the highly finished one of bishop Wickham at New College, Oxford. The holy Lamb is usually placed within the circle of the crozier, but in Wykeham's his own figure on his knees.

The abbatial staff was a pastoral crook of the simplest form, barely curled like those of the two antient bishops, and bishop Poore⁶, at Salisbury, and the abbots at Peterborough. That of Philip Hawford last abbot of Evesham, in Worcester cathedral, is more like a beadle's staff, without any curve at top; such an one is in bishop Bridport's hands at Salisbury, 1263, and there is no appearance of its having been longer. Bishop Fauconberg, 1228, in Old St. Paul's, has such another, more like a mace than a crozier⁷. An abbeys at Elnstow, c. Bedford, has a more ornamented one of the usual form.

"The pastoral staff of the archbishops of Rouen any more than that of antient bishops and abbots, is not bent, as we see it on their tombs, for the last 300 years. It has only on the top a kind of knob (*pomme*) on the top of a cane. In later times it has been represented like a shepherd's crook; and afterwards the end was turned up, as we see at present⁸.

There seems no ground for Mr. Gostling's conjecture, that the pastoral staff was derived from the *lituus*⁹, the rudest representation approaching nearer to the shepherd's crook.

¹ Falster, II. 7. Patin Sueton. init. Panciroli. Thesaur. Var. Lect. I. 85. Landini Numism. p. 26.

² Lebeuf, Hist. du ville & dioc. de Paris, I. 97.

³ Antiss in Appendix to Fiddes' Life of Wolsey, p. 113.

⁴ Tan. Not. Mon. Pref. xxvi. n. 1.

⁵ Northampton. I. 214.

⁶ Pl. XII.

⁷ Dugd. p. 80.

⁸ Melcon, Voyage liturgique de France, p. 271.

⁹ Antiq. Repert. II. 164.

The Peterborough abbots, all but one, tread on double or single headed dragons, whom they pierce with their staves, expressive of the triumphs of Christianity over the old serpent; so does the old bishop at Salisbury, and others.

"All the archbishops in Rouen cathedral have their faces turned to the East; like all those that I have seen in other places made before the 16th century, which shews that the contrary custom of burying bishops and priests at present with their face to the West, is altogether modern. The new ritual of Rheims, Sens, Metz, and the Ambrosian, order that they should be buried with their faces to the East, like the laity."

"The new ritual of Rheims, 1677, ordains, that, according to the antient custom, the priests should be buried in the same manner as the laity, so as to have their heads towards the door or bottom of the church, and their feet to the altar; and we see the bishops, abbots, and priests, on the antient tombs so placed⁴."

"Lewis de Bellamonte bishop of Durham, who died 1317, had, before the high altar in the choir a most curious and sumptuous marble stone, which he prepared for himself before he died, being adorned with most excellent workmanship of brass, whereon he was most excellently and lively pictured as he was accustomed to sing or say mass, with his mitre on his head and his crozier staff in his hand, with two angels finely pictured, one on the one side of his head, and the other on the other side, with censers in their hands censuring him, and containing also most exquisite pictures and images of the twelve apostles divided and bordered on either side of him; and next them are bordered on each side of the twelve apostles, in another border the pictures of his ancestors in their coats of arms being of the blood royal of France, being a white lion placed upon the breast of his vestment, underneath the *verges*⁵ of his breast with flower de lices about the lion, and two lions pictured, one under one foot of him and the other under his other foot, supporting and holding up his crozier staff, his feet adjoining and standing upon the said lions and other two lions beneath them, the nethermost border of all being most artfully wrought and set forth all in brass, manifestly beautifying the said *trough*⁶ of marble, wherein was graven in brass such divine sayings of scripture which he had peculiarly selected for his spiritual consolation, at such time as it should please God to call him out of this mortal life; as the following

Epitaphium:

In Gallia natus,

De Bellamonte jacet hic Ludovicus humatus
Nobilis ex fonte regum comitumq' creatus,
Præful in hac sede cœli lætetur in æde
Præteriens siste, memorans quantus fuit iste,
Cœlo quam dignus, justus, pius, atque benignus,
Dapsilis ac hilaris, inimicus semper avaris.

Super caput:

Credo quod redemptor meus vivit, *℣.* *℟.*⁵

In pectore:

Reposita est hæc spes mea in sinu meo.

Domine miserere.

Ad dextram:

Consortes sit sanctis Ludovicus in arce Tonantis.

Ad sinistram:

Spiritus ad Christum qui sanguine liberat istum⁶."

⁴ Moleon, Voy. lit. p. 273.

⁵ Ib.

⁶ *Q. feldi?*

⁴ *Q. cœli*, or altar tomb, not unfrequently called so in the North of England.

⁵ As on bishop Gravesend's, at Lincoln, p. 60. J. h. Heter, rector of Benifield and Luffwick, c. Northampton Bridge, II. 247. and others; also issuing from a heart on a brass plate of a vicar of St. John's church, Margate. Lewis's Tapest, p. 78. and on the tomb of Thomas Knighthead, c. 1516. in Fawley church, c. Northampton. Bridges, I. 68.

⁶ Antiquities of Durham, p. 19, 20.

I the rather insert this at length as, not being now remaining, it could not be mentioned in its proper place, and may serve as no bad specimen of prelatical magnificence: another instance of which may be the larger size of the slabs used to cover their graves. That over bishop Bubwith at Wells, 1309, is called by Godwin *Marmor ingens*. Bishop Longespee's, at Salisbury, 1291, is sixteen feet eight inches by seven feet eight inches. Bishop Gravescend's, at Lincoln, 1279, twelve feet.

"The custom of burying bishops in old times was to bury them with their Alb, Stole, and *Phannel*¹, and their other vestments wherein they used to say mass, a mitre on the head, and a crozier staff in the hand, and so laid in the coffin, with a little chalice of silver, other metal, or *wax*, which wax chalice was gilt finely about the edge, and the knobs in the midst of the shank of the chalice, and about the edge of the patten or cover, and the foot of it also was gilded: which chalice was set upon his breast in the coffin, and its cover nailed down²."

Censuring angels are not peculiar to bishops: an attitude so grossly misunderstood by some antiquaries that Dr. Salmon mistook their censers for fishing nets in the windows of Stapleford church, Herts. King John has two bishops to do him that kind office, that his evil deeds might acquire a better odour.

These angels are much more common in France, occurring almost in every monument, and on that of archbishop Cherney at Sens two single hands hold the censers.

The conveyance of the soul to heaven in a sheet, by angels, is not unfrequent on the monuments of religious in France from the twelfth to the sixteenth century³.

Sometimes there, and with us on the pediment of the fine monument on the North side of Beverley choir, the Deity himself places the soul thus on his knees. At the head of a lady at Nanteuil two bishops carry off her soul. The souls of two abbots of Herivaux, whose figures are on the same stone, are conveyed by angels in one sheet together; so are those of two men and their wives in the Jacobines church at Chalons; and a widow and her two daughters all three together. That of George lord de Preaux in the church of Notre Dame in the castle of Loches is held at his head by a mitred saint, perhaps his patron. The souls of Ansculph and Josceline de Viercy bishops of Soissons in Longport abbey are *pontifically habited and mitred*.

It is not unusual on French monuments to see a hand pointing down from heaven over the head of the party, either altogether expanded or with two of the fingers closed, as in the act of benediction: but I do not recollect this in England.

Abbots Eastney, 1438, and Kirton, 1466, are both pontifically habited on their brasses at Westminster. Q. If a mitred abbot drest more pontifically? The last abbot of Pershore is as much undressed, appearing only as a simple monk on his tomb, in the chapel, now the school-house, at Pershore.

Paul, fourteenth abbot of St. Albans, who died 1093, 5 Rufi, and was buried in the chapter house there, was the first that wore the pontifical habit, as his figure on his marble tomb shewed; *primus pontificalibus redimitus* (*prout in sarcophago suo marmoreo testatur ipsius imago*) *dignoscitur in hac ecclesia*⁴.

"Thomas de Merleberg abbas Evesham primo sculpsit super duas tumbas
"prædecessorum suorum ad honorem et ostensionem dignitatis ecclesiæ imagines
"episcopales, et sibi ipsi cum eisdem fecit mausoleum, et incidit in lapide mar-
"moreo superposito imaginem episcopalem ad honorem ecclesiæ. Obiit. A. D.
"1236⁵." The mitre had been obtained by abbot Roger, who died 1160.

¹ Q. Maniple.

² Antiquities of Durham abbey, p. 74.

³ In an old print of a dying man, by C. de Mallory, after Stradan, this conveyance is beautifully touched.

⁴ Matt. Par. v. Ab. S. Alb. p. 90.

⁵ Tanner, Not. Mon. pref. xxv. note (e) ex Histo. Evesham. Bib. Cott. Vesp. B. xxiv. Naff. Worc. I. 199.

The oldest original paintings of bishops in their habits of ceremony may be supposed those in the North wall of the old choir at Ely, built in the reign of Edward III. which, before the removal of the choir to its present situation, were copied by Mr. Tyfon, 1769, who gave them, 1778, to Mr. Cole. From the last of these gentlemen I received them, for the purpose of having them engraved for this work. The account of them in the old MS *Liber Eliensis* now in the hands of the Dean and Chapter, is in these words: "Isti sunt confessores Christi quorum corpora jacent ex parte aquilonari chori ecclesie Eliensis in locellis separatim in pariete lapideo. *Wlstanus* Eboracensis archiepiscopus, *Osmundus* epus Swetheda regione, *Helfwinus* Helmamensis epus, *Elfgar* Helmamensis epus, *Ednodus* abbas Ramysiensis epus Lincolnienfis, *Athelstanus* Helmamensis epus, *Britnodus* dux Northanimbrorum strenuissimus." They were brought thither from the old conventual church in the reign of Stephen by Nigellus bishop of Ely, and their names were legible over their painted effigies. They were found on taking down the wall. The manner of their disposition was exactly conformable to the above account, the bones of each being placed in separate cells, each cell twenty-two inches long, seven broad, and eighteen deep, within the wall, under their several names and painted effigies, each figure two feet five inches and three quarters high. They were put, 1771, into distinct cases, and deposited under the arch of bishop West's tomb in his chapel, with their names and dates painted on the front, over a row of small Gothic niches of stone corresponding with the cells, and an inscription over all.

Over fig.

1. Wlstanus epus Helmamensis.
2. Osmundus ep's [in Suetheda regione]
3. Alwin' epus Helmamensis.
4. Elfgar epus Helmamensis.
5. Ednodus ep's Lyncolniensis.
6. Athelstanus ep's Helmam'is.
7. Brythnodus dux Northanymbrorum.

Among the monuments of Danish nobility¹, published by Klerensfeld, is a brass one of an archbishop, 1497, at Lunden, pontifically habited, with a double fringe to his stole, like archbishop Langton, and on his albe a flower as on that of Cardiff. His arms and hands are crost, in his right a cross; and at his right elbow a crozier. The helmets on his arms are surmounted by a crozier. The inscription round the tomb is in our common black letter, between a double border of vine branches, and at the corners the symbols of the evangelists with labels.

Episc. jacet. reverendissim. pater. dñs. dñs. Joh'is. brottroup. bi. grā. quidā. arep' libe-
suerit. p'mas. et. aplice. sed' legat'. vo. decretoru. hanc¹⁰. cur'. aia. reijscat. i. pace
q. d. a. dñs. m' c b 97.

A brass figure of a priest in Great Adington church, c. Northampton², has on his breast IHC, perhaps the host. Another so early as 1286, at Higham Ferrars in the same county³, *Fili Dei miserere mei*.

John Grothurst rector of Horfmanden church in Kent has behind his elevated hands a scroll reciting his gift to Beyham abbey.

**Qui dedit manerium de Leveshothe abbati et conventui de
Beghamme ad inveniendum unum perpetuum capella-
num celebrantem in ecclesia de Horfmondenne et capella de
Leveshothe.**

¹ Bentham's Ely, 85.

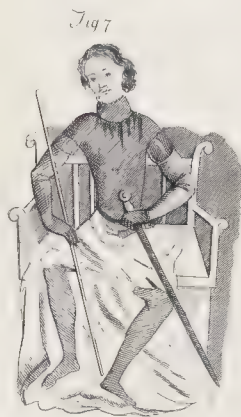
² Ib. 285, 286. Archæol. II. 365.

³ "Nobilitas Davie ex monumentis curante T. de Klerensfeld," 13 fol. plates.

⁴ Bridges, II. 205.

⁵ Ib. 175.

⁶ Thorpe, Reg. Ross. p. 881.



Figures of priests in stone are not unfrequent under arches in the walls of village-churches. They are supposed founders or rebuilders, and they may have been incumbents or chantry priests, or perhaps relations of the lords of the manor, or otherwise connected with the place. They seldom have any inscriptions. Such a figure in the wall of the South aisle of St. Hippolyt's church near Hitchen is vulgarly called *St. Hippolyt* himself. Salmon conjectures he was the founder¹.

On the North side of the chancel at Lilford, c. Northampton, is such an antique freestone figure who, from his habit and tonsure of his head, appears to have been a priest².

Next to the ecclesiastics rank the students or graduates of our universities, whose habits may be seen on their monuments in the several college chapels. Perhaps the largest collection of them is in the outer chapel at New College, Oxford. I have engraved one specimen in the brass ascribed to Robert Egglefield, founder of Queen's college there, 1349, which represents a priest in a cap and rich rochet, powdered with fleurs de lis and lozenges, and faced and hemmed with a different border, and fastened on his breast with a jewel: the sleeves of his black gown are faced with fur³. In Dowdeswell church, c. Gloucester, Mr. Rudder describes a figure in a long robe *semée* with mullets and fleurs de lis, but which is the exact counterpart of Egglefield only smaller. A Kentish priest, engraved by Mr. Thorpe, has exactly such a habit, except the cap and the different ornament on the breast. Indeed priests are oftener thus represented and distinguished by the tonsure, than vested for the altar, as is the phrase of our describers from Aubrey to the present time.

Hacomblen in King's College Chapel has the like habit, with a furred cape, reaching down to his elbows, his head bare, and crown shaved.

John Perch, A.M. M.B. in Queen's College, Oxford, has his gown fastened by a buckle with the St. Suaire, and faced with ornaments like fleurs de lis, sleeves to his wrist under very long ones almost to his feet, and a kind of long tippet over all. Another brass figure in the antechapel has the like habit, the inner sleeves longer, the gown faced with sprigs of roses, fastened by a rich studded broche, the fur tippet round his neck and pendant, a fizar's cap on his cropt hair.

The poor Oxford scholar's *overeft courtesy*, or uppermost short cloke, of coarse cloth, was "thred bare"⁴.

At the installation feast of Richard Clifford bishop of London, 1407, was a subtylte of a doctor in a pulpit, in a clothynge of *grene* taberde and hode with a rolle on his hede, and thereon written, *In Deo salutari meo*⁵.

Chaucer's spruce parish clerk Abfolom had

Poules windows corven on his shoes⁶.

i. e. They were reticulated or laced with fret work.

In hosen red he went ful fetisly.

Yclad he was ful smal and properly,

All in a kertle of a light waget⁷,

Ful faire & thick ben the pointis set,

And therupon he had a gay surplice,

As white as is the blome upon the rife⁸.

¹ Herts, p. 180.

² Canterb. Tales, l. 292.

³ *watcher*, blue.

⁴ Bridges II. 245.

⁵ Noble boke of Cookery.

⁶ *Ubi sup.* 3315—23.

⁷ Pl. XXXVI. p. 102.

⁸ Miller's Tale, l. 3318.

The only class of laymen, except the military, seem to have been *Burgeſſes* and *Merchants of the Staple*. These are chiefly to be found in borough towns, or the parochial churches of large commercial counties where the woollen manufacture flourished. What a profusion of workmanship was displayed on their monuments appears by those of the mayor or burgesſ of Lynne, the clothiers of Campden and North Leach, and other instances in the wealthy counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Gloucester.

The first instance I have to give of a lay habit of a burgesſ is that of Sir William Delapole father of the first earl of Suffolk of that name¹, who, on his tomb at Hull, is habited in a cloak with a standing cape and buttons in equi-distant sets of three, over a close coat open at the knees, and buttoned at the waist with the same arrangement, and with a full row on the close sleeves, which before they reached the wrists had some kind of plait or ornament. At an ornamented girdle hangs by a plain belt a couteau. He wears his hair, forked beard, whiskers, and shoes. His wife over her tunic has a gown buttoned to the waist, and from thence open below; the sleeves close and buttoned to the back of the hands, and over her shoulders, passing under her arms, a loose cloak; over her head a veil headdress.

The next is the burgesſ of Lynne, with a more splendid monument of brass², habited in a plain close coat slit and turned back from the knees downwards, and laced on the slit and hem, with long close sleeves buttoned from the elbows to the wrist, and long hanging sleeves from the elbows; standing cape open in front fallen down; stockings dark and coarse; his pointed shoes fastened on the instep with a lace or latchet. The five men at the side of the canopy are habited one in a short coat buttoned in front with long hanging sleeves, piked shoes, one with the hose, a hat fastened as an hood under the chin: the second in a like short coat girt with a belt, and a short cloak over the shoulders; a hooded cap on the head; the third a long cloak buttoned on the breast whence the hands just issue: the fourth a short cloak buttoned on the breast, and plaited at the skirts, which do not reach to the knees; the fifth is in a coat, and cloak only over the left shoulder, and held up to the waist: these two last have the hooded hat, and all have the piked shoes and hose of one piece.

John chatelain of Thorote and his wife, 1325 and 1353, in Orcamp abbey, very much resemble this burgesſ and his two wives.

The principal figures of the men at the feast below are habited in long cloaks over close coats with sleeves, hooded hats or caps³.

It has been suggested to me by an ingenious friend, that the musicians, who are two men blowing trumpets, and a little boy with a pipe, appear as if sewn up close in leather dresses, to shew the shape of the bodies; a circumstance he has heard or read, not unusual in great entertainments.

Robert Attelathe, another burgesſ of this wealthy corporation, is my third example⁴. He is habited in a cloak with a standing cape, falling off his right shoulder and over his left arm, covering a close coat girt round the waist, and buttoned from a little above the girdle down to the instep, with buttons in pairs. The sleeves of this coat are buttoned at the wrist, and on the back of the hands is a half-glove of a rich flowered pattern. His shoes are piked, and fastened on the instep, with a buckle. He wears his hair in buckles, short whiskers, and a short divided beard.

John Fountain, who died 1403, is represented on his brass at Narford in a long plaited coat girt about his waist, with a broad belt, a standing cape, and on his head a round cap like a bowl. His three wives have the long plaited gown

¹ Pl. XLVI p. 122.

² Pl. XLV. p. 115.

³ So Chaucer describes his merchant, "And on his hed he wore a Flaundris boquer hat," Ubi sup. 372.

⁴ Pl. XXXVL p. 102.

with a broad belt at the waift, and ftanding capes, and two have on their head the lateft imitation of the mitred headdrefs with the falling veil, and the third has the veil only.

The firft of thefe inftances was the very *Frankelein* of Chaucer ¹:

An *anelace* and a *gipciere* all of filk
Hung at his girdle white as morwe milk;
A fhereve had he ben and a contour;
Was no where fwich a worthy vavafour.
At feffions ther was he lord and fire,
Ful often time he was knight of the shire.

The *anelace* was a knife or dagger ufually worn at the girdle. Matthew Paris ² defcribes Peter de Rivaulx as "*gestans anelacium ad lumbare quod clericum non decebat*." The five city mechanics in Chaucer ³ are defcribed as wearing knives, and probably at their girdles.

Hir knives were *ychaped not with bras*,
But all with filver wrought full clene and wel;
Hir girdeles and hir pouches every del.

See a very good representation of one at the left fide of the girdle of William Grevel at Campden.

This at the fide of a brafs figure in Baldock church before defcribed has a leffer knife inferted in its fcabbard.

Occleve's picture of Chaucer represents him with a knife hanging from a button on his breaft, probably a *Sheffield whittle*.

The fhip-man had

A dagger hanging by a *las* [lace]
About his neck under his arm adoune ⁴.

On fuch a weapon we may fuppofe the king-making earl of Warwick's roaft beef was carried away by his guefts. With fuch an one the earl Marfhall was ftabbed in the back by an Irifhman, who lifted up his coat of mail ⁵ and plunged his anelace up to the hilt ⁶.

The *gipciere*, Fr. *Gibociere*, was a purfe; of which hereafter.

Chaucer's character of his tradefmen in their livery-men's gowns, is, that they were fit to make aldermen;

Wel femed eche of hem a fayre burgeis
To fitten in a gild halle on the deis ⁷.

i. e. at the upper end of the hall on the huffings or raifed floor, as now at the Guildhall of the city of London, and in college halls, and formerly in all halls.

The Knight's fon the Squire in Chaucer ⁸ was,

a lufty bachelor
With lockes *crull as they were laide in preffe*,
Short was his gowne with fleves long and wide.

The Phyfician in Chaucer,

In fanguin and in perfe he clad was alle
Lined with taffata and with fendalle ⁹.

¹ Ubi fup. l. 357—362.

⁴ Ib. l. 393.

⁷ Ubi fup. l. 371.

² P. 405.

⁵ *loricum fabruando*.

⁶ Ib. l. 80, 81. 93.

³ Ubi fup. l. 367—370.

⁸ Mat. Paris, p. 400.

⁹ Ib. l. 441.

The habit of a Judge may be seen on the monument of Gascoigne, at Harwood, c. York. He appears in a robe or mantle, with long puffed sleeves edged with ermine, and under them strait sleeves buttoned to the wrist, over a tunic girt with a belt studded with roses, whereat hangs his *anelace* or dagger, and under his left elbow his purse. On his head and shoulders is a coif covering his ears, which appears through, and falling in a flap at the sides of his face, his hair just seen under it.

Chaucer's Sergeant of the Law ware and wife,
He rode but homely, in a medlee cote,
Girt with a *seint* ¹ of filk, with barres small ¹.

The Alderman's robes occur on the brass figure of Jeffrey Qwynfy, 1461, in the church of St. Clement the Martyr, at Norwich ².

The habit of a Sheriff of London, 1381, see in John Lions, p. 137.

Stowe ³, speaking of the proceedings of the insurgents under Wat Tyler in the reign of Richard II. says, "They took in hand to behead all men of law, as well apprentices as utter barristers and old justices, with all the jurors of the country whom they might get into their hands. They spared none whom they thought to be learned, especially if they found any to *have a pen and inkborne about him*: they pulled off his hood, and all with one voyce crying, Hale him out, and cut off his head." A tomb in the North transept at Christ Church, Oxford, of the 16th century, has an inkhorn and pen-case in compartments at the front and sides, and nothing else remaining to ascertain it.

Chaucer's Millar (who was also a thief),

A white cote &c a blew hode wered he ⁴,
A fwerd & bokeler bare he by his side ⁴.

and the Reve got his master's thanks,

and yet a cote and hood.
A long furcote of perfe upon he hade,
And by his side he bare a rusty blade;
Tucked he was, as is a frere about ⁵.

Of the Millar of Trumpington Chaucer says,

Ay by his belt he bare a long pavade,
And of a fwerd ful trenchant was the blade;
A joly popper bare he in his pouche,
Ther as no man for peril dare him touch;
A Shefeld thwitel bare he in his hofe ⁶.

Pavade is a dagger, *popper* a bodkin, *thwitel* a knife. They are all ranged together as the Miller's defensive weapons, and whoever affronted or attacked him,

he wold be slain of Simkin
With *pavade*, or with *knife*, or with *bodkin* ⁷.

Thus the poet explains himself.

¹ *Canterb.* girdle.

² *Land.* p. 48.

³ *Reve's Tale*, l. 3927-31.

⁴ *Canterb. Tales*, l. 330.

⁵ *Urbisup.* l. 566.

⁶ *Ib.* l. 560.

⁷ *Ib.* l. 3957-9.

⁸ *Blomesf.* II. 818.

⁹ *Ib.* l. 614, 619, 620, 623.

On holidays the miller wore "his tipet ybounde about his hed" & red stock-ings. His wife's *gite* or gown was of the same colour¹; so was the wife of Bathe's².

Chaucer's friar's tippet was,
 ay farfed full of knyves
 And pinnes for to given fayre wives³.
 For there was he not like a cloisterere,
 With thredbare cope as is a poure scolore;
 But he was like a maister or a pope;
 Of double worfede was his *semicope*
 That round was as a belle out of the presse⁴.

Chaucer's knight's yeoman

Was cladde in cote and hode of grene,
 A shefe of *peacock* arwes bright & kene
 Under his belt he bare full thriftily.
 Wel coude he dresse his takel yemanly.
 His arwes drouped not with fetheres lowe,
 And in his hond he bare a mighty bowe.
 A not-hedde had he with a broun vifage;
 Of wood-craft conde he well alle the usage.
 Upon his arm he bare a gaie bracer,
 And by his side a fwerd and bokeler,
 And on that other side a gaie daggere,
 Harneised well and sharpe as point of spere;
 A cristofre on his brest of silver shene
 An horne he bare, the baudrick was of grene,
 A forter was he fothely, as I gesse⁵.

A figure cumbent on a gravestone in the churchyard at Glinton, c. Northampton, might serve as an illustration of this description:

His gay yeman under a forest ride,
 A bow he bare, and arwes bright and kene
 He had upon a courtepy of grene.
 An hat upon his head, with frenges blacke⁶.

They had also about that time, says Camden⁷, a gown called a *git*, a jacket without sleeves called a *baketon*, a loose jacket like a *tabard*, a short *gabbardin* called a *court pie*, a *gorget* called a *chevefai*, for as yet they used not bands about their neck, a pouch called a *gipfer*.

The *Gite* was a woman's gown. See Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, l. 3952. 6141. The *Haketon* was part of a military habit, and as such worn by the dainty Sir Thopas:

He didde next his white lere
 Of cloth of lake fin & clere
 A breche and eke a sherte,
 And next his shirt an baketon,
 And over that an habergeon,
 For percing of his herte,
 And over that a fin hauberck
 Was all ywrought of jewel work;

¹ Chaucer, *Ib.* l. 3950—1—2.

² *Ib.* l. 261.

³ *Ib.* l. 6141.

⁴ *Ubi sup.* l. 103—118.

⁵ *Canterb. Tales*, l. 233, 234.

⁶ *Ib.* 6962.

⁷ *Rem.* p. 234.

Ful strong it was of plate :
And over that his cote-armoure,
(As white as is the lily floure)
In which he wold debate'.

Mr. Tyrwhitt observes, it is difficult to say what sort of cloth is meant by *lake* here. *Laccken*, Belg. signifies both *linen* and *woollen* cloth. Kilian.

The *Tabard* was worn by the nobility and gentry in the reigns of Henry IV. and V. It was a short coat, without sleeves, as still worn by the heralds, on which their arms were embroidered : whence the term, a *coat of arms*; Fr. *cotte d'armes*. The coat having the crest in profile was the sleeve or side coat. It is often found in portraits in old glass-windows². In Queen's College, Oxford, are scholars called *Taberders*, who wore such an habit. Before the civil war the scholars of New College were obliged to wear a black tabbard of stuff and a ruff when they went abroad. Scholars of other houses wore them, as also pilgrims antiently³. Chaucer's plowman rode in a tabard, and perhaps our ploughmen's short coats still keep up the resemblance.

The *Courtepy* was the short cloke before mentioned worn by the Oxford scholar and by the gay yeoman⁴. It is a Teutonic word, from *kort*, curtus, and *piite*, penula coactilis ex villis crassioribus. Kilian, Tyrwhitt.

The *Chevesail* is a necklace in the Roman de la Rose, l. 2189, fastened by two gold clasps; and so translated in Chaucer's version of it, l. 1082. Camden seems to have imagined it a cape.

The *Gipser*, or, as Chaucer calls it, by its French name, *Gipciere*; DuCange, *Gibaffarius*, and Charpentier *Gibacaria*, was a purse; of which we have various instances on our monuments. Perhaps judge Gascoigne's is the fairest. Montfaucon has engraved in his Monuments⁵ a splendid one of the princes of Dreux and Britany, embroidered with their arms, from the collection of M. de Gagnieres, who says it was appropriated to reliques. The chimney piece of the principal room in Tattersal tower is adorned with purses, in allusion to the post of lord high treasurer held by Ralph lord Cromwell, who died 1455. "Bagges or purses" remained in Leland's time⁶, in the chapel and other places of the house at Collyweston, which belonged to the same nobleman.

At the foot of Vitaille de Query, knight, serjeant, 1400, and his wife, on their tomb, in Froidmont abbey, are five figures of men; two are religious, with hoods fallen; two of them have the purses, and hoods on their heads, not unlike Chaucer's: the others are laymen, in coats girt with belts. The serjeant himself is in a furred gown slit up to the knee in front, girt round with a belt on which is the arms of France and a crowned shield, pouch sleeves furred at the wrists, and under them a buttoned sleeve; his cape fallen discovers something like a ruff, or plaited collar: his half-boots are laced on the inside of his legs.

Simonet, son of the vicomte du Bois, 1354, on his tomb at Bonport abbey, Normandy, has a short coat to his knees, long waisted, and full buttoned, long sleeves buttoned to wrist, and sleeves pendant, a falling cape edged with an embattlement, and at his belt a pouch with four buttons and a lock.

John Hannetay, merchant, 1479, in Vauluisant abbey, has a purse wider than long, with two tassels at the ends and one in the middle.

John Clerk, priest, at Bafildon, Berks, 1496, has a pouch at his right side, and a rosary at his left; a furred gown and cap⁷.

A man at Nanteuil has a very small purse.

² Ubi sup. l. 137. 90. ⁴ Aubrey.
³ It. l. 25. ⁷ Aubrey.

⁵ Ib.

⁶ Canterb. Tales, 6964.

⁷ II, pl. xxxi.

A man in Brunoy church in the Isle de France has a long coat with buttoned sleeves, and five buttons like a lapell on the left shoulder.

Such is also appendant to the figure of Henry I. fourth duke of Lorraine and Brabant on his tomb in St. Peter's church at Lovain. A great chamberlain of France of this time has one of the same kind at his girdle. The custom of wearing the purse at the girdle came from the Eastern nations, where it still obtains, and did in Europe till pockets were invented, which seem a consequence of short skirts of tighter bodied garments. These purses were of leather, or more costly materials.

Some judgement may be formed of the first coats from the pictures of Chaucer, and one of Nyte, in the chancel window of Kingston St. Michael, as well as from the monuments of burgeses before described. They were loose down to the calf of the leg, with wide sleeves, and succeeded gowns gathered at the girdle.

The coat, long as the oldest fashioned ones of the present century, with buttons down to the toes, appears on the figures at the sides of lady Montacute's tomb at Christ Church, Oxford; of that of Thomas Vere earl of Oxford, at Earl's Colne; of Thomas Beauchamp earl of Warwick; of Edward III. &c. On the brass of Braunch, and on the tomb of Edward III. we have both the long and the short coat.

The tomb of Thomas Beauchamp earl of Warwick furnishes the greatest varieties of habits for both sexes of any that I know of. With this view I got Mr. Carter to make the separate drawings of each figure in Pl. LI. though I could have wished he had succeeded better with them. There are the mantle, flowing, buttoned on the breast, or on the shoulder, with one or more buttons, or thrown across like the Roman Paludamentum, and with or without the hood; the long coat buttoned to the waist; the short coat united with the hose, and the buttons continued below the waist, the cape standing or fallen, the hood, hat, or bonnet; the shoe of different lengths.

Alan Fleming at Newark, 1373, is dressed in a close coat with a standing cape, and slits for pocket holes: his sleeves are long and close, and his mantle faced with miniver.

If we can depend on the portrait of Charles the Good, thirteenth count of Flanders, in Montfaucon, II. pl. xi. the close coat with buttons and the standing cape will have been in fashion so early as 1127, in which year that prince was murdered.

The coat of Thibans Plante Oignum, bourgeois de Biauves, in Chaalis abbey cloister, is slit at the sides and in front, and faced with miniver.

In Barbeau abbey is a figure of Peter le Maire, 1353, in a coat with long buttoned sleeves issuing from others at the elbows, and pocket holes: his wife has a pointed hood, and her mantle is faced like it, with miniver, long buttoned sleeves and pocket holes.

"In the beginning of Henry the Fourth's reign the fashions of dress were extravagant, especially of gowns with deep wide sleeves, commonly called *Pokys*, shaped like *bagpipes*, and worn indifferently both by servants and masters. They may rightly be called "the devil's receptacles: for whatever could be stolen was popt into them: some of them were so large and wide that they reacht down to the feet, or at least to the knees, full of slits and devils. When the servants were bringing up pottage, sauces, or any other liquors, these sleeves went into the dishes, and had the first taste: and all that was given them, or that they could get, was spent to clothe their incurable carcases with these *pokys* or sleeves, while the rest of the habit was cut short".

¹ Aubrey.

² Vita Rich. II. 172. In primordio hujus regis exercebat nimis insolentia indumentorum in regno & maxime togatorum cum profundis & lais manibus vocatis vulgariter *pokys* ad modum *bagpipe* formatis adeo ut eis tam a servis quam dominis indifferenter utebatur. Quae quidem receptacula daemoniorum recte dici &c.

The long pocketing sleeves, as Camden calls them¹, continued in use in the reign of Henry IV. which Occleve says "pennilleffe groomes" might clear the streets of their dirt. Such were in vogue in Edward the First's reign, as appears by the figures on the side of John of Eltham's tomb, both men and women.

The monk's sleeves in Chaucer²:

Purfiled at the hond

With *gris*, and that the finest of the lond.

Gris was a species of furr; of which and of miniver hereafter.

Richard de Bosco abbot of Eftrees in Normandy has his arms croft, hanging down in his sleeves, which come over his hands. One of the suite of Louis de Bruges, in the reign of Charles VIII. in Montfaucon IV. Pl. iv. has such a sleeve over his left hand.

Our hat is derived by Skinner from the Teutonic and Dutch *Hoed* and *Hat*, and that from *Hoeden* and *Hatten*, to preserve; as if no other part of dress was a defence. It was a succedaneum to the *Hood*, and the Saxon *hat* was a covering of the head from the tiara and mitre to the modern round hat, which is but a diminutive of the cardinal's red hat on Luxemburg's tomb and Wolfey's college. The Malays and Chinese, and all Asiatics who wear hats, have them round; such is even the *turban*. Varro derives the Roman *Galerus*, which Isidore calls a shepherd's bonet, from *Galea*. In Juvenal³, and other writers, it is equivalent to a wig or false hair. Chaucer wears on his head a hood falling down behind. His monk's

For to fasten his hood under his chinne,

He hadde of gold ywrought a curious pin⁴.

The bonets of Peter count d'Alençon and Robert count de Clermont, in Montfaucon⁵, are of different forms: that of St. Louis⁶ is very like a modern hat: those of Louis XI. and Philip le Hardi duke of Burgundy⁷ are bonets of particular orders. See also those of the orders of St. Michael, instituted by Louis XII⁸. That of the order of the Crescent, instituted by Rene king of Sicily, is an absolute hat⁹; so is also that of Charles VII¹⁰.

John Edwards, *apprenticiatus in lege*, 1461, in Rodmerton church, c. Gloucester, has a cap like that of the *President au mortier*. Rudder¹¹ says he is habited in the antient dress of a lawyer.

The form of the half-boot may be seen on a brass figure in Copel church, c. Bedford. The boot seems to have been fastened at the side with clasps, like our spatterdashies. The merchant's in Chaucer were

"—— clapped fayre and fetisly"¹².

Somewhat like the shoes beforementioned, p. clvii. were the *Campaga* and *Reticuli* of the Roman emperors and nobility mentioned by Trebellius Pollio and Julius Capitolinus, and described by Salmastius as so called from the flexibility of the straps that fastened them, and from the net-work which they formed on the leg. The *Reticulum*, or shoe, of the Roman ladies was set with emeralds¹³: "Patriciorum calcei et imperatorum ita vocabantur a corrigiarum flexuris et implicaturis quibus circumligabantur. Hinc campacos *reticulos* appellare solebat Gallienus, quod reticulaturis decussaturisque multis circum crura flexuris aliis super alias scandentibus connecterentur. Hinc Latinis *campacus* ejusmodi calceus appellatus qui multas *καμπαι* et decusses in calceanda faceret ex corrigiarum alligaturis"¹⁴.

¹ Rem. 235.

² *Ubi sup.* 191.

³ VI. 120.

⁴ Canterb. Tales, l. 195.

⁵ Ib. lxi.

⁶ Ib. lxi.

⁷ Ib. xlviii.

⁸ Ib. xlv.

⁹ Ib. xxvii. B. g.

¹⁰ P. 633.

¹¹ *Ubi sup.* l. 275.

¹² Maximin. jun. c. 1.

¹³ Salmastius in Capitolini vita Maximini jun. c. 2.

I have

I have met with no satisfactory reason why the Conqueror's eldest son, Robert, had the name of *Curt hose*; or Henry II. that of *Court mantel*. Camden says, the former used the short hose, or, as Trevisa, in one part of his translation of the Polychronicon, has it, *Sbort boot*, though in another he writes *Sbort boofes*. But as the Saxon drawings prove these were antiently used by the English, Mr. Strutt thinks it more likely Robert set the fashion to his Normans; and in the same manner he accounts for Henry the Second's sobriquet, that he was the first Norman prince who adopted the Saxon short cloak.

The dress of young persons may be represented on the monument of Edward the First's infant children in Westminster-abbey. The boy has his flowing locks bound with a fillet, a mantle fastened by four studs on his right shoulder, a doublet, a richly studded belt, breeches and stockings of one piece, and shoes separate. The girl has a horned headdress, bodice studded in front, and a petticoat, a mantle tied by a cordon, with a rose and two quatrefoils studded.

See also the dress of William of Hatfield second son of Edward III. on his monument in York minster before described p. cxxxvi.

Henry Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V. when he went to make his peace with his father, was appalled, says Holinshed¹, in a gown of blue satin full of small ocillet holes, at every hole the needle hanging by a silk thread, with which it was worked; about his arms he wore an hound's collar set full of SS of gold, and the tyrrets likewise of the same metal.

Henry VI. at his wedding is represented in a rich flowered robe with long cuffed sleeves, through which his arms come out; his hair long and lank, in his right hand a cap, not unlike that of Philip de Valois, before mentioned. His bride has a mantle fastened on the breast by a cordon and jewels, a robe, on whose hem in a frame of jewels are letters embroidered, her sleeves long, the cuffs drawn over the fingers of the left, but the right hand clear; her hair flowing, a coronet on her head. Mr. Walpole thinks the painter has conveyed a reflection on her virginity inconsistent with the long hair². The nimbus signifies the king's sanctity at his death.

Edward earl of Rutland, the lord Spencer, earl of Arundel, and others, the lords appellants who impeached the duke of Gloucester before Richard II. at Nottingham, were clad in red gowns of silk, garded and bordered with white silk, and embroidered with letters of gold³. Round the hem of the Queen's robe in the picture of Henry the Sixth's marriage in Mr. Walpole's possession, are some letters, which are far from being so intelligible as the other before mentioned. The words are involved in the folds; what appears are, *Vol. fav. Regin*. On the abbess's girdle is *Vel ave*, as little to be decyphered as the other. There is a third instance of letters on garments on the robe of the Emperor Charles IV. on his interview with Charles V. of France, 1378⁴. Charles VI. of France, 1422. has the hem of his robe, on his tomb at St. Denis, charged with *Jamais* repeatedly. An Etruscan statue in bronze in Dempster's Etruria Regalis⁵, has three lines of inscription on the hem of his robe. There are traces of letters down the front of a lady's garment, on a monument at West Tanfield in Yorkshire. Those on the pall of bishop Roger at Salisbury are rather part of his epitaph. The Grand Falconer of Charles VIII. of France has his initials on his sword hilt⁶.

¹ P. 192.

² Pl. XXXIV.

³ P. 1160.

⁴ Anecdotes of Painting, I. 58.

⁵ Chron. 116. in Parl. Hist. I. 495. Peck's Annals of Stamford, 12. 39. Walp. Anec. of Paint. I. 38. 4to.

In the reign of Edward III. says an old chronicle in Mr. Ives's possession, cited by Mr. Strutt, the English men were clothed all in cootes and hodes prynted with lettres and with floures." *Donna Anzelcyana*. II. 83.

⁶ Monfr. Mon. III. x. p. 40.

⁷ I. 281.

⁸ Montfaucon IV. Pl. 14.

Henry VI. according to Stow¹, usually wore a cap or hood of red velvet, which was afterwards preserved a long time on his tomb. His high cap of astete, called *Abcocket*, or *Abococke*, was garnished with two rich crowns².

The beau of Edward the Third's time was a party-coloured animal. He wore hose of one colour on one leg, and of another on the other; short breeches which did not reach half way down his thighs; a coat half white, half black or blue; a long beard; a silk hood, buttoned under his chin; and embroidered with grotesque figures of armorial dancing men, &c. and sometimes ornamented with gold, silver, and precious stones³.

When the rioters plundered and burnt the duke of Lancaster's palace at the Savoy they took his most precious garment, such, says Walsingham⁴, as we call a *jacke*, and stuck it on a spear, as a mark for their arrows, and when they found they could not damage it sufficiently by shooting at it, they chopped it in pieces with swords and hatchets.

The showy luxurious habit of a Gascon Knight, to whom Francis de la Marque, a French gentleman, presents his history of the latter part of the reign of Richard II.⁵ deserves attention. When the knights were not clad in armour they wore a dress that seems to have more than Asiatic softness and effeminacy⁶. In the same MS the long pointed shoes of that reign, before described, are particularly expressed⁷; and it is remarkable, that in the drawing of Rutland's resignation to Henry IV. from a MS of Froissart in the royal library, (xviii E. II.) the fashion is altered, and the toes shortened⁸. Joan countess of Kent, mother of Richard II. wears them⁹; and they appear to have been revived in the reign of Edward IV.¹⁰ Those of Edward III. and his two royal prisoners, David king of Scotland, and John king of France, are broad, but picked, and embroidered with net work¹¹.

We may suppose the figure painted in Hungerford's chapel at Salisbury represents a beau or gallant of the reign of Henry VI.

In the year 1369, 44 Edward III. "as the book of Worcester reported, they began to use caps of divers colours, especially red, with costly linings: and 1372, 47 Edward III. they first began to wanton it in a new round curtall weed, which they called a cloak, and in Latin *armilauſa*, as only covering the shoulders; and this notwithstanding the king had endeavored to restrain all these inordinances and expences in clothing by act of parliament in his 36th year, forbidding the use of gold and silver, and other ornaments, to all who could not afford to spend £100 a year; and all furr and precious costly apparel to all who could not spend £100 a year¹².

The author of the Eulogium cited by Camden¹³ says, "the commons were befotted in excess of apparell, in wide furcoates reaching to their loines, some in a garment reaching to their heeles, close before, and strutting out on the sides, so that on the back they make men seem women; and this they called by a ridiculous name *gowne*; their hoods are little, tied under the chin, and buttoned like the women's, but set with gold, silver, and precious stones; their *lirripoppes*¹⁴ reach to their heeles, all jagged. They have

¹ Chron. p. 424.

² Camden's Rem. p. 104.

³ Hist. p. 240.

⁴ MS. Harl. 1319.

⁵ Ib. pl. xxxv. from a Register of Benefactors to St. Alban's abbey. Nero, D. VII.

⁶ Ib. pl. XLVI.

⁷ Ib. pl. XLVI.

⁸ Ib. pl. XLVI.

⁹ Ib. pl. XLVI.

¹⁰ Ib. pl. XLVI.

¹¹ Ib. pl. XLVI.

¹² Remains. p. 233.

¹³ Camden's Rem. p. 104.

¹⁴ Hist. p. 240.

¹⁵ Grafton, p. 661. Hollinſh. 1314. See Spelman in voce.

¹⁶ Strutt, pl. xx. p. 16.

¹⁷ Ib. pl. xix.

¹⁸ Ib. pl. xix.

¹⁹ Ib. pl. xix.

²⁰ Ib. pl. xix.

²¹ Ib. pl. xix.

²² Ib. pl. xix.

²³ Ib. pl. xix.

²⁴ Ib. pl. xix.

²⁵ Omne ornamentum aureum five argenteum erat damnatum nisi in talibus qui possent per annum expendere 10 libras, et ut nulli prius pretiosis aut pillis uterentur nisi qui possent expendere per annum 100 libras, Walslgh. v. E. III. p. 173. The continuation of Adam of Murimuth's hist. 1373 40 lib. which is most likely. Strutt II. 84.

²⁶ Remains. p. 233.

²⁷ A tippet round the neck, hanging down before. See Harl. MS. 219.

another weed of silk, which they call a *paltock*¹: their hose are of two colours, or pied with more², with white lachets, which they called *beelots*, they tie to their paltocks, without any breeches. Their girdles are of gold and silver, some worth twenty marks: their shoes and pattens are snowed and piked more than a finger long, crooking upwards, which they call *crackouets*, resembling the devil's claws, and fastened to the knees with chains of gold and silver."

Chaucer³ also makes the same complaint censuring "the cost of enbrouding, the disguyfing, endenting, or barring, ounding, paling, wynding, or bending, and semblable waste of clothe in vanitie: the cottlewe furring in hir gounes so much pounsoing of *chevel* to make holes, so much dagging of fheres, with the superfluite in length of the forefed gounes trailing in the dong and myre on hors and eke on foot, as well of man as of woman, that all thilke trayling is verely as in effect wasted, consumed, thred bare, and rotten with dong.— Upon the other side, to speak of the horrible disordinate scantyness of clothing as bene these cutted *shoppes* or *banfelines*⁴, that thro their shortnes cover not the shameful membres of men." He proceeds to inveigh against the party-coloured hose departed in white and red.

Petrarch, in his letter to the Pope, 1366⁵, expresses the same indignation at the monstrous fantastical fashions which his contemporaries had invented to deform, rather than adorn, their persons: the long pointed shoes, the caps with feathers, the hair twisted and hanging down with tails, the foreheads of the young men, as well as women, formed into furrows, with ivory headed pins, their bellies squeezed with cords, and the indecent parts of their dress offensive to every modest eye.

Harding, in his Chronicle, c. 193. f. 194. rebukes, in as strong terms, the waste of materials in the expensive fashions of this reign.

There was great pride among the officers,
And of all men surpassing their compiers,
Of riche array, and much more costious
Then was before or fith, and more pretious.
Yomen and gromes in cloth of silke arrayed,
Sattyn and damaske in the oublettes and gounes
In cloth of grene and scarlet for unpaid
Cut werke was great bothe in court and townes,
Bothe in mens hoddies and also in their gounes.
Brouder and furies, and goldsmith werke ay newe
In many a wyse eche day they did renewe.

Fabian⁶ says, in the reign of William Rufus "preistes used bushed and "breyded hedes, long tayled gownes, and blasfing clothes, shynyg and golden "girdelles, and road with guilt spurres with usyng of dyverse other enormities." All which Anselm would have corrected, but was not supported by his brethren the bishops. Henry I. enacted that priests should wear apparel of one manner of colour, and shoes after a comely fashion⁷.

¹ A close jacket like a waistcoat. Camden calls a jacket without sleeves a *haketum*. *Hogueton* was also a cloak.

² This was not confined to hose, but we meet with figures habited in gacouns divided in the middle first down, one side of one colour, and another quite different. In a Cotton MS. Nero D. VI. John of Gaunt, as High Steward of England is so represented. Strutt, Reg. Ant. Pl. xvi. where see others, pl. xxxix. A famous instance of this party-coloured fashion is in the portrait of Sir Anthony Browne, at Cowdry, who in such a motley dress is said to have espoused Anne of Cleves by proxy.

³ Parson's Tale, f. 103. 1598. Urry, p. 198. Tyrwhitt, III. 183.

⁴ *Transfers*, so short that tying at the hips could not reach below the thigh at most, and the hose were drawn up straight, and rolled up under them; which hanging loose round about must have been very indecent when a man stooped to the ground. Strutt, II. 85.

⁵ Opera, ed. Bafil. p. 812.

⁶ Chron. II. c. 234. p. 9.

⁷ Holinsh. p. 340.

Richard II. was so sumptuous in his apparel that Holinshed says he had, among other gorgeous suits, one coat of gold and precious stones valued at 3000 marks; and Sir John Arundel's wardrobe exceeded his master's, for he had a change of no less than fifty-two new suits of cloth of gold tiffue¹.

Chaucer thus describes the luxuriant drefs of the prelates of his time :

They hie on horfe willethe to ride,
In glitterande golde of grete arai,
Painted and portrid all in pride;
No common knight maie goe so gaie :
Chaunge of clothing every daie;
With golden girdels grete and small.

Miters they werin mo than two,
Iperlid as the Quen's hedde;
A staff of gold & pirrie lo!
As heivie as it were made of ledde,
With clothe of golde both newe & redde².

We are not to lay all the frefs that some do on the satirical representation which the Scots make of the fashions of Edward the Third's time. He learnt French fashions by his conquests; they adopted them by their alliances. While they represented us as if,

Long beerds besteles,
Peyntede whoods witles,
Gay cotes graceles,
Maketh Englonde thrifteles.

Walsingham³ seems to date the introduction of French fashions among us from the taking of Calais, 1347.

Of the same kind are the reproaches cast by a monk of Glaftenbury on the fashions that prevailed at the time of the institution of the round table at Windsor, 19 Edward III. "The Englishmen hawnted so moche unto the folye of strawngers that every yere thir clamyed em in diverse shappes and disgigges of clothenge; now longe, now large, now wide, now straite, and every day clothingges newe, and destitute and deferte from alle honeste off old array and gode ufage: and another tyme to shorte clothes and so streite waisted, with full sleeves and tapetes of furcotes and hodes over longe and large, all to naggede⁴ and knet on every side, and alle to flattercedde, and also botenedde that if yweth shalle say they weren more lyke to turmentours and develes in ther clothyng, and also in their schoyng and other array than thei semed to be like menne. And their wymmene weren more nycely arraiedde and paffed the menne in alle maner of araies and curious clothing; for thei weredde such streite clothes that they had long fortailles sewede withynne their garments to hold them forthe for to hede their posteriors⁵."

¹ Chron. p. 1119. See also Vita R. II. p. 156, before cited.

² Works by Urry, p. 179, in Henry's Hist. of England, IV. 587.

³ Hist. Angl. p. 108. Tunc superbire cepserunt matronæ Anglicanæ in apparatibus matronarum Gallie caliceam ("Caliceas").

⁴ nagged.

⁵ Douglas, Monk of Glaftenb. Harl. MS. 4690, f. 82. Strutt, II. 23.

As the heads of military men recline on helmets, with or without their crests; to those of kings and queens, ladies, ecclesiastics, &c. rest on single or double cushions, laid flat or anglewise on each other. The double cushion is called in the Lincolnshire church-notes of 1629, MS. in the British Museum, "a pillow and bolster." The supporters of these cushions are generally angels; but an old knight in Royston church, and the figure called *Severus* in York minster, have two lions.

To cushions in the 16th century succeeded the mat or matras, as under dean Colet; William Thynne, esq. 1584; Sir Francis Vere, 1608, at Westminster; though this was not unfrequent before, and the cushion is retained in some monuments of the later ages, as Sir Francis Norris in the time of Elizabeth at Westminster.

In Burford church, c. Oxon. under the figure of Sir Laurence Tanfield, baron of the Exchequer 1625, is his skeleton lying on a mat, exquisitely carved in marble.

The first instance of the *Garter* that has occurred to me on tombs is that of Sir Richard Pembridge, at Hereford¹. The next is Richard Vere earl of Oxford, at Earl's Colne, 4 Henry VI. Le Neve mentions it on Sir William Chamberlain, 1463, at East Harling². On all these it is round the left knee; and on the first round *both* knees. John Vere earl of Oxford, 1512, at Earl's Colne, has it on his mantle on the left shoulder; and so it is worn on the bras figures of the officers of the Order in St. George's chapel at Windsor. John de Vere earl of Oxford, who died 1539, on his monument in Castle Hedingham church, has it on the left shoulder of his mantle. We shall see it also worn by ladies.

Mr. Blomefield³ describes the habit of Sir Thomas Shardelov founder of Thompson college, c. Norfolk, on a stone before the college chapel in the parish church there as *like a priests*. In the Cordeliers church at Senlis is a monument of Janico du Halde *archer des ordonnance du roy notre seigneur de la compagnie de monsieur le duc de Lorraine sous le capitaine monsieur de Bajart, lequel trespassa a Senlis et fut enterre en habits de St. Francois le III jour de Juins, MXXIII*. He is represented in the monkish habit, with a cowl and cord, and holds in his hands a scroll inscribed, *Libera me domine de morte eterna*.

Guy de Dampierac, a monk in the Cordeliers church of Champagne, near the priory of Souvigny in Bourbonnois, has his habit and cowl and a knotted cord hanging down before him. John de Bassing, 1482, another monk in the cloister at St. Denys, has his hood over his eyes. A daughter of the good St. Louis wears the habit of St. Francis.

An article of dress common to both sexes was the *Ring*: worn among the Romans from the highest ranks to the lowest—of gold and iron. Pliny has a curious disquisition on the antiquity of this ornament, of which he finds no mention in Homer or the Trojan times. Whoever, says he, first introduced it, did it with hesitation, on the left hand, where it would not be seen, whereas if it had been deemed a mark of honour it would have been exhibited on the right⁴. Against the use of gold rings he thus exclaims, "*Pessimum vitæ scelus fecit qui id primus induit digitis*," and he takes every opportunity of inveighing against it. He says, the Gauls and Britans wore the ring on the middle finger⁵, but the Romans antiently on the third finger only⁶, for which he refers to the statues of Numa and Servius Tullius: then on the forefinger, as on the statues of the Gods: then on the little finger, and at last on several, some wearing on the little finger three rings, and some only the seal ring. Our figures on monuments, both of stone and bras, have it on all fingers.

¹ Pl. LIV. p. 135.

² Blomef. II. 224.

³ II. 629.

⁴ Quisquis primus instituit cunctanter id fecit, laevique manibus latentibus, cum si honos securus fuisset dextra fuerat ostentandus. N. H. XXIII. 1.

⁵ Gallie Britannique in medio [digito] dicuntur usæ. Ib.

⁶ For the physical reason of this, see Macrobi. Sat. vii. 13. Gellius, x. 10.

The number and situation of rings on antient statues are various. Bishops and abbots wear their rings on various fingers; either of a circular or oval form: the former principally appears on monuments: the latter has been dug up in the ruins of their palaces. A gold ring supposed to have been worn by Richard duke of York, because dug up on the spot where he was said to have been killed, and fenced round ever since, was bought out of Ralph Thoresby's Collection by Mr. Benj. Bartlett, who permitted it to be engraved in the new edition of Camden's Britannia, is of gold, circular, adorned with figures of saints, and this inscription within: *Pour bon amour*. I have seen such another found in the ruins of St. Alban's abbey, plain on the outside, and inscribed within. I have a third, with the inscription in relief on the outside, and set with a blue stone.

Our serjeants rings may be taken from those worn by the Roman judges'. Juvenal² shews they were worn by pleaders in his time, and that they sometimes made part of their fee.

Among the varieties of inscriptions on rings the following seem intended for wedding rings:

On an old silver ring adorned with two hands conjoined, *eu bou ar*.

On another gilt and broad, like a serjeant's, found at Calne, *Amour chef et*.

Within a brass one, with a heart, *Poun ceoꝝ le veut*: on the outside, *que vostre en soit*.

On a gold one found in Essex, ✠ *AMI AMES AMIE AVES*. and on another found in Sir John Webb's garden at Canford, Dorset, *AMIE AVEZ AMI AVEZ*.

On an old brass ring flat ferrated on the outside, *Lobe ledit me to mi lemen*. On the other side, *Jolie e't q' me porte*.

On a thick gold ring, within, *DYE. DONA. A. QVI. LV. PLEAT*.

A gold ring found in Suffolk, 1755, had on the outer circuit ten knobs, on the first a cross, on the rest characters which were read *Pour souvenir*.

One ploughed up near Castle Hedingham, Essex, had *en huzc loiall*.

Mr. Drake has engraved, in his Eboracum, p. cii. a ring with Runic characters, like one found at Harwood in Yorkshire, and shewn to the Society of Antiquaries 1737. 1740. Mr. Drake's was found on Bramham-moor, about 1734, and was quite plain, with square edges; the letters cut, raised, and filled up with enamel to a smooth surface. It might be the ring of some chieftain of the Danes, who stormed York, 1066, and were defeated by Harold at Stamfordbridge or Battleflats, where many relics of the battle are still found³. This ring weighed near five guineas, or one ounce six pennyweights, and was sold in London, among other like curiosities, by Whifton Bristow, 1765, for £.15.

Of the abbatial kind was a gold ring with a great alloy of silver, weight five pennyweights, found at Kirkstall abbey; shewn to the Society of Antiquaries by Dr. Byron. On it a crucifix, the Virgin and St. John: farther on St. Anthony's cross, a Tau, and within this inscription, *nul autre*.

A gold ring, or fibula, found at Canterbury, had on the outside, *Pensez li par risvici*. Within, *Je sui ici en liu*.

Another, silver, *Jelus nazarenus r*.

Another, silver, the middle made up of two hands conjoined, had the same inscription.

Another, silver, *IHSVS NAZARENVS REX*.

The same inscription seems to have been on a gold ring dug up at Alva, in the county of Sterling, 1766. diameter five eighths of an inch, weight twenty-seven grains.

Mr. Peck had a large silver ring, supposed of an abbot, with a capital *R*.

¹ Flid. xxxiii. l.

² Sat. vii. l. 40. 142.

³ Ebor. p. 83, 84.

Seals of arms and devises were worn on rings. The valuable antique¹ gems which frequently discover themselves among our monastic seals, were set in rings that were worn. Charles I. had a ring dial which he highly prized². George III. had the first ring watch. Demosthenes and Annibal carried poison in their rings.

A gold ring found at Durham-yard was oval, heavy, and set with a small blue stone carved with a star: a thinner of the like form, with a plain blue stone, found at Llandilo in Glamorganshire, 1760, and shewn to the Society of Antiquaries 1762. may have been episcopal; and a third of the same sort, of a substance between both these, was found in bishop Grosted's coffin. Archbishop Langham at Westminster has on the middle and left finger a seal ring, on the first of the same hand a plain one.

Andrew Richer bishop of Chalcedon, 1555, wears his rings over his gloves on his monument in Vauluifant abbey.

A lady in Harwood church has rings on the second, third, and fourth fingers of each hand.

A knight there has a ring on each third finger, and the half-handed gauntlets.

But no lady is so charged with them as the fair Matilda at Dunmow³, who has on her left little finger two together, on the third one, on the second two, separate, on both thumbs one square, and one on the middle, third, and little finger of her right hand.

On the beautiful monument in Methley church, c. York, with figures of Sir Robert Waterton and lady, in the time of Henry IV. she has rings on every finger, and several on some, and on every joint; also the same collar of SS as her husband. Dr. Nash, from Abingdon's MS collections, describes a lady at Dudley with the same collar⁴.

A mantle and ring were given to ladies who took on them the vow of chastity. See an admission of this kind 1393.

"15 Mar. 1393. Dña Blanchia relicta dñi Nichi Styvecle, milie' allegans ipam esse pchian. dñi Joh' epi Elien' eid' epo humiliter supplicans qd votum suum castitatis admittere et eidem mantellum et annulum intuitu caritatis conferre dignaretur, &c. et postea dca dña Blanchia in capella manii de Dodyngton Elien' dioc' coram summo altari in presencia dci rev' patris missam tunc ibdm solempniter celebrantis votum vovit solempniter castitatis prout sequitur in hec verba.

"Je Blanche jady femme de Monfr Nicholas de Styvecle, chevalier, vow a Dieu et a notre dame seinte Marie et a touz seinz en pñence de vous reverent pere en Dieu John per la grace de Dieu eveque d'Ely qe je fery chaste desorenavant ma vie durante.

"Et dictus rev. pater votum hujus recepit et admisit, et mantellum et annulum dce voventis solempniter benedixit et imposuit super eam presentib' ibm dñis Joh' Wynteprie rectore de Kertynge, Rob' Orum rectore de Graniden, Joh' Fendour pñito et Rob' Flat, notario publico."

Reg. Fordham epi Elien f. 181. b.

Henry III. in his picture over the shrine of Sebba in Westminster abbey has a ring on each little finger over his gloves.

Of the physical reasons for appropriating a particular finger to the wedding ring⁵, see Mr. Brand's edition of Bourne's Antiquities of the common people⁶; but he does not recollect the antiquity of this ring; that the Romans applied it so⁶, and their widding ring was of iron, and without a gem, so late as Pliny's time⁷. In this application as a pledge of love and fidelity it came to be worn by kings and sovereigns of all ranks⁸, as also by prelates and abbots, and the inscriptions before given are to be understood in this sense. It was considered as an earnest by the Goths⁹. Yet Pliny seems to think rings were at first worn rather as seals.

¹ Walpole, II. 49.

² Pl. VII.

³ Worcesterb. I. 361.

⁴ *quia in medio qñ quidam vena procedens usque ad cor*, says the rubric of the Salisbury manual, 1542, which directs, "that the man is to put the ring on the woman's thumb, saying, *In nomine patris*; on the forefinger, *et filii*; on the middle finger, *et spiritus sancti*; and on the third, *Amen*."

⁵ P. 333, 334.

⁶ *Et digito pignus fortasse dedisti*. Juvenal, sat. vi. 27. Tertullian calls it *annulus prandatus*.

⁷ l'bi sup.

⁸ So the Doge of Venice *wed* the Adriatic, over whom he is sovereign, by throwing a ring into it annually.

⁹ Du Cange in voce.

THE hardest task yet remains—to describe the varied fashions of female apparel: fashions more varied than any held forth on the cloak of Asmodeus, whether the waists of my fair countrywomen were confined in the stiff boddice or furcoat and their auburn tresses in the reticulated headdress of the fourteenth century; or nature left in her more graceful proportions in flowing robes of blazonry and embroidery, and female coiffeure more bedeckt with drapery and flowing tresses in the fifteenth century. Dr. Henry thinks it would be *ungraceful* to dwell on this subject, and therefore gives but one specimen, the high headdress. How much must Antiquaries regret the want of Newspapers, to record the fashions of the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, which require some industry to pick them out of Glossaries! The grave recitals of historians shew however that fashions were not so changeable as in the eighteenth.

The Norman Queen Matilda is attired like a matron on her great seal in Sandford; while the consort of Edward I. unbinds her tresses, lets her mantle fall about her shoulders, or fastens it by a cordon on her breast, and then folds it gracefully near her feet. So this fair example of conjugal affection is attired on her monument in Westminster abbey¹, her tresses falling gracefully on her shoulders. The attitude of Isabel of Arragon, first wife of Philip the Hardy king of France, who died 1271, is the same on her tomb at St. Denys². Her granddaughter the German Philippa is vested in nearly the same manner which she less becomes, and her hair is confined in the stiff reticulated full dress. Montfaucon gives the first instance of this stiff hair-dressing in the effigy of Beatrix countess of Clermont daughter-in-law of St. Louis, and calls it and her coronet *extraordinary*; her shoes also are long and pointed³. Richard the Second's consort, perhaps *à la Bohemienne*, is without the mantle, her hair dishevelled, her sleeves lengthened below her wrists. Eleanor of Woodstock appears in the habit of a nun, which she assumed at Barking on the untimely death of her lord. Joan of Navarre, queen of Henry IV. is habited in looser and richer garments, perhaps after the fashion of her own country, her neck and breasts bared and decked with jewels; but her headdress reticulated. The next royal female is the venerable Margaret countess of Richmond, in her ermine robes, with a veil falling back. The queen of Scots and Elizabeth her rival scarcely come within our plan.

The first instance in this work is the lady of Alberic de Vere earl of Oxford 1215, formerly in wood, at Earl's Colne⁴. She is habited in a close mantle with precious stones. Her headdress gathered close under her chin, and bound in part by a fillet studded in like manner; a cordon hangs from her shoulders on her breast.

The next specimen is about thirty years later, of Jane wife of Thomas lord Berkeley, who died 1243, and is buried in Bristol cathedral⁵; she has the mantle gathered over her arms, and falling first to her knees, and then to her feet: on her head an hood fastened under her chin, and falling over her ears on her shoulders.

From hence an interval of about fifty years more carries us to Queen Eleanor, 1290, who has the mantle close round the neck, open in front till below the knees, and on her flowing hair a coronet⁶.

Between the two last should come in Aveline countess of Lancaster, whose dress on her monument in Westminster abbey, as described by Sir Joseph Ayloffe, is a loose robe, over that a mantle in elegant foldings reaches down to her feet.

¹ Pl. XXIII. p. 63.

² Montf. II. p. 163. Pl. XXVIII. 15.

³ Pl. XIV.*.

⁴ Montf. II. XXXV. 5.

⁵ Pl. IX. f. 4.

⁶ Pl. XXIII.

On her head is a *coif*, which a little below her temples joins to a *barbe* that passes over the lower part of her chin and covers her neck¹.

These are all my authorities in the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth we have the lady in Worcester cathedral, p. 80. and another there, who both have the same mantle gathered up shorter, before it falls to the feet, a deeper *barbe* and plainer *coif*. Lady Warren, as called, at Worcester has the wimple very deep, and reaching almost to her mouth. The mutilated statues on the sides of Aymer de Valence and John of Eltham's monuments² are instances of the same kind.

To particularize a little the several parts of dress here mentioned :

In the earlier periods the tresses were left to their natural flow, as those of queen Matilda beforementioned. The coiffure of the 13th century concealed the hair intirely. In the middle of the 14th century, as cloister headdress was introduced, the hair was shewn only in curls on the forehead, and covered with a veil, as on Joan de Cobham, 1354³.

What objection the ladies had to the display of the hair (the greatest ornament of the human face) is hard to say: it was certainly more becoming, however formal, than either the fashions which soon succeeded, or perhaps obtained at the same time (the end of the fourteenth century) of muffling up the whole head and almost the face in drapery, or of purfing up the hair in protuberant nets, which covered the ears, or, which was still more ugly, was raised above them. This latter fashion appears at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The *reticulated headdress* appears first on our monuments and those on the continent about the middle of the fourteenth century. Perhaps it was introduced into England by queen Philippa, who died 1369, and has it on her monument⁴.

Lady Berkeley at Berkeley, 1360, has the long close headdress, adorned with net work of quatrefoils, a strait robe reaching up to her chin, and parting just below it; a border with a cordon⁵. It continued with us as late as the beginning of the 15th century, as appears on the brais of Joan wife of Richard son of Robert lord Poynings, in St. Helen's church, Bishopsgate, 1420, whose veil folds over it in front of the head in form of a furbaist arch, like that of the lady of Judge Gascoigne, near the same time, in Harwood church, Yorkshire, who has also the reticulation. John of Gaunt's duchess in Old St. Paul's had the reticulation with the pediment.

The queen of Rene of Anjou, and Joan de Dreux lady of Seirant, 1356, have the close reticulated headdress. The latter, with her husband, are represented kneeling on a monument of the 16th century, in St. George's abbey, near Angers.

It is not faithfully represented in the engravings of Mary wife of Frank van Halen lord of Lillo 1415, in the metropolitan church of Malines in the Theatre de Brabant⁶; and Matilda countess of Spanheim, at Hemenrode, 1357, who has also the long buttoned sleeves⁷.

The hair of Cecilia Kerdeston⁸ is richly dressed in three rows. That of Maud de Cobham, in the same plate, fig. 2. in one mass of zigzag work, in five rows, which appears again at the bottom of the tresses. She has a single row of jewelry on her forehead. That of Catherine wife of Sir John Harlick, who died 1384, has the plaited or braided hair only at the sides of the face, it being left *à la nature* on the crown, and a studded fillet on the forehead. Joan dutchess of Burgundy first wife of Philip de Valois, who died 1348, has the same headdress⁹. The wife of Sir Miles Stapleton shews the same plaiting at the ears, while her hair on her forehead curling naturally is incircled by a studded fillet. Sir

¹ Sir Joseph Ayloffe, p. 5.

² Pl. XXXII.

³ Pl. XXXIX.

⁴ Pl. XLIX.

⁵ Pl. XLIV.

⁶ l. 48.

⁷ Adm Theod. Palat. III. p. 49.

⁸ Pl. XXXIX. 3.

⁹ Montf. II. XLIX. 3. Les cheveux tressés d'une manière particulière.

Thomas Chaucer's lady at Ewelme wears a veil covering the whole of her head. In all or most of these cases I doubt whether the hair be inclosed in net work, as the Spaniards of both sexes do up theirs in silken *redenillas*, over which the women throw a veil, or gathered up in some kind of cloth as seems to be the case on lady Beauchamp's figure at Warwick¹, in which such plaits as these evidently appear to come round and finish in a facing of that sort; and on that of Isabel duchess of Clarence, about 1477, at Tewksbury, it is more strongly markt. These were the antient *couverchefts*, in after times called *kerchiefs*.

One of the Marmon ladies at Tanfield, about the reign of Henry III. or Edward I. has a close short cap shewing her ears, but no hair.

Later ladies dressed their hair closer, with a narrow studded fillet: the gown plaited, large loose sleeves, mittens, and girdle. A little figure in Cheshunt church age unknown has close braided hair, with this close headdress and fillet, her ears left uncovered: she wears a kind of loose gown or frock, with bag sleeves close at the wrist, a standing cape or collar, and mittens on her hands.

We see the headdresses of the 14th century tricked and frowned in proportion as much as in Drayton's time².

With dressing, braiding, frowning, flowering,

All your jewels on me pouring.

Or as Spenser describes³,

Some frounce⁴ their curled hair in courtly guise,

Some prauiche their ruffles——.

The female headdress of the 14th century appears by the picture of Isabel queen of Edward II. before cited, in a MS of Froissart, in the king of France's library⁵, to have been of the sugar-loaf or conical form, very high, with lace floating in the air: a fashion which Montfaucon observes continued in France near two centuries, to the end of the fifteenth. A lady in Mr. Walpole's picture of Henry VI. whom he takes for Jaqueline duchess of Bedford, in a *widow's* habit, has the same headdress.

So have several ladies in Montfaucon, who calls it a *conic* ornament, which continued in fashion near two centuries, and on Mary of Burgundy, wife of the Emperor Maximilian, appears of an extraordinary length, having fastened on the top a very long gauze, which hangs down on both sides to the ground⁶. This is the origin of our lappets. Isabel de Bourbon wife of Charles duke of Burgundy has the same headdress, which Montfaucon there calls a *sugarloaf*, from the form, whence falls a gauze so fine and loose that though it covers her eyes and the greatest part of her face, her features are seen distinctly through⁷. Isabel de Maille wife of John de Brie wears that great pointed headdress which continued near two centuries, and lasted till near the end of the fifteenth⁸. See also Margaret of Scotland, who married the Dauphin of France, son of Charles VII. 1436⁹.

When Isabel of Bavaria, the vain voluptuous consort of Charles VI. of France, kept her court at Vincennes, 1416, it was found necessary to make all the doors of the palace both higher and wider, to admit the headdresses of the queen and her ladies¹⁰. Her rich dress and train may be seen in Montfaucon, who adds, we have not yet seen a queen so set off as she¹¹.

The high headdress was however in fashion fifty years before; as we see by the dutchess of Bretagne, 1341¹².

¹ Pl. L.

² Nov. Elyf. Nymph. II. vol. IV. p. 146.

³ F. Q. I. IV. 14.

⁴ from *frounce*, Fr. to curl.

⁵ Montf. II. XLII. p. 233.

⁶ Montf. IV. vi. p. 59.

⁷ III. LXIV. 2.

⁸ Ib. III. p. 166. Pl. LIX.

⁹ Ib. III. XXXVIII.

¹⁰ Jouvenal des Ursins gives this curious account of them: "Et quelque guerre qu'il y eut, tempêtes et tribulations, les dames et damoilles menaient grands & excellents états, et cornes merveilleuses, hautes et longues, et avoient de chacun côté, en lieu de bourses, deux grandes oreilles si longues que quand ils vouloient passer l'uis d'une chambre il falloit qu'elles se tournassent de côté et baussassent, ou elles n'en eussent pu passer." Brantome says, "Ou donne le las à la reine Isabelle de Baviere, femme de roi Charles VI. d'avoir apporté en France les pompes & les gorgafesez pour bien habiller superbement et gorgafement les dames." Hist. de la Reine Marguerite.

Villaret, XIII. 423. Montfaucon, t. 39. col. 2. Pasquier, p. 578. Henry's Hill, of England, V. 557.

¹¹ III. xxv. p. 108.

¹² II. XLV. p. 256.

To support the breadth of these dresses they had a kind of artificial horn on each side of the head, bending upwards, on which many folds of ribbands and other ornaments were suspended. From the top of the horn on the right side a streamer of silk, or some other light fabric, was hung, which was sometimes allowed to fly loose, and sometimes brought over the bosom, and wrapt about the left arm¹. These horned headdresses, imperfectly represented by Mr. Strutt² from illuminated MSS. are what are otherwise called *mitred*, and seem to have been introduced about the reign of Richard II.

The headdresses described by Rofs as before cited as "*tiara alta et cornuta*," and known to antiquaries by the name of *mitred*, is not so common on foreign as on English monuments, though frequent in illuminations in Montfaucon's tome III. Mr. Pennant³ calls it a remarkable *mitre-shaped cap*, describing the monument of Sir Thomas and lady Boteler, in Warrington church, about the time of Edward the First. I am led to distrust my own conjecture on the monuments assigned to the Fitz Walter family at Dunmow, where the knight has *plated* armour, and the lady the *mitred* headdresses; both which were not introduced till two centuries later. I can only plead the tradition of the place, supported by the register of the house, and suppose the monuments made so long after the time of the persons' death that no regard was paid to the dress of the time when they lived. Compare my print of this monument with that in Antiq. Repert. III. p. 17. Matilda has what Montfaucon would call the *Mortier*, the mantle, the strait-bodied long-sleeved tunic, a collar of SS. and a profusion of jewels and rings. No figure like hers is to be found in the Monumens de la Monarchie Française.

The headdress of lady Say, 1473, in Broxborn church, resembles a cylinder with hoops, having wires at the end to buoy out the flowing veil. She has a kind of falling double cape of fur and lace, and a jacket under her surcoat reaching to the knee. Joande Bokenham, in Great Livermore church, Suffolk, and a lady at Long Melford in the same county, about 1425, has such an headdress.

The headdress was sometimes pointed at top like a pediment. So Aubrey describes the wife of one of the Mortimers earl of March, in the time of Edward III. in Maule church, c. Hereford. He says it was made of velvet or cloth embroidered. Henry the Seventh's Queen, in a picture by Holbein, at Whitehall, is such. Such is Anne Bulleyn's reputed portrait at Hever Castle, at Knoll, &c.

Margaret countess of Salisbury, daughter of the king-maker earl of Warwick, beheaded 1541, has this kind of headdress like so many on tombs⁴. It came in about the reign of Henry VII. and is very common on stone figures, brasses, and pictures. I have not found one instance of it out of this country.

Instances of this divided headdress not so high are to be found among the house of Bourbon in the middle of the 15th century, on Mary wife of Peter d'Orgemont, 1470⁵, and two other ladies of the reign of Louis XII⁶. on which last Montfaucon observes⁷, that they are dressed in the habit of the times, and their headdress is extraordinary, and both dressed alike. See also two ladies about the middle of the 14th century⁸; and the two peaks gradually diminished almost to a concave form in the monuments of the succeeding age. On the ladies of the Funtayne family at Narford, c. Norfolk, 1453.⁹ these peaks appear to the veil, which on one of the wives is flat, as on lady Harcourt about 1470.

The *barbe* or *wimple* was a kind of chin-cloth of fine linen, worn by mourners. No lady under the degree of a baroness was permitted to wear it on her chin. Knights wives were to wear it under their chins; and esquires' wives and

¹ Montf. II. pl. VI.

² II. xlv.

³ Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 10.

⁴ See Antiq. Repert. IV. 169.

⁵ Montf. IV. 11. 5.

⁶ Ib. Pl. after xxviii. 2. 3.

⁷ IV. p. 146

⁸ III. civ. 8, 9.

⁹ Blomef. III. 522.

gentlewomen of note wore them beneath their throats¹. This is the observation of Sir Joseph Ayloffe, in describing that of Aveline, but we have no authority for it.

Mr. Pennant² describes a figure in an arch in the wall of Warrington church in a long robe muffled up to the chin; a ghastly figure; the head wrapt in a fort of cap, and bound with a neat fillet. What idea does this description convey? or is the ghastly figure a priest or a lady in a wimple?

Gymple and *furcot* are female habits in the Roman de la Rose, l. 8916. 9349.

D'ung chapperon en lieu de voile.

Sur la *Guimple* eust couverte sa teste. l. 1343

The wife of Bath was *ywimpled* well³.

It appears to perfection on the brass figures of Joan wife of John Cobham, and the lady at Worcester, in the 14th, and on the figure of countess Aveline in the 13th century; and remarkably well plaited on one of abbeesses at Elnitow. It is also plaited on the wife of Sir Thomas Chaucer at Ewelme, 1436.

Amelia wife of Lewis Elector of Bavaria, 1502, has the wimple over her mouth⁴; and so has Margaret wife of Henry III. duke of Brunfwic, 1528. On a bust in the ceiling of Lincoln cloister it assumes a different form, as if pinned up under the chin to the coif⁵.

In France we see the wimple on Isabel d'Alencon, Mary de Bretagne, and Isabel d'Artois, nuns of St. Louis de Poissy, about 1350, 1344, 1371, very stiff, like a chin-cloth, with a strait gorget, on Margaret countess of Evreux, 1311, in the Jacobines church at Paris, and Alice countess of Bretagne, 1221, at Ived de Brain; and with the gorget plaited on Joan queen of Navarre, 1349, over her heart in the same church, and on the statue over her corpse at St. Denis. Catherine duchess Alencon, in the Carthusian church at Paris, 14. . . Thiephaine la Magine wet nurse of Mary of Anjou and her brother René king of Sicily has the wimple and divided headdress on her tomb at Notre Dame de Saumur, 1458. Her figure holds the children swaddled in her hands, and over her is this tender epitaph:

Cy gist la nourrice Thiephaine
La magine qui ot grant paine
A nourrir de let en enfance
Marie d'Anjou Roïne de France
Et apres son frere Rene
Duc d'Anjou et depuis nome
Comme encor et roy de Seille
Qui a voulu en ceste ville
Pour grant amour de nourriture
Faire la sepulture
de l'un a l'autre du debitoir saquiete
pour avoir grace et tout deduit
M CCC C cinquante et huit
du moys de mars xiiij jour.
Je vous prie tous par bon amour
affin quelle ait un pou du Vre
donnez luy un patre nostre.

¹ Sir J. Ayloffe ubi sup. note.

² Chaucer, l. 472.

³ Voy. to the Hebrides, p. 10.

⁴ Ryner, Monumenta Landgraviorum Thuringie, &c.

⁵ Carter, N° 8.

Helen de Melun countess of Eu, 1472, in the abbey church of St. Anthony at Paris, has the like dress.

It appears slit in front on Joan countess of Dreux, 1375, in the abbey of Eu, whose husband was killed at a tournament on his wedding-day, 1365.

Isabel lady of Noion sur Andele, 1209, has it on her tomb at Joyenval abbey.

On Aveline's coif is a long *Paris hood*, which falls down in easy folds to the front part of her shoulders¹. This I call the veil.

On the head of Philippa duchess of York, in Westminster, 1474, it is finely plaited; as also of lady Montacute at Christ Church, Oxford, 1354, where it is blended with the reticulated headdress.

Eleanor duchess of Gloucester has a plaited headdress; under it her wimple is also plaited. She is a complete pattern of female dress, and her cordon terminates in tassels.

As the wimple, muffler, or neckerchief, gathered up to the chin appears first among us on Aveline countess of Lancaster, who was dead before 4 Edward I. so in France on Joan wife of Alfonso brother of St. Louis, who died 1261, and on Isabel a daughter of the same king, who died 1269, and is represented in the habit of the order of St. Francis, with his cord round her waist²; and though another religious lady has it³, it is not confined to the religious habit, but worn by others in the following century⁴.

Margaret queen of St. Louis wears the same neckerchief on his tomb at St. Denis⁵. Joan d'Evreux, third wife of Charles the Fair, 1370⁶; and Joan of Navarre, queen of Philip the Fair, on her statue at the gate of the college of Navarre⁷. Joan has the buttons on her long close sleeves, and two dogs at her feet. Eleanor duchess of Gloucester has the same close long buttoned sleeves.

The veil is either *pendant* or gathered up over the head as a part of the mantle, and tied under the chin; the first is the more usual fashion: the last appears on the figure of Yoland de Montaign in Montfaucon⁸.

Montfaucon makes the veil a mark of widowhood in the 14th century⁹; as the antient stole or veil covering the head and shoulders was worn only by such of the Roman matrons as were distinguished for the strictness of their modesty.

The Carpenter's wife in Chaucer wore a white *volupere*, or cap, tied with tapes of the same suit of here colore, with a fillet brode of silk, and set full high. The *volupere* worn by men was a night cap¹⁰.

Mr. Brydges¹¹ mistakes the habit of a married woman, 1437, in Wollaston church, for that of a *nun*, probably only from her veil; but why he gives her husband a *religious* habit I cannot guess.

The garment called the *Surcot* appears of different lengths. It is explained by Du Cange¹² *Robe à femme, superbumerale*, and the longer kind is thus described in the MS Gesta Erminæ cujusdam puellæ Remis, an. 1396, in St. Victor's library at Paris. "Il me vint deux femmes qui portoient *seurcos* plus longs qu'elles " n'estoient environ une aulne, et falloit qu'elles portassent en leurs bras ce qui " estoit bas ou il trainnast a terre, et avoient aussi poingnes en leur *seurcos* pendans " aus coudes &c leurs tetins trouffes en hault." By this last circumstance it should seem to have been of the stay or boddice kind. It was forbidden to nuns and abbesses by the council of Treves, 1227.¹³ Monks were also forbid-

¹ Sir Joseph Ayloffe's Account.

² Montf. II. xix. 1. 2.

³ Ib. xxi. 4.

⁴ Ib. xxxiv. 7.

⁵ l. 4301.

⁶ In voce.

⁷ Ib. xxxvi. 1.

⁸ Ib. xliii. 6.

⁹ III. 20. Pl. 14.

¹⁰ II. p. 199.

¹¹ Du Cange, v. *surcotus*.

¹² Ib. xxxviii. 4. 6. 9.

¹³ Ib. xxxviii. 4.

den to wear it'. Such an habit was worn by foldiers at home, but not permitted on service'. In a MS. cited by Charpentier in voc. *Surcotium*, the long and short furcot are expressly distinguished, and the latter has sleeves to it. "Un *furcot long de mabre fourré de gros ver, un furcot de mabre fourré de gros ver, a manches fourrees de leaffes.*" So also Phil. Moufkes in Carolo M.

A tousjours en ivier fi ot
A mances un noviel *furcot*
Fourre de vair & de goupis
Pour garder son corps & son pis.

And in Vitæ patrum MSS among female apparel are enumerated,

Lor *seurcors* at lors cortes botes,
Et font faire les *longes cotes*
Ou a sept aunes et demie.

The materials of which the short furcot was composed, here called *mabre*, were cloth or stuff of various colours, or, as we should now say, *marbled* pattern. *Mabre* or *maubre*, or the Latin *marbrinus*, *marbretus*, or *mebretus*, being all derived from the French *marbre*, and explained *pannus ex filis diversis et varii coloris textus*, or *draps tixus de diverses laines comme marbres ou camelins*. A MS cited by Charpentier has "*supertunicale de marbreto fourratum de bougre.*" Another mentions "*une cote de marbre nueve a femme*". The several colours of this *marbre* are recited in an ancient account book, 1351¹, *verdelet, ver-meillet, brousequin, caigne, acole, de graine, dofen*.

As a *long* boddice or gown open at the arms like it, and of a piece with it, the furcot appears on Joan queen of Navarre, at St. Denis, 1349²; Joan queen of Charles V.³ and three princeesses of that reign⁴; Mary daughter of Charles IV. 1341⁵; Blanche de Navarre, 1349⁶; Blanche de France, 1392⁷; also on Philip and John sons of Louis VIII. who died young, before their father, who died 1226⁸; and on Catharine countess of Vendôme, 1412.⁹

The furcot and gown and mantle appear united with the mitred headdress in the portraits of a family in the windows of the abbey church of St. Pere at Chartres. Margaret de Feireres wife of John lord de Flonguy and Pomerel, 1414, in Eftree abbey, Normandy, has the reticulated headdress and furcot, and her arms are horse-shoes.

Margaret de Pafi a jolly dame in the church of Chartres near Melun, 1357, has a plain full furcot and petticoat, and buttoned long sleeves, mantle and wimple, and reticulated headdress, shewing very little hair. Agnes d'Autun, in the same church, is habited in the same style, but without a mantle, and has a little coronet.

Of this form it appears on Isabel duchess of Clarence at Tewksbury¹⁰.

In its shorter form, Montfaucon first gives it the name of *furcot*, when he describes it on Mary of Burgundy wife of the Emperor Maximilian, who died 1481,¹¹ and on whom it appears intirely of furr. *Elle porte*, says he, *un furcot d'hermines*. It continued to the middle of the 16th century, and he gives on Sufanne de Coefmes wife of Louis lord of Rouille and Granville, "*sur le baut de sa juppe elle port un furcot a la maniere ancienne*".¹² *Surcot* is also mentioned in the list

¹ Stat. Conrad archiepi Colonienfis. ² Du Cange, v. *Surcotum*, ex constitutionibus Frederici regis Sicilie, c. 96.

³ The *tunica audas*, or *hardiata*, or *cote arde*, a garment common to both sexes, but expressly distinguished from the *supertunicale* or *furcot*, was also made of *marbre*, and faced with furr. Charpentier, v. *Hardiata tunica*.

⁴ Comput. Steph. de Font. argent. reg. Charpent. v. *Marbreus*.

⁵ Montf. II. L. 3.

⁶ Ib. III. xii. 5.

⁷ III. XIII. i. 3. 4.

⁸ Ib. XLIX. 6.

⁹ Ib. 4.

¹⁰ Ib. 5.

¹¹ Ib. II. XVIII.

¹² Ib. III. XXXIV. 2.

¹³ IV. vi. p. 59.

¹⁴ In Rons's life of Richard Beauchamp earl of Warwick, Bib. Cot. Jul. E. IV. engraved in Strutt, II. xli. the press of Germany has it; but her attendants and the English ladies, pl. XLIX. at the beginning of the 15th century, have it like a modern day.

¹⁵ IV. XLIX. 4. p. 365.

of apparel before cited from the *Roman de la Rose*, l. 9348, and in Chaucer's *Flower and Leaf*, l. 141. The first instance of it in France I find in the figure of Isabel of Bavaria queen of Charles VI.¹ It appears in four different sorts of dresses: first, open like a mere border, on Gillette de la Fontaine wife of Hamon Raguier, treasurer to Charles VI.² and on Joan de Sancerre, in the fourteenth century, who has a stomacher in front over it³; also on the queen of Charles V⁴, and on Joan wife of John duke of Berry son of Charles VI. about 1389, and her two daughters⁵. Secondly, the like open border with a stomacher over it in front on Jaqueline de Montagu⁶. Thirdly, the border and stomacher of one piece, as on Joan de Bouchard⁷ and Agnes de Bourgogne⁸; in which last instance it ends in a strait line; and on Valentina daughter of John Galeazzo Visconti duke of Milan and wife of Louis duke of Orleans, 1408⁹; and on Blanche de Couci wife of Hugh count de Rouci, 1395¹⁰, it assumes a different form. On the wife of Olivier de Clifion constable of France, who has also the reticulated headdress, it is of fur¹¹, as on Valentina before mentioned; and on Margaret of Orleans, 1466¹²; on Joan daughter of king John¹³; and on Frances d'Amboise. On Agnes de Bourgogne wife of Charles I. duke of Bourbon, in the middle of the 15th century¹⁴; the stomacher and surcot are of one piece; Montfaucon says her dress has nothing uncommon¹⁵. Lastly, the wife of Denis de Chailly of the same date, has surcot, jacket, and sleeves, all of one piece¹⁶. Isabel wife of John de Brie lord of Serrant has a close jacket or bodice with sleeves, but no border¹⁷. The stomacher is also varied. On Mary daughter of Charles IV. 1341. it is divided and square¹⁸; and on Margaret de Beaujeu, 1336¹⁹, divided and pointed; on Joan queen of Navarre, 1349²⁰, and Mary countess of Evreux, 1379²¹, single, and rounded off at the point. It has frequently a fillet of jewels running down the middle²².

The surcot is also worn by Joan daughter of Louis Hutin and her daughter Blanche of Navarre²³.

The countess of Roucy, 1410, at Yved de Braine, has the surcot fluted in front, the gown with long sleeves powdered with spread eagles, and the skirt emblazoned, a coiffeure of jewels and lappets loose at the sides; her head on a blazoned cushion. Another countess of Roucy, 1396, has the wimple and veil, mantle blazoned, lined with ermine, which appears in an elegant fall, a strait gown, with bag sleeves, and under them within her cushion, blazoned at the ends, but plain under her head.

Catharine d'Alençon duchess in Bavaria countess Mortaign wife of Yefme de St. Silvaing and du Thuit in Normandy, who died 1462, has on her monument in the church of St. Genevieve du Mont, the veil, wimple, mantle, gown, mitten sleeves, surcot faced with precious stones. So has Catharine d'Alençon wife of Peter de Navarre earl of Mortain, 1412, in the Carthusian church at Paris; but her surcot is *over* her mantle, and her headdress stiffer. Catharine countess of Vendôme, in St. George's church at Vendôme, has a cordon fastened like an escutcheon before her surcot; her sleeves end in wristbands. The same cordon is on Mary of Spain countess d'Evreux wife of Charles d'Alençon²⁴. Isabel d'Artois, 1379, at the abbey of Eu, has the surcot over the mantle, which falls back, and mitten sleeves; so has Helen de Melun wife of Charles d'Artois count of Eu, 1472, in the abbey of St. Anthoine at Paris. Joan de Sau-

¹ Montf. III. xxv.

² III. ix.

³ Ib. xiv. 4. 6.

⁴ Ib. xxv. 5.

⁵ Ib. xiii. 2.

⁶ Montf. III. liv. 6.

⁷ III. 4.

⁸ III. l. 7. 9. li. 4. li. liv. 8.

⁹ Ib. III. xxxvi. 9.

¹⁰ III. xxviii. 5.

¹¹ Ib. l. 5.

¹² Lobineau, l. 678.

¹³ Ib. III. l. 5. p. 261.

¹⁴ Ib. liv. 4.

¹⁵ Ib. II. 288. pl. l. 4.

¹⁶ Ib. pl. xlix. 4.

¹⁷ Ib. II. lii. 3.

¹⁸ III. xxxvi. 4.

¹⁹ III. xxvii. 2.

²⁰ Montf. III. lvi. 3.

²¹ n'a rien que d'ordinaire.

²² II. xlii. 6.

²³ li. 2.

²⁴ li. 2.

veuve wife of Charles d'Artois count of Eu, who died 1448, has the same furcot and wristband-sleeves, but no mantle, on her tomb in Eu abbey church.

Blanche of Navarre, second wife of Philip de Valois, who died 1398; Blanche countess of Beaumont, daughter of Charles the Fair, 1392; Mary daughter of Charles IV. 1341; and Joan daughter of Louis Hutin and wife of Philip count d'Evreux, 1349; and other ladies of this period¹, have some habit like a bib and apron or long stomacher, under their mantles and over their gowns. The statue of the latter lady, on the tomb which contains her heart in the Dominican church at Paris², has on its head, instead of a coronet, only a circle, or a kind of mortier, like her husband; and Mary countess d'Alençon, 1379³, has a studded strap that hangs down over her long furcot in front.

With us it is first seen on Edward the Third's infant daughter Blanch de la Tour, who has a plain border over her furcot, which is buttoned in front; also the long close buttoned sleeves and mantle, fastened across the breast, but no cordon. See also the portrait of Joan wife of the Black Prince, in Strutt, pl. xxxv. A Marmion at Tanfield, supposed of the reign of Henry III. or Edward I. has it.

Margaret wife of John de Vere earl of Oxford, who died 1513, had the furcot and apron, the former faced with ermine, with long close sleeves: a triangular cordon confines her mantle: round her neck a necklace, and on her head a studded mortar or filleted coronet.

The mantle of Maud de Cobham⁴ is fastened below the neck with a double cord to two roses. Her justaucorps has a petticoat with a long fringe.

The wife of Richard Poynings, 1420, before mentioned, has the same justaucorps, but terminated in folds: the upper part of it above the cordon is inscribed *ihu, mcy*! Lady Crosby has a justaucorps exactly fitted to her shape.

The dress of Margaret de Beaujeu wife of Charles de Montmorenci, who died 1336, a mantle letting her arms through the flits, Montfaucon notes as very remarkable⁵.

The lady of Sir Richard Harcourt, who was slain 1470, has a furcot and apron, and close robe, the sleeves buttoned to the wrist; over it a loose mantle, gathered over and under her feet: a falling veil covers her head, and conceals her hair. The garter is round her left arm just above the elbow. This is the third instance of a lady with the garter; the countess of Suffolk at Ewelme is the second, and has the same dress, with a double cordon, the mantle folded over and under her feet, the garter round her left wrist, the veil and wimple to her chin, and a coronet on her head.

The wife of Oudart Huart, at Orcamp, 1259, has her mantle powdered in front with shields of her arms. Her arms come out as from a horseman's great coat, leaving the mantle close in front.

In Estoire abbey is a figure of a lady in a mantle, long buttoned sleeves, wimple, and veil. At the sides of the tomb six figures, two or three religious, a woman in a pointed bonnet, a man in hood and doublet, a woman reclining on right arm, which rests on left hand; the sixth may also be a religious.

The cape of the mantle is unbuttoned in front, and falling down, on the figure of Mary wife of John de Bretigni, undated, in Orcamp abbey.

Joan de St. Verain, 1297, has a large cape with buttons to her mantle, like that of a horseman's great coat⁶. Such appears on the figure of judge Gascoigne's lady at Harwood; her waist is remarkably short, and the justaucorps plaited and girt round it with a broad belt fastened with a large buckle. The ladies of John Funtayn's family, at Narford in Norfolk, 1453, have the same kind of belt almost

¹ Montf. II. XLIX. 4, 5, 6.

² A third instance of double statues, to be added to those before mentioned.

³ Ib. LI. 2.

⁴ Pl. XLIV.

⁵ Ib. LIII. 4.

⁶ Ib. XXXIX. 2.

up to their breasts over plaited gowns. So also Joan Bokenham, at Great Livermore, 1425.

The contemporary varieties of female dresses in France will be found to correspond with these abovementioned. Constance second wife of Louis the younger is girt round her waist with a belt, on her tomb in the church of Barbeau¹.

The Queens of Henry the Second, John, and Richard the First, have the same belt on their tombs at Fontevraud and l'Esplan. The first and last have the veil falling back, and the wimple under the chin². Blanche queen of Louis VIII. has the same belt, and in one instance her robe is faced with what P. Montfaucon calls *vair* and *vair renverse*, and which is the same with miniver, (of which hereafter), with which the mantles of ladies are faced and lined in innumerable French monuments. So Alice wife of Peter de Dreux, 1221, on her seal in Reg. Hon. Richmond, and Joan wife of Dreux de Trainel, 1297³.

Agnes duchess of Dreux, who was living 1202, has the same kind of buckled belt on her tomb⁴; but on her seal is swathed round the waist by a different bandage, and wears long hanging sleeves⁵; as does lady Stapleton, 1365⁶. Agnes has at her girdle a purse⁷, like our modern work bags. So Petronilla, wife of Relude Marcelles, on a coffin-fashioned stone in Royaumont abbey. A lady in the choir at Nanteuil has a very small one.

The Carpenter's wife in Chaucer had

—by hir girdle hung a purse of lether,
Tasseled with silk and perled with latoun⁸.

Jane wife of Robert Thornton, in the South chancel of Stonegrave church, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, about the reign of Edward IV. has a belt buckled round her waist. Her garment, like a carter's frock, with a standing cape, is buttoned in front to the waist.

The long buttoned sleeves came mostly into use in the 14th century. They appear first among us on the princess Blanche before cited. Those of lady Montacute, 1354, in Christ Church, Oxford, are embroidered with roses and fleurs de lis alternately in rondeaux. Those of Joan Cobham are buttoned a little below the elbow, and close buttoned at the wrist. Maud de Cobham shews only the close buttoned part of her mitten sleeves out of her mantle.

Joan de Senlis wife of Adam Vicomte de Melun, 1306, in the abbey church of St. Anthony des Champs at Paris, and Margaret d'Artois, wife of Louis of France, count of Evreux, 1311, have the buttoned sleeve on their tomb in the Jacobines church at Paris⁹, not unlike Joan Cobham.

The sleeve of Gabrielle de Bourbon wife of Louis de Tremouille, who was killed at the battle of Pavia, has a falling cuff, besides one buttoned behind it on her monument at Thouars. She died 1516. Catharine de Dreux, at Pavilly, has the loose sleeve and close gown of later date. The figure over the heart of Mary de Bourbon wife of John first of the name earl of Dreux, at St. Ived de Brain, 1274, has a falling cape and long sleeves, or a short mantle. The sleeves of Margaret de Foix duchess of Bretagne, 1487, at Nantz, are buttoned to the wrist, and continued to the knuckles.

The wife of Renè duke of Anjou king of Sicily, on their tomb in the cathedral at Angiers, has a loose sleeve over the tighter on her left arm, and buttons to both sleeves.

Peter de Bretagne, duke of Bretagne, 1457, has the same dress on his left arm, on his tomb at Nantz.

¹ Montf. II. xii. 3.

² Ib. xii. 6.

³ Millar's Tale, l. 3250.

⁴ Ib. II. xv.

⁵ Ib. 5.

⁶ Pl. xlv.⁸

⁷ Montf. II. xxxvii. 4. 9.

⁸ II. xvii. 2, 3. p. 119.

⁹ Gabrielle.

The wife of John de Rocquemont, about 1327, in the abbey church of Chartris, has the long buttoned sleeves issuing from others which reach only to her elbows.

In Barbeau abbey Mary de Gauneffe, 1321, has the wimple and the maniple hung across her left arm, like the nuns of Port Royal. Emeline de Montier, in the same church, 1302, has a plaited mantle and fallen cape of miniver.

This lady, and another in the same place, wear a fingle jewel on the tunic under the mantle, not intended as a fastening, but an ornament: and the like is on the breast of the tunic of Tebald de Montmorence.

Lady Crosby has a very close gown, with a kind of flat tucker at her neck, the sleeves long and close, covering over the back of the hand; a belt girt obliquely round her waist; the cordon falling at her right side: the feet of the gown gathered up close: a stiff open mantle over her shoulders down to her heels, and on her head a close stiff cap with lappets at her ears, and flat on the top, and a veil flying behind.

Mary of Hainault daughter of John II. count of Hainault, wife of Louis I. duke of Bourbon, aunt to our queen Philippa, wears in a drawing engraved by Montfaucon¹, the same long sleeves as her niece on her tomb at Westminster. So does the wife of Jakemes Loucart², Isabel countess of Clermont, who died 1385³, though Montfaucon⁴ dates them of the fifteenth Century, when the MS where this is painted was written. They appear however on the ladies of Charles V's court⁵.

The first article on the figure of countess Aveline is a loose robe; over that a mantle in elegant foldings reaches down to her feet⁶.

One of the most elegantly dressed female figures in this collection is that of the wife of Sir John de Creyk in the reign of Edward I. Her veil falls in graceful folds; her tunic has long close plain sleeves, her mantle with a scalloped hem, and fastened at the breast with a plain cordon, folds about her *à la Grecque*.

Mahaut countess of Bologne has a long close gown with long close sleeves like a shift, and on her head a fillet adorned with pearls⁷, fastened under her chin by ribbands. Joan, a succeeding countess, has the same robe girt with a belt, and three distinct fringes or broad hems at the bottom of it⁸, and the like fillet on her flowing tresses.

The cordon on one of the figures at the side of lady Montacute's tomb in Christ Church, Oxford, seems to hang from the waist only, from the point of the waistcoat, which is buttoned in front. The habit of another female figure there resembles a modern gown gathered back.

Margaret wife of Jakemes Loucart, 'squire to the king of France, and founder of Magdalen chapel at Orcamp, has a pointed neckerchief of ermine, or rather the cape of her mantle turned out in that shape, long buttoned sleeve, the wimple and veil⁹. Joan de St. Verain in Vauluisant abbey has the like, but shorter¹⁰; and Joan queen of Navarre¹¹.

The wife of John Chastelain of Thoroti and lord of Hovrecount, 1353, has a like neckerchief, sloped off at bottom, her gown flowered, and studded wristbands, and her mantle blazoned, her headdress reticulated, and her veil brought close to her eyes. This is the monument I compared with that of Braunch.

Mary of France, daughter of Charles VI. has it square, and more like a stomacher¹².

A lady of the name of Agnes, in Jovay abbey, 1270, has a mantle of miniver, wimple, belt, and long purse, and panned shoes. The wife of Pierre la Ragne,

¹ II. 11. 5.

² II. xii. 5.

³ Montf. II. xiv. 5.

⁴ Ib. xxxviii. 8.

⁵ Ib. xlii. 6.

⁶ Ib. xxxviii. 8.

⁷ Sir J. Ayloffe's account,

⁸ Ib. 6.

⁹ Ib. xxxix. 2.

¹⁰ Ib. 4.

¹¹ P. 3:6.

¹² Ib. xxxvii. 3.

in Lagny abbey, 1384, has her coiffeure drawn forward towards her forehead and fillet, like the crest of an antient helmet.

The wife of Sir Anthony de Fay lord of Farcourt, in Cauvigny church, 1521, has a rich studded surcot and gown emblazoned without a mantle: the wife of Sir Gilles de Fay lord of Richecourt, 1485, is habited in the same manner, but in a plainer surcot.

Judge Galcoigne's lady is habited in a close gown, buttoned on her breast, and belted round her waist with a square buckle set with stones: the sleeves long, close, and buttoned over her gown as a mantle, with a falling cape. Her headdress is reticulated, but spread wider at the ears than any other instance I have seen. The dog at her feet seems wrapt up in the mantle which reaches below him.

"Within the rails of the altar at Horton church, on a large marble lying on the ground, are three figures in brass: in the midst is a man in armour, with a sword hanging down before him, and on each side of him a woman in the habit of the times¹, viz. in strait boddices with sleeves coming down and covering the back of their hands to their fingers; their gowns long and covering their feet, and laced one third part from the bottom upwards; their headdresses falling back upon their shoulders like a short hood with a cap behind like the crown of an hat, with a girdle buckled at the waist, and the end of it falling down to the ground." This is for Roger Salisbury, esq. 1492, and his two wives. Mary wife of Sir William Par lord Par of Houghton, 1555, has a marble figure in the same church, in "a resembling habit with those of the preceding monument, having a mantle clasped with a buckle hanging down behind to her feet, and a bracelet round her neck².

Among the Danish monuments before referred to is one in brass of a man in flowing hair, long coat with long sleeves and falling cape, and pointed shoes, and at his left hand two wives: the first in a veil, wimple, and mantle; the other in the jacket and petticoat, collar, and reticulated headdresses; all three under separate arches; round the tomb this inscription in black letter:

anō. dñi. mccc. xxv. in. die. francicis. dñs. henricus. molkeke. miles. xlvii. die. amicis.
cois. marcie. ę. dñs. elcebe. uxor. suar. xlvii. ę dñs. cristina. uxor. dñi. licooni.

The two wives of the burghers of Lynne³ are habited alike, in hoods or coifs, the wimple or neckerchief gathered under and round the chin, their gowns close about their arms and waists, but falling thence in elegant folds and gathered and held up on the right arm of one and left arm of the other, the long close sleeves richly embroidered in nearly the same patterns on both ladies, from a little above the elbow, where they are divided by a kind of border; the long sleeves fall down open from the elbows; the wristbands close and double banded: the hems and linings of their gowns are likewise richly flowered, but with more variety of patterns. The three women at the feast below have the close boddice, and their hair unconfined. The two at the sides have mantles and veils. The elegant flowing robes that swept the ground which appear on these Lynne ladies, had not been adopted by lady Stapleton of Ingham, their contemporary. Her hanging sleeves are also remarkably awkward, being so long and narrow; whereas those of the above-mentioned ladies are broader and shorter, and fall more conveniently behind the elbow.

Mr. Blomefield⁴ gives an epitaph at Norwich for an *Aldress*, or alderman's lady, 1567, but does not mention her habit.

¹ In the habit of the times is a phrase frequent in Mr. Bridges and other church noters — without defining the times.
² Bridges, Northampton. I. 369, 370.

³ Pl. XLIV.

⁴ II. 595.

Mr. Strutt is of opinion, that the chief distinction between married and unmarried ladies appears to be an additional robe over the gown, which hangs down not unlike the sacerdotal robe of a priest. If he means the mantle, it is common to married and single women; and I have given instances where it is omitted on the former in French monuments. This distinction has not occurred to me; nor is it illustrated by him by any example. He adds, Robert de Brunne, in his illustration of Peter Langtoft's Chronicle¹, describing the flight of the empress Maud from Oxford, in the reign of Stephen, says, she got forth

Witbouten kirtelle ore kemse, save koverchief alle bare vis.

i. e. without a kirtle or petticoat over her shift, and only the koverchief or veil over her head. Mr. Hearne tells us *kemse* is the *ἱεροκαμίσιον*, or *ἱεροχίτων*, the *shift* or *smock*², but must here denote a white garment over the queen's, like the *camisia* of the Latins; and *καμίσιον* or *χίτων*, of the Greeks, signifying a priest's white garment or surplice. Robert Brunne had not so much delicacy or tenderness for the ladies who run over the frozen Thames ten miles to Wallingford in a cold night, as the rest of the old historians, who say the Queen and her retinue clothed themselves in white sheets or white linen cloth, or *alba vestes*.

Female statues, whether cumbent or standing, hold the cordon on the breast in the left hand³; so all the figures on the side of Crouchback's tomb, Pl. XXV. the right being filled with a sceptre. The right hands of the husband and wife are frequently joined: as Richard II. and his queen; Henry Beaufort earl of Somerset and lady, at Wimborne minster; Sir Robert Goufel and lady, at Hoveringham, c. Nottingham; Sir Thomas and lady Boteler, in brasses at Warrington⁴, Sir John Harfick and lady, and many more.

Precious stones were a considerable part of female ornament. Isabel countess of Warwick gave to the monks of Tewksbury, "so that they grucht not with her burial there, and what else she had appointed to be done about the fame," her great *temphys* with the *baleys*⁵, fold to the utmost. These were jewels hung to the foreheads of ladies by bodkins thrust into their hair⁶. Eleanor queen of Henry III. set up in the feretory of St. Edward at Westminster the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary; and the king caused Edward Fitz Odo, keeper of his works at Westminster, to place upon her forehead for ornament an emerald and a ruby taken out of the rings which the bishop of Chichester had left him for a legacy⁷.

Gloves⁸ seem to have been no part of female dress till after the Reformation, unless they are held by female figures, on the tombs of John of Eltham

¹ P. 122.

² Smocca is the oldest name in our language for a *linen* covering, whether of a priest or woman. That it was a part of female dress early in the fifteenth century, and consequently not novel, appears from the penance imposed by archbishop Philip on Elizabeth de Juliers countess of Kent, for breaking her vow of chastity, and marrying a second husband: that she should once a week eat only bread and a morsel of pottage, *swearing no smock*; and especially in the absence of her husband. She died 1411. Dugd. II. 34, 55. ex Reg. Illip. See the Carpenter's wife's in Chaucer, l. 3138.

³ Several kings, and other men, in Montfaucon, hold their cordons in their left hand.

⁴ Pennant, Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 9.

⁵ Q. Balls or ballast, which last name is given to the rubies in the insinimable collar of Henry VIII. See Walp. Pint. II. 72.

⁶ Dugd. Warw. 413. Walp. I. 40.

⁷ Walp. I. 10. ex Dart. I. 26.

⁸ If one did not see the rude Tartars and Samoides covering their hands against the cold with something like gloves, not divided into fingers, one would be led to think that they were first introduced into Europe by the Christian bishops and emperors. Calaubon has proved, on Athenæus, XII. 2. that the ancients knew of no such covering for the hands. See Du Cange, in v. *Chirotheca*. The Roman de la Rose describes the hands of *Oysenfe* as guarded from the bushes by white gloves, but he does not say of what material, though most probably of leather:

Et pour mieux garder ses mains blanches,
De haller elle eut ungs gans blancs. l. 575.

Robert Thornton before mentioned in the reign of Edward IV. seems to have short gloves on.

and

and Aymer de Valence, and on the hands of a lady in Worcester cathedral. They were worn by kings, nobles, and prelates, and were a costly article of dress, and richly decorated, being sometimes, particularly those of bishops, adorned with precious stones¹. But the hands of the fair were loaded with as many rings as the ladies of Indoilan wear on their fingers and toes. The sleeves were lengthened mitten fashion to the knuckles, as we see in the Turkish and Russian female dresses, but no more of the hand was concealed. I am not clear whether these mittens were not sometimes distinct from the sleeve, like modern ones. They appear of one piece with the sleeve on ladies Harficke and Stapleton, 1365. 1384. and a lady at Eaiton, Suffolk, of the 15th century. They come from under the sleeves of the wife of Henry of Nottingham, at Holm, Norfolk, in the reign of Henry IV. and of Cecilia de Kerdeston, 1391; and are buttoned on the Elnstow abbess; and they seem to be distinct from the sleeve on Maud de Cobham, Lady Burgate, 1409, Frances Poynings, in St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, and the abbess at Goring, and on Idleness in the Romaunt of the Rose before cited².

At the sale of the earl of Arran's goods, April 6, 1759, the gloves given by Henry VIII. to Sir Anthony Denny were sold for £. 38. 17s. those given by James I. to his son Edward Denny for £22. 4s. the mittens given by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Edward Denny's lady for £25. 4s. the scarf given by Charles I. to one of the family for ten guineas: all which were bought for Sir Thomas Denny of Ireland, who was descended in a direct line from the great Sir Anthony Denny, one of the executors of the will of Henry VIII. who had a particular esteem for him. Sir Thomas died at the castle of Tralee, 1761; and by his death an estate of £4000 *per annum* descended to his eldest son Sir William Denny.

These may be supposed some of the oldest gloves extant. Of others in succeeding reigns see Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*, p. 481.

The oldest monument of an *Abbess* I have seen is at Romsey: a marble figure with a lion at her feet, under a rich arch, which has no relation to her; the figure being, as I recollect, dug up in the choir. Perhaps there may be another at Worcester. Leland mentions the habit of a *vowess*, i. e. nun, as *votariss* in *Comus*³ in palmer's weed is a pilgrim.

The first dress of an abbess is suggested by Mr. Walpole in his marriage of Henry VI. though I think on uncertain ground. I doubt it for this reason, because the king was married at *Southwick*, which was a priory of Austin canons, and at Tichfield was a Premonstratensian abbey, consequently no English abbess could have assisted on the occasion, for there was no nunnery at Southampton, nor at any place nearer than Winchester, to Portchester, where she landed⁴. The marriage is represented as celebrated before the church door, which, though the general practice, was hardly observed even by this conscientious prince. This circumstance barely corroborates the design of the picture.

I shall engrave two abbesses from Elnstow, c. Bedford, and a third from Goring in Oxfordshire, which escaped industrious Hearne when he took church-notes there. There are two more in Denham and Isleworth churches, c. Middlesex, not so remarkable, and a sixth in the church of Clerkenwell in London.

¹ Rot. Pip. 53 Henry III. 1267. is an entry "de ii paribus chirothecarum cum lapidibus," Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, I. 182. where a pair of gloves are mentioned on a lady's hands in Romance.

² Thus translated by Chaucer:

And for to keepe her hondes faire
Of gloves whiche she had a paire.

³ l. 189.

⁴ Carte, II. 725.

The Elnstow abbeßes have wimples finely plaited, and coming up over the chin; and on one of them it covers the sides of the face, like a hood: both have the mantle. The abbess at Goring, in the 15th century, has very little of the appearance of a religious; her mantle resembles those of lay ladies; her gown is buttoned in front down to the toes; she wears the mitten sleeves buttoned; her headress is reticulated and fluted, and her tresses fall loose on her shoulders; at her feet is a dog of the mastiff kind. One of the abbesses of Elnstow holds a fine crozier, but these of Syon at Denham and Isleworth dying after the dissolution have no marks of their dignity, except that the first has the ring on the fore-finger of her right hand; but all except her at Goring have the veil.

Chaucer describes his priores,

Ful femely hire *wimple yprinched* was,
 Ful fetise was hire *cloke*, as I was ware.
 Of smale corall aboute hire arm she bare
 A pair of bedes *gauded*¹ all with grene;
 And thereon hong a broche of gold ful shene,
 On which was first ywritten a *crowned A.*²
 And after, *Amor vincit omnia.*

Mr. Blomefield gives two inscriptions in brass for nuns (Sancte Moniales) in Hilburgh church, but without dates or figures³.

Mr. Bridges describes a nun in a black and white habit at Rushton, 1567.⁴ and another, 1577, at Wollafton⁵.

Isabel d'Alencon daughter of Charles de Valois count d'Alencon, who died 1346, on her monument on the church of St. Louis de Poissy, where she was a nun, has the mantle, gown girted round her waist, the wimple over her chest, and from it an apron, and on her head a veil or flowing hood.

The cloister of Portroyal des champs between Versailles and Chevreuse, now dissolved, abounded with monuments of abbesses of the Cistercian order, who, agreeable to St. Bernard's rule, wore no *croffe*; neither did the last abbess; and there were in this house religious women consecrated by a bishop, two of which were represented on the same tomb with a kind of maniple⁶.

The situation of the nunnery of Montmartre, founded by Adelaid wife of Louis le Gros, 1133, on the top of an high hill, made it so cold that the abbess Helifenda, 1231, ordained, that they should have an allowance of three fols apiece on All Saints day, to buy them *furred boots*⁷. Weever⁸ has a curious circumstance about taking a nun out of a nunnery, and making her resume a secular habit. "I find, says he, inter Brevia regis, E. III. a. r. 24, that William Fox, parson of Lee near Gainfboro', John Fox, and Thomas of Lingeston, friers minors of that convent in Lincoln, were indited before Gilbert Umfrevill and other Justices, in partibus de Lindefsey, apud Twancafter die Sabbati post

¹ *gaudes*, trinkets, gaudies; so Philippa countess of Malen bequeathes a pair of rings, the *gaudes* of red crosses enamelled. Royal Wills, 130. And Eleanor Bohun duchess of Gloucester, a pair of pater noster of coral of fifty large beads, with five *gaudes* of gold "en manere des longets, swages, et ponfoez." Ib. 180. Some were silver gilt, and some had mottoes over them.

² The initial of *Ave*, as a crowned M. so common on church porches and windows, was of *Maria*?

³ Ill. 438.

⁴ Northampton. II. 202.

⁵ II. 72.

⁶ Moleson, Voyage Lit. 124.

⁷ Gallia Christiana vii. 615; Lebeuf Dioc. de Paris, II. 110. We have seen *flour boots* among female apparel before.

⁸ P. 72.

festum S'ci Joh'nis Baptiste, in the said year, for that they came to Bradholme, a nunnery in the county of Nottingham, 18 kal. Feb. and then and there *ra-puerunt et abduxerunt inde contra pacem Domini regis quandam monialem nomi-ne Margaretam de Eoeringham sororem dicte domus, exeuntes eam habitu religi-onis, et induentes eam roba viridi seculari, ac etiam diversa bona ad valorem 40 solid.*" The nuns who professed chastity wore black; the seculars colours: *viridis* is *varius* in the old books. Bracton, l. III. See Jacob's *viridis rosa*¹.

At the interment of queen Jane it is said that the ladies left off their bonets, and took [for mourning] white kerchers to apparel their heads, called *Paris hoods*, with white kerchers coming over their shoulders².

Silk, we are told by Mr. Camden³, was first brought into use among us in the reign of Henry II. *bombycina* made by silk worms, which first came out of Greece into Sicily, and then into other parts of Christendom; for *sericum*, which was a down kemed off from the tree among the *Seres* in the East Indies, as *byssus* was a plant or kind of silk grass, as they now call it, was unknown. "There was also, adds he, a costly stuff at these times here in England, called in Latin *Aurifrigium*: what it was named in English I know not, neither do I imagine it *auriphrigium*, and to signify embroidery with gold, as *Opera Phrygia* were embroderies. Whatever it was, much desired it was by the popes, and highly esteemed in Italy." Du Cange has clearly shewn that *Aurifrasum*, *Aurifrigia*, *Aurifrigia*, *Aurifres*, *Orfres*, *Orfroy*, *Orfrais* (for by all these names it is called in ancient writings) means a *gold fringe*; but he confines it I think too closely to ecclesiastical vestments. "Limbus acu pictus auro plerumque argenteo" distinctus qui ad vestes sacras affuitur." It was very broad on the copes, set crosswise on the chafubles, brought from the shoulders behind and before in the tunics, on the albs only before and behind the lower edge and at the extremities of the sleeves, and in that part of the garment which went over the head. Frederic bishop of Strasburg excommunicated those priests who wore on their habits double fringes, commonly called *Bortum*, a corruption for *Bordum* from *Borde*, a border. The Benedictine editors of this most excellent Glossary add, that *Aurifrigium* is synonymous with "*Opus Phrygium auratis filis intextum*;" and so the Roman de la Rose describes the rich gown of *Lyette* or *Gladnells*.

Et un chapeau d'Orfrays eut neuf,
Le plus beau fut de dix et neuf:
Jamais nul jour vu je n'avoye
Chapeau se bien ouvre de soye.
D'une sainture moult doree,
Fut elle sur son corps paree⁴.

Of Orfrais fresh was her garland;
I which scene have a thousand,
Saw never ywis no garland yet
So well wrought of silk as it;
And in an ovir gilt samite
Clad she was by grete delite⁵,

¹ Dr. Taylor's M6. penes me.

² M. 6. p. 1. MS in Coll. Arm.

³ Remains, p. 232.

⁴ l. 872-877.

⁵ Chaucer's Translation.

Another lady representing Riches wore a beautiful purple gown embroidered with figures of Emperors and Kings.

Pourtraictes y furent d'Orfrois
Hyftoyres d'Empereurs et Roys¹.

Thus in Chaucer's translation:
With Orfreis laced was every dele,
And purtraied in the ribanings
Of dukes stories and of kings.

Oyfeuse

D'Orfraiz eut ung chappel mignot
Qu'oncques nulle pucelle n'ot
Ne plus coint ne plus defguysé,
Ne l'auroye a droit devisé,
Ung chappel de rofes tout frais
Eut dessus ce chappel d'orfraiz².

Thus translated by our countryman;
And of fair Orfraiz had she eke
A chapelet so femely on
Ne never wered maide upon;
And faire above that chapelet
A rose garland had she fet.

These *aurifrigia* were sometimes of *opus Cyrense*³; and garters are embroidered of silk and Cyprus gold⁴. *Cyprus* was a thin transparent texture like gauze or lawn; and hence Milton's stole of *Cyprus lawn*⁵; so that they should seem like our modern gauze trimmings. It is also applied to crape, and then is black, for widow's weeds: and sometimes Cyprus is a *sbroud*.

A fringe, or perhaps only a broad hem, appears on the tunic of William de Valence, earl of Pembroke, 1296.⁶ A fringe or furr to the mantle of William de Hatfield, second son of Edward III. at York⁷. A double fringe is not uncommon on the monuments of our prelates. Chefubles with fringes are among presents to churches and to religious houses⁸.

Samit, or as the Latin writers call it, *Samitum*, *Samitium*, *Scyamtum*, *Xamtium*, or *Examtum*, is defined *Pannus bolosericus*, and taken for *Silk* in general⁹, as *Satinus* is defined *pannus sericus rufus*.

"Silk manufactures were introduced from the East into Italy before 1130"¹⁰. The crusades much improved the commerce of the Italian states with the East in this article, and produced new artificers of their own. *Diaper* occurs among the rich silks and stuffs in the Roman de la Rose¹¹.

Samites, *dyapprès*, camelets.

¹ Ib. l. 1070.

² Ib. l. 564. 568.

³ See Charpentier in voc. & aut. ibi citati.

⁴ Pro opere in MCLII gart. operat. de seric. & auro de Cypro, Comp. Rob. Rollestan. cult. magne garder. 9 Hen. V. Anstis' Black Book of the Garter, p. 171. note b. The materials there said to be used in the composition of a garter are to be silk from Tartary or China. See Du Cange in voc.

⁵ Il Penicrafo, l. 35. and Warton on it, p. 66, 67.

⁶ Pl. XXVII.

⁷ Drake, 491.

⁸ Papa dono dedit ecclesie Ormaz unam planetam de examtio rubro cum aurifrigio decenter ornatum. Du Cange, v. *Examtum*.

⁹ Du Cange in vocibus.

¹⁰ Giannone Istoria di Napoli, XI. 7.

¹¹ l. 21867.

where

where it seems to signify *damask*. I find it also in the Roman d'Alexandre written about 1200¹.

Dyapres d'Antioch, *famis* de Romaine.

Here is also a proof that the Asiatic stuffs were at that time famous; and probably *Romanie* is *Romania*. The word often occurs in old accounts of rich ecclesiastical vestments. In Dugdale's *Monasticon*² we have "*jandallia* cum caligis de rubro *fameto* *diaperato* brendata cum imaginibus regum³". This rich pattern of shoes and boots must be added to those before mentioned, p. clvii. and clxiv.

The Carpenter's young wife in Chaucer⁴ wore a *seint* (*ceinture*, girdle) *barred* all of *filk*.

A *barme cloth*⁵, eke as white as morwe⁶ milk,
Upon her *lendes*⁷ ful of many a gore.

In the fifteenth century *fatin* was so common that it was worn in all processions. Thus at the receiving of Henry VI. into Paris, a. r. 10. the provost met him with a great company all clothed in red *fatin* with blue hoods: the provost of the merchants and sheriffs of the town received him with a rich canopy of blue velvet richly embroidered with fleurs de lis of gold⁸.

Sattin, in Beaumont and Fletcher's time, was become so common, that a lady, in one of their plays⁹, is introduced saying

That fourteen yards of *fatin* give to my woman;
I do not like the colour, 'tis too civil.

In the reign of Edward I. the general wearing of furr on garments began to be used, whereas before those ornaments were confined to the coronation robes of kings and creation robes of nobles¹⁰. It was forbidden to prostitutes by a statute 27 Edward III.¹¹ It was first called *Vares* from the Pontic mouse, which Scaliger on Aristotle says is brown with a white belly; and by Benjamin of Tudela is called *Veergares* or *Vairs gris*. Hence *pelles variorum* for *vairorum* and *pelles variae*. The council of Saltzburg, 1386, forbid it the clergy, except dignitaries¹². Montfaucon, as we have seen, gives female habits faced with it¹³. The furs of fables, ermines, foxes, &c. were used about the same time, thus enumerated by Guiseppe Barbaro in his travels to the Don, p. 456. "*Sibelinos*¹⁴, *Armelinos*, *Doffos*, *Vares*, vulpes, et id genus animalium alia illi offerentes." The Roman de la Rose, speaking of Avarice, says,

Au manteau n'avoit *penne vaire*¹⁵

i. e. Pelisse ou peau fine du fourrure fine et precieuse pour doubler les habits.

Gloffaïre,

¹ MS. Bodl. fol. 1. b. col. 2. ² III. 324. 321.

³ Warton, Hist. of English Poetry, I. 177. n.

⁴ l. 3235—6—7.

⁵ Hall's Chron. f. cxvi. b.

⁶ Woman's Prize, Aët. III. Sc. II. V. VIII. p. 221. where *civil* may mean fit only for citizens.

⁷ Strutt, II. 83.

⁸ Du Cange and Charpentier in voce *Vares*.

⁹ Particularly II. xvii. 2, 3. Blanche of Castile wife of Charles VIII. 1200, whose mantle is "*doublé de vair renversé*: doublure que nous verrons souvent dans le suite," p. 119. This is exactly like *Fair* in Heraldry.

¹⁰ A suit of fables was the richest dress that could be worn in Denmark. Steevens on that famous passage in Hamlet.

¹¹ l. 222.

Again, l. 5500.

Le roy a fa penne vaire
 Again, Auffi tres bien fe Dieu me garde
 Me garantit et corps & teste
 Par vent, par pluye, & par tempeste,
 Fourrée d'aigneaux fur gros bureaux
 Comme pers fourré d'escureaux.
 Mes deniers ce me semble pers
 Quant j'ai pour vous robes de pers,
 De camelot, ou de brunette,
 De vert, ou d'escarlade achette,
 Et de *vair* & de gris la fourre ¹.

Miniver, which occurs in old wills, &c. is *Menue vair, minutus varius*, in opposition, I suppose, to the furs of larger animals.

John de Montfort duke of Bretagne and his dutchefs both wear fur, 1341. ²

The old portrait of queen Edyve, in Canterbury cathedral library, engraved in Hafted's Kent, l. 464. represents her in a furcot and long sleeves, all studded, and the furcot faced with ermine, and a mantle lined with ermine; she has a double cordon, and the veil headdress, surmounted by a crown. Lady Tiptoft, in Enfield church, has a furcot of ermine, with a kind of flap or short apron of the same to it before.

That valuable furs were not unknown in the time of Henry III. appears from the order to his taylor, to make two cloaks for the king and two for the queen against Christmas day, to be furred *cum ermino*, and "*supertunicæ de minuto vario*" ³; and two robes "*cum aurifraxi semilatis et varii coloris*" ⁴. There was a further order to make three robes *de quintifis* ⁵, viz. one of the best violet coloured *famit* embroidered round with three little leopards in front and three behind, and two more of the best cloth that could be got ⁶.

William de Hatfield second son of Edward III. on his monument at York is represented in a mantle fringed or furred, a close coat embroidered, with long close sleeves, his hose and breeches of one piece, his shoes embroidered, and a ducal coronet on his head ⁷.

In the more antient colleges of our universities the annual expences for furring the robes or liveries of the fellows appear to have been very considerable. Milton ⁸ talks of the,

Budge doctors of the Stoic fur.

Explaining, says Mr. Warton ⁹, the obsolete word by a very awkward tautology. Stowe ¹⁰ derives *Budge row* from *Budge*, furr, and skinnners dwelling there. Dr. Hacomblen provost of King's College, Cambridge, 1528, has the cape of his doctor's robe covered or lined with a rich heavy fur on his figure in brass in his college chapel. Richard Peyton, at Hileham, 1574, has a long gown lined throughout with fur.

¹ l. 9495—9504.

² Montf. II. xlv. 256.

³ Clauf. 36 Hen. III. m. 30.

⁴ Ib.

⁵ See *constit.* p. clxxxix. cxcii.

⁶ Gowns were furred *cum bestis de erm.* & *erm. ventr.* Record before cited from *Ausliss*, 9 Hen. V. We have there also *ventr. men. gross.* & *men. pur.*

⁷ Drake, 491.

⁸ Comus, l. 707.

⁹ P. 219.

¹⁰ Survey of London, ed. 1618, p. 455.

Robert the third of the name, earl of Dreux and Braine, who died 1232, is represented on his tomb of what the French call *pierre plate*, in the abbey church of St. Ived de Braine, has a mantle lined with ermine; so has the wife of Robert de Dreux lord of Beu, about the same time, in the same church. The mantles of two nuns of St. Louis de Poissy, 1344. 1371. in their conventual church, are lined or faced in like manner.

Two figures on the same tomb, beautifully enamelled of Alice countess of Bretagne, 1221, and Joland de Bretagne her daughter, 1272. in the church of Yved de Braine, have their mantles faced with vair, white on a blue ground, like their arms.

In the fourteenth century fur appears very frequent on the ladies gowns, at their wrist, like a long ruffle turned back, also about their necks, and as a fringe or hem.

Mede in Piers Plowman is thus described :

I was ware of a woman worthilych clothed,
Purfiled with *pelure* the finest upon erthe,
Crowned with a crowne, the king hath no better;
Fetiflich her fingers were fretted with golde wier;
And thereon red rubies as rede as any glede,
And diamonds of dereft price and double maner faphirs,
Orientales & Ewages venemis to destroye :
Her robe was full rich of red scarlet engrained,
With ribandes of red gold, and of rich stoness;
Her arrayne ravished, such riches saw I never.

Knyghton describing the drefs of the women of fashion at public diversions in his time, A. D. 1348. says^a, " These tournaments are attended by many ladies of the first rank and greatest beauty, but not always of the most unblemished reputation. They are drest in party-coloured tunics, half of one colour and half of another; their litpipes, or tippets, are very short, their caps remarkably little, and wrapt about their heads with cords; their girdles and pouches ornamented with gold and silver, and they wear short swords, called *daggers*, before a little below their waists. They are mounted on the finest horses with the richest furniture: and in this attire they ride about from place to place in quest of tournaments; thus spending their fortunes, and not unfrequently ruining their reputations.

The wife of Bath's

—covrechiefs weren ful fine of ground,
I dorste fwere they weyeden a pound,
That on the Sondag were upon hire hede;
Hire hofen weren of fine scarlet rede,
Ful freite yteyed, and shooen ful moift^b and newe,
Ywimpled wel, and on her hedde an hat
As brode as is a bokeler or a targe;
A fote mantel about hir hippes large^c.

Of the lady's trains, says Chaucer,

It is full fayre to ben ycleped Madam,
And for to gon to vigils all before,
And have a mantel reallich^d ybore.

^a *Pastus secundus.*

^b fresh, opposed to stale.

^c l. 458. 472.

^d col. 2597.

^e royally.

The magnificent and costly dresses of the barons and knights who attended the marriage of Alexander III. king of Scotland to Margaret eldest daughter of Henry III. at York, 1251. are thus described by Matthew Paris', who was present at the solemnity: "It would raise the spirit and indignation of my readers if I attempted to describe the wantonnefs, pride, and vanity, which the nobles displayed on this occasion in the richness and variety of their dresses, and the many fantastical ornaments with which they were adorned. To mention only one particular: the king of England was attended on the day of the marriage by 1000 knights, uniformly drest in silk robes, which we call *Cointises*; and the next day these knights appeared in new dresses no less splendid and expensive."

The duke of Gloucester met Henry the Sixth's queen, Margaret, 1444, on Blackheath, with 500 men in one livery. The other lords and estates had great retinues of men in sundry liveries, with the sleeves broidered, and some beaten with goldsmiths works, in most costly manner¹.

The preaching of a Cordelier just returned from Jerusalem, at Paris, 1429. had such an effect on his audience that the gentlemen burnt all their gaming tables, cards, dice, billiards, and bowls; and the ladies their headdresses, which the chronicler who tells this story called *bourreaux truffes*, the leather and whale-bone boddices (*pieces de cuir & de baleines*) their horns and trains (*leurs cornes, leurs queues*)².

During the 15th and the middle of the 16th century plated armour kept its ground on the figures of men of all ranks above that of merchants or burgessees, who were supposed of too peaceful a disposition and too deeply engaged in commercial pursuits to buckle it on. The fashion of it grew more fantastic and shewy from about the middle of the 15th to the middle of the 16th century. In the beginning of the 17th, during the reign of James I. who wished neither to disturb the peace of Europe, nor to be interrupted in his own repose, it was exchanged for doublets and trunk hose, but resumed in the reign of his son, as if preparatory to the troubles that were to ensue, and maintained its ground on monuments to the close of the last century, and the long sword was worn under the doublet, with the knee and shoe strings.

I observe some clumsy varieties in kneepieces and other parts of armour in the 15th century, which will be noted in their proper place, together with trunk hose plated in front. A knight at has a tabard of arms over his plated armour, his head with flowing hair rests on a cushion, and he holds up his hands in front spread. The coats were shorter, the mantles or cloaks lined with fur throughout, and had long hanging sleeves, sometimes adorned with cross seams or facings, as Richard Peyton of Isleham 1514, or with two openings for the arms at different intervals; the hose and breeches of one piece, the latter frequently panned in whole or in half, and trunk or strait; ruffs and close caps were worn by men in the 16th and 17th century, the hair close cropt or strait; beards and whiskers. Eldred the navigator has a short cuff open and buttoned as in modern times, and a close cap or coif, a very short coat tied round him with a bow-knot, a piked beard and whiskers, and large ruff. Thomas Barwick physician at Bury, who died 1590, has on his monument at Farnham All Saints, a close coif, long sleeves, moderate ruff, and a coat buttoned from his chin.

¹ P. 829² Fabian sub anno.³ Journal of the reign of Charles VII. in Lebeuf, Hist. du Dioc. de Paris, III. 23.

The attitude began to change in the 16th century: John Brooke and John Borrell, serjeants at arms, at Broxbourne, appear in profile, as walking: the former has his head on a helmet, yet turns both face and feet to his lady, and ten years after it became almost the universal fashion for the figures both in brass and stone to kneel fronting each other to a *prie dieu* or desk. Sir Clement Higham, in Barrow church, Suffolk, has a son in a shroud kneeling behind him. The profile attitude continued as late as brass plates. We see it in the reign of James I. and there are instances of men praying standing in profile: sometimes the helmet is thrown on the ground at the party's knees, and the gauntlets hung on the front of the desk. On a brass in Barwell church, Leicestershire, engraved for the appendix to Mr. Nichols's "History of Hinckley," Mrs. Torkley and her 5 daughters are kneeling to a desk, before which is a pulpit with her husband in it, who died in 1613. An infant in a shroud lies between her desk and the pulpit.

In the reign of Edward IV. female apparel assumed a more costly form. The first wife of Thomas Payton, at Melham, is habited in the richest flowered silk, and a fancy necklace of precious stones; her veil flies behind her head, but shews very little hair, and in the coil under the veil is an inscription, which seems *lorde jesu, mercy!* On her wrists she has something like the stiff turned back ruffle of succeeding times: her feet are concealed under the folds of her robe. The second wife, who appears older, has the same kind of headdress, the same necklace and ruffles; but these last are of fur with which her breast and shoulders are covered, and her robe trimmed at bottom. Both these ladies have very slender shapes, and are girded with broad belt-like girdles. The dress of the French ladies was very different at this time, and had less departed from the antique fashion¹. The surcoat was not left off in 1481.²

In the middle of the 15th century female dress made great approaches to that worn in the succeeding one; the long sleeves were left off entirely, the mantle exchanged for a flowing gown, tightened more indeed round the waist, but training in the skirts like modern dress. The headdress floated more at ease with veil-like lappets stretched on wires, and supported by a stiffened cawl; or if at all confined it was in the pediment form before mentioned, p. clxxv. of which we have innumerable instances on brasses. A lady at Easton in Suffolk retains the long mitten sleeves, with a tighter gown, which seems to reach only to the knees, and shew a petticoat; her girdle drops so low that her purse is at her knees. This is one of the last instances of a cushion under the head. The wife of Thomas Brooke serjeant at arms to Henry VIII. 1518, in Broxborne church, has the pediment headdress with very long lappets before and behind, while other ladies have only the lappets in front, and a kind of hood or close veil behind. She has also a belt reaching to her feet. About 1546 we come to ruffs round the neck and wrists, puffed sleeves with oiellet holes, large falling hoods and jewels in front, stiff stays, laced apron, long petticoats, as Benet wife of Richard Dering, 1546.

¹ Such I suppose as Stowe describing Sheriff Lion's gown, 1381. (see p. 137.) calls "*branched damask wrought with the likeness of flowers*," like Milton's *flowery-kirtled Naides* (Comus, 254.) See also Mary of Burgundy, Montf. IV. vi.

² See Montf. III. p. liv, lxvi.

³ Ib. IV. vi.

In the reign of Elizabeth and James I. the stay or boddice was not so straitly laced, the sleeves at the shoulders were set in with raised and puffed work, the gown and petticoat and apron were distinct, the ruff confined to the neck, but enlarged¹. In James's reign the women wore heavy shoes like men's, and high-crowned hats with ribbands or bands. Even the youngest daughters retain the mother's habit, but sometimes have a kind of fly cap. Such a cap is worn by Mary Payton of Iselham, about the end of the sixteenth century. She has a standing cape to her gown, a ruff round her neck, her sleeves tied with ribbands from the shoulder to the wrist; a kind of fringed sash tied round her waist, and her gown opening in front discovers a rich embroidered petticoat. Radcliffe wife to Thomas Wingfield of Easton, Suffolk, 1607, has a close cap, hair drawn up high and stiff in front, standing ruff, puffed sleeves, with falling laced ruffles, very narrow pointed boddice, gown puckered up over fardingale, and shewing a rich embroidered petticoat. Elizabeth lady Culpeper, in Ardingley church, Suffolk, 1633, has an almost Vandyck headdress, a mantle wrapt round her, puffed and corded sleeves, with pinked ruffles, a falling band or ruff, and an embroidered petticoat. A young lady of this family, in the same church, 1634, is dressed somewhat like her, except the mantle, and has a tassel to her girdle. In the middle of this century we see the veil falling over a black hood tied under the chin, and over the neck and shoulders a square white kerchief, as on the monument of John Oneby and wife in Hinckley church, engraved in Mr. Nichols's History of that town, pl. vi. and worn both by the mother and daughters. The husband, who was a barrister of Gray's Inn and steward of the court of records at Leicester, is in the dress of his profession, with a coil and large band.

Dr. Henry, who has given a short view of the dress of each reign at the end of his history of each reign, is rather too tender of his contemporaries, when he says, "Upon the whole, I am fully persuaded, that we have no good reason to pay any compliments to our ancestors of this period at the expence of our contemporaries, either for the frugality, elegance, or decency of their dresses."

¹ In France at this time the sleeve was long, to the wrist, and puffed at the shoulder, the gown sometimes open in front, sometimes fastened with bows; the ruff small; the gloves short early in the sixteenth century; see also later Catharine de Medicis, Elizabeth daughter of Henry II, Margaret daughter of Francis I. (Montf. V. pl. v. ix. xi. xii.) Margaret de Bourbon has a tucker without a kerchief; Diane de France, natural daughter of Henry II. has a handsome laced kerchief and larger ruff. Ib. pl. xii. 5, 6. The kerchief of Elizabeth queen of Charles IX. is of fur, Ib. pl. xxiv. Magdalen de Corbie, so late as 1562, has the old-fashioned close sleeve buttoned at the sides, and issuing out of larger, and terminating in a kind of ruff. Ib. xv. 2. The hair of Frances princess of Conde, pl. xxvii. is divided at top enire-fashion. That great piece of stuff, as Montfaucon calls it, (V. p. 63) rising up over the shoulders, at the back of the neck and head, appears in most of the portraits of Catharine de Medicis. Ruffles appear as early as 1509, and long fur cuffs, pl. xxvii.

A P P E N D I X.

COPY and Translation of the DUTCH INSCRIPTION at the back

Int Jaer dnizft vyfhondert en xxxiii^e op ten xxix dach in
 December foe hebben adriaen adriaenszende jonc vrouw
 paefchine van den fteyne gefondeert *bennen* defz kerk op
 Sincte Cornelis ouctaer eene *eenige* miffe daechs de
 Welke de kerckm^{rs} angenomen *hebben* te doen doene en
 Tonderhoudene. te beginnene de *daegemiffe* altyt nader
 Clock flach van thien nurn daer den priester vooren hebben
 Zal vii poont g's vlaems t fjaers in vier termine den cofter dieter
 Voorit miffe luiden fal de groote scelle V. fl. ge t fjaers op finte achte
 Dach els men huer beyder jaergetyde doet oft des ander
 Daechs daerna indien zy op eenen fondach com't ende op
 Gheen dach anders foe zullen de voorn kerckm^{rs} of *die*
Besitters fyn fal t favens ter vigelie ent smerghens ter miffe
Doen brengen ben gracht pelle en faerge ende daer updoen
 Stellen viii bernende stallichten van waffe ende de vier
 Kerckm^{rs} de iii^e heleghegheeftm^{rs} endeken en beleeders buyfor
 Van Sinte Cornelis ouctaer zullen come zitten ten grave ter
 Vygelie van ix leffen en ter miffe van requiem die deroorn'
 Bezitters doen finghen zullen mett' volle' chore met andoenders
 En providerders leverendaer toe dat offerliecht daer de volle
 Choer de kerckm^{rs} helegheeftm^{rs} deken en baleeders van de
 Clockenluiders huere huyfiranwe de prifter bezitter van dezer
 Miffe cofter coftriffen ende bodel mede zullen gaen offeren
 Singhende onder de offtrande de Sequentie Dies ire dies illa, &c.
 Daer vooren de voorn bezitters t goets ghehouden zullen zyn te
 Betalen inde vigelie den dekē iiij g^e elck canoinck, vice paftoer,
 Coraelmeeftar ij ge elcken capelaen ende mercenarius .i. g^e ende
 Elck chorael xii te ende des anderdaechs in de miffe diefgelyke
 Wel inftaende zoe en zal niement van hemluiden hierafgauder
 Dan die p'nt zyn van beghinfel van den dienft tot eynde noch
 Zullen zy betalen den priester die de miffe voerfz finghenzal vi g^e
 De endoenders elcxii g^e die providierder ii g^e de cofter ii g^e de
 Coftriffen t famen vi g^e voor t decken en' de kaerfen t ontfteken

This seems to be a contract in the Dutch language for an annual mass. The parts defaced are filled up by conjecture, as may be seen by the words in *Italics*; only as the words *eenwig* [eternal, perpetual], and *eenig* [single], begin both with *ee*, and the rest of the word is effaced, this word is therefore very dubious; but fortunately in the sense it makes no difference; for if a single

of the brass plate in Norton Disney church, mentioned p. cxxii.

In the year thousand five hundred and xviii on the xxix day in December so have Adrian Adriaensz. and young Lady Paetschine Van Den Staine founded within this church on Saint Cornelis altar a *single mass daily* which the churchmasters have accepted to cause to be performed and continued to begin the daymass always after the clock has struck the hour of ten, for which the priest is to have vii pound gr. Flemish a year, in four termes; the sexton, who at the foresaid mass shall ring the large bell, v gr. a year on Saint Agatha's day, when both are yearly paid; or on the following day, if this day comes on a Sunday, and on no other day; so shall the before-mentioned churchmasters, or he *who shall be possessor*, in the evening at the vigils, and in the morning at Mass, *cause to be brought* the grave cloth and ferge, and thereon cause to be put viii burning torches of wax, and the four Churchmasters, the iii Holy Ghostmasters, and the dean and the wife of the Director of Saint Cornelis altar, shall come and sit at the grave at Vigils of ix lessons and at the mass of requiem, which the foresaid Possessors shall cause to be sung with the full quire with affectors and providers furnishing thereunto the oblation light wherewith the full quire, the churchmasters, the Holy Ghostmasters, the dean, and the directors of the bellringers, their wives, the priest-possessor of this mass, The sexton, sextonesses, and beadle, shall go and offer, Singing, whilst offering, the Sequences Dies iræ Dies illa &c. Wherefore the foresaid possessors shall be obliged to pay at the vigils to the dean iiii groats, to every canon, vicepastor, Choralmaster, ii groats; to ev'ry chaplain and mercenary i groat; and to ev'ry choralis xii . . .; and the day following, at the mass, the same; Being it well understood, that nobody of them shall profit hereof unless they be present from the beginning of the service to the end. Likewise they shall pay to the priest who shall sing the foresaid mass vi groats, the affectors each ii groats, the provider ii groats, the sexton ii groats, the sextonesses together vi groats for covering and lighting the candles.

or *eenige* mass is always annually performed, it becomes an *eenswige* or perpetual mass. To keep the closer to the original, the translation is made very verbal, as may be seen in the word *kerkmestiar*, here translated *churchmaster*; *churchwarden* would have been more modern, but not so near to the original.

d d d

T A B L E.

XIth C E N T U R Y.

1065	EDWARD the CONFESSOR,	Westminster,	1
1074	Editha his Queen,	—	8
1069	Archbishop Stigand,	Winchester,	—
1073	Bishop Leofric,	Exeter,	—
1084	— Arfah,	Thetford,	—
1089	William Warren, Earl of Surry,	Leves,	—
1081	Gundreda his Countess,	—	—
1085	Abbot Vitalis,	—	—
1092	Bishop Remigius,	Westminster,	10
1059	— Dudo,	Lincoln,	11
1088	— Gilo,	Wells,	—
1089	WILLIAM the CONQUEROR,	Caen,	—
1086	Maud his Queen,	—	—
992	Bishop Oswald,	—	13
1095	— Wulfstan,	Worcester,	—
1099	— Osmund,	—	—
—	— Raynelm,	Salisbury,	—
1080	Richard, son of the Conqueror,	Hereford,	—
1090	Constance, daughter of the Conqueror,	Winchester,	14
		St. Melaine,	—

XIIth C E N T U R Y.

1100	WILLIAM RUFUS,	Winchester,	15
—	Ingelica,	Hatfield Prevel,	16
—	Juga Baynard,	Dunmow,	—
1107	Robert Fitz Haimon,	Twickenbury,	—
1108	Bishop Gundulf,	Rochefer,	17
1115	— Raynelm,	Hereford,	—
1119	— Theulphus,	—	18
—	— Lofinga,	Norwich,	—
1122	— Blower,	Lincoln,	—
1125	Abbot John,	Peterborough,	19
—	Edith D'Oilli,	Osney,	—
1134	Robert Curthofe,	Gloucester,	—
1135	HENRY the FIRST,	Reading,	20
1139	Bishop Roger,	Salisbury,	—
1147	Robert, Earl of Gloucester,	Bristol,	23
1148	Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke,	Tintern,	—
—	Bishop Beune,	Hereford,	—
—	Geoffrey de Magnaville,	The Temple,	—
1150	Bishop Chichester,	Exeter,	24
1155	Henry of Huntingdon,	Lincoln,	—
—	Abbot Martin,	Peterborough,	—
1159	— Waldevus,	Mailros,	—
1160	— Blois,	Westminster,	25
—	Archbishop Theobald,	Canterbury,	—
1167	Bishop Melun,	Hereford,	27
—	Empress Maud,	Rouen,	—
1170	Robert Fitz Harding,	Bristol,	—
1174	Bishop Blois,	Winchester,	—
1176	Abbot Laurentius,	Westminster,	—
1178	Richard de Lucie,	Leinet,	27
1177	Archbishop Roger,	Tork,	—
1182	Prince HENRY, son of Henry II.	Rouen,	29
1184	Abbot Crispin,	Westminster,	—
1189	HENRY the SECOND,	Font Evraud,	—
—	Bishop Toclve,	Winchester,	—
1191	— John,	Exeter,	—
1197	— Longchamp,	Ely,	—
1198	— de Constantis,	Worcester,	—
—	Walter } Fitzwalters,	Dunmow,	31
—	Matilda, }	Peterborough,	—
1199	Abbot Andrew,	Hereford,	—
—	Bishop Vere,	Font Evraud,	32
—	RICHARD the FIRST,	Danbury,	—
—	St. Cleres,	—	—

XIIIth CENTURY.

1200 St. Hugh,	Lincoln,	33
1201 Bishop Bley,	Tewkesbury,	36
1202 Abbot Alan,	Banham,	—
1203 Sir Hugh Bardolf,	Canterbury,	35
1205 Archbishop Walter,	Exeter,	—
1206 Bishop Marshall,	Lincoln,	36
— Elefenus,	Hereford,	—
1215 — Brufe,	Earl's Colne,	—
— Alberic de Vere,	Christchurch, Oxon.	—
1225 Prior Philip,	the Temple,	37
1219 William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke,	Hereford,	39
1219 Bishop Mapenore,	Hatfield Broad Oak,	—
1221 Robert de Vere,	Westminster,	—
1222 Abbot Humez,	Mortose,	—
1223 William de Tracy,	Salisbury,	41
1226 William Longespe, Earl of Sarum,	—	—
— John Lord Montacute,	the Temple,	—
1227 Robert Lord Rois,	Canterbury,	42
1228 Archbishop Langton,	Old St. Paul's,	—
1228 Bishop Fauconbrigge,	St. David's,	—
1229 — Jorwerth,	—	—
1249 — Anselm,	Beaulieu,	—
1230 Isabel, Countess of Cornwall and Gloucester,	the Temple,	43
1231 William Marshall,	Salisbury,	—
1237 Bishop Poore,	Llanrâp,	—
1240 Llewellyn, Prince of Wales,	Old St. Paul's,	44
1241 Bishop Niger,	Bristol,	—
— Lord Berkeley,	—	—
1243 Thomas Berkeley,	Westminster,	—
1246 Abbot Berking,	Salisbury,	—
1247 Bishop Bingham,	Westminster,	—
1250 — Wendover,	Coverham,	45
1251 Robert and Ralph Neville,	Christchurch, Oxon.	—
1252 Sir Henry de Bath,	Pontaise,	46
— Blanche, Queen of France,	Tewkesbury,	—
1253 Abbot Robert,	Ely,	—
1254 Bishop Northwold,	Lincoln,	47
— Groffete,	Litchfield,	49
1257 Roger de Welesham,	Tork,	—
1255 Archbishop Gray,	Ely,	—
1256 Bishop Kilkenny,	Salisbury,	—
— York,	Westminster,	—
1257 Children of Henry III. }	the Temple,	—
1281 Children of Edward I. }	Tork,	52
1256 William Plantagenet, }	Canterbury,	—
1241 Gilbert Marshall, }	Westminster,	—
1258 Archbishop Sewal,	Winchester,	53
— Isabel, Countess of Athol,	Peterborough,	—
— Abbot Crokefley,	Salisbury,	—
1261 Bishop Ethelmar,	Earl's Colne,	54
1262 Abbot John de Calet,	Will,	—
1263 Bishop Bridport,	Exeter,	55
— Hugh de Vere earl of Oxford,	Hereford,	56
1264 Bishop Buton,	Salisbury,	57
1275 Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester,	Repeham,	—
1298 Bishop Aquablanc,	Westminster,	—
1279 — de la Wyle,	Wells,	58
— Sir Fulk de Kerdeston,	Rochefer,	59
1272 HENRY the THIRD,	Lincoln,	60
1274 Bishop Buton,	Exeter,	61
1277 — Meron,	Old St. Paul's,	—
1279 — Gravefend,	Gosberton,	—
1280 — Brownfcomb,	Hereford,	62
— Chithull,	Peterborough,	—
1282 Nicholas de Roe,	Winchester,	—
— Bishop Cantilupe,	Salisbury,	63
1286 Prior Paris,	Westminster,	—
— Prior Cliffe,	Amberbury,	66
1292 Prior Basing,	Salisbury,	67
1293 Bishop Wykehampton,	—	—
1290 ELEANOR, Queen of Edward I.	—	—
— Eleanor, Mother of Edward I.	—	—
1290 Bishop de la Corner,	—	—
1291 — Longspe,	—	—

1292	Archbishop Peckham,	Canterbury,	—
1293	Agatha de Narborough,	Narborough,	—
—	Aveline, Countess of Lancaster,	Westminster,	—
1295	Robert Vere, Earl of Oxford,	Earl's Coln,	68
—	Urien de St. Pierre,	St. Pierre,	—
1296	Edmund, Earl of Lancaster,	Westminster,	—
1298	Bishop de Luda,	Ely,	77
—	Sir Robert Shurland,	Minster,	—
—	Elias de Bekingham,	Boteham,	78
—	Ralph de Hengham,	Old St. Paul's,	—
—	Alban,	Much Hadham,	—
—	William de Valeance, Earl of Pembroke,	Westminster,	—

XIVth CENTURY.

1300	Ela Longespée,	Oseney,	79
1301	Bishop Gifford,	Worcester,	—
1302	— March,	Wells,	80
1303	Archbishop Corbridge,	Souleswell,	—
1304	John Warren, Earl of Surry,	Lewes,	—
1305	Dean Hufce,	Wells,	81
—	Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln,	Old St. Paul's,	—
1306	EDWARD the FIRST,	Westminster,	—
1307	Bishop Bitton,	Exeter,	—
1308	Canon De la Barr,	Hereford,	82
1309	Bishop Hasehshaw,	Wells,	—
1311	Sir Robert Du Bois,	Fersfield,	—
1312	Bishop Swinfield,	Hereford,	83
1319	— Dalderby,	Lincoln,	—
1320	Dean Aquablanc,	Hereford,	84
1321	Bishop Langton,	Litchfield,	—
1323	— Patebail,	—	85
1323	Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke,	Westminster,	—
—	John Beuflead,	Beverdon,	91
1325	Adam de Frampton,	Wiborn,	88
—	Sir John de Freville,	Little Shelford,	89
1326	Bishop Stapeldon,	Exeter,	90
—	Hugh le Despencer, jun.	Tewkesbury,	—
1327	EDWARD the SECOND,	Gloucester,	92
—	Archbishop Reynolds,	Canterbury,	—
1329	Bishop Mortival,	Salisbury,	—
—	Abbot John,	Tewkesbury,	—
1332	Abbot Knowle,	Bristol,	93
1333	Emma de Mountalt,	Stradset,	—
—	Abbot Curtlingtop,	Westminster,	—
—	Archbishop Mepham,	Canterbury,	—
—	Abbeys Joan,	Romsey,	94
1334	John of Eltham,	Westminster,	—
1337	Bishop Horham,	Ely,	95
—	William Grandison,	St. Mary Ottery,	—
1340	William of Wyndfor,	Westminster,	96
—	Blanch de la Tour,	—	—
1342	Abbot Montemore,	St. Alban's,	—
1343	Bishop Burgherft,	Lincoln,	—
—	Thomas Charlton,	Hereford,	—
1345	Henry, Earl of Lancaster,	Leicester,	97
1346	Sir Humphrey Littlebury,	Holbeche,	—
1345	Bishop Aungerville,	Durham,	98
1347	— Gower,	St. David's,	—
—	Sir Hugh Hastings,	Elving,	—
1348	Archbishop Stratford,	Canterbury,	101
1349	— Bradwardin,	—	—
—	Abbot Sutton,	Dorchester,	—
—	Robert Eggesfield,	Queen's Coll. Oxon.	102
1351	William de Rothwell,	Rothwell,	103
1352	Bishop Hethe,	Rechefer,	—
—	William de Bois,	Fersfield,	104
1354	Elizabeth Lady Montacute,	Christchurch, Oxon.	105
—	John,	—	—
—	Joan,	Cobham,	106
—	Agnes,	—	—
—	Maud,	—	107
—	Cecilia Kerdeston,	Repeham,	—
1354	Robert de Hungerford,	Hungerford,	—
1356	Bartholomew Lord Burgherft,	Lincoln,	108
1358	Habel, Queen of Edward II.	Grey Friars, London,	100
		1360 Henry,	—

1398	Sir Thomas Hungerford,	Farleigh,	158
1412	Walter de Hungerford,	Westminster,	159
1399	Eleanor de Bohun, Dutcheſs of Glouceſter,	—	—
—	Sir Bernard Brocas,	—	—
—	William Manwaring,	—	—
—	Richard Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel,	London,	162
—	RICHARD II.	Westminster,	163
1395	ANNE, Queen of Richard II.	Westminster,	167
—	John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter,	Old St. Paul's,	170

Additional Monuments not exactly aſcertained.

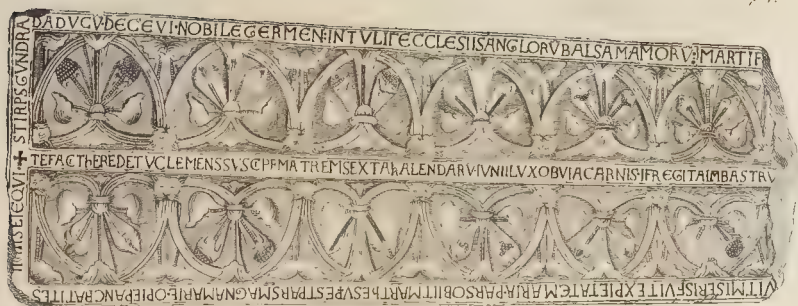
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—	Aldburgh,	Barmston,	—
—	William } de Rythre,	Aldburgh,	173
—	John,	Ryther,	—
—	Brian Fitz Alan,	—	—
—	Thomas Fitz Brian,	Bedal,	174
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—	Saltnarſh,	Hocoden,	175
—	Robert Marmion,	—	—
—	Fitzhugh,	Tanfield,	176
—	John Marmion,	—	—
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1369	William de Patelhull,	Aſton,	—
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—	Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Arundel and Shrewſbury,	Higbam Ferrars,	—
—	Sir John Beauchamp,	Shrewſbury,	—
—	Sir Simon Harcourt,	Worceſter,	—
—	Sir John Beauchamp,	—	—
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—	Biſhop Walter,	Hereford,	194
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— Ergum,		<i>Glaffenbury,</i>	—
King INA,		<i>Hewybridge,</i>	—
Bishop Brithwy,		<i>Hinton St. George,</i>	200
Lacy,		<i>Exeter,</i>	201
St. Quintin,		<i>Kingwever and Ilfracombe,</i>	—
Templar,		<i>Winchester,</i>	—
Monuments at		<i>Dorchester,</i>	—
—		<i>Rotherfield Grey,</i>	202
1387 Draisons,		<i>Rochefer,</i>	—
1291 Sir Robert de Grey,		—	203
1214 — Glanville,		<i>Minstre,</i>	—
Sir Roger de Northwold,		<i>Asb,</i>	—
Sir John de Gonshal,		—	204
Lancrock,		<i>Ickham,</i>	—
Baa,		<i>Stroud,</i>	—
John and Mariote de Creye,		<i>Northfleet,</i>	—
1375 Peter de Lacy,		<i>St. Alban's,</i>	205
Abbot,		—	206
1335 Abbot Wallingford,		—	—
Hermits Roger and Sigar,		—	207
Abbois,		—	—
1500 Richard Standen,		—	—
Bartholomew Halley,		—	—
Robert Beauner,		<i>Albury,</i>	208
John de la Lee,		<i>Royton,</i>	—
Monument at		—	—
Robert de Gravele,		<i>Watton,</i>	209
Walter de Molington,		<i>Little Mundane,</i>	210
Grey or Freville,		<i>King's Langley,</i>	—
Monument at		<i>Egham,</i>	211
—		<i>Tollshunt Knight,</i>	—
Sir Walter de Pottesfull,		<i>Stansted Montfichet,</i>	—
Richard Montfichet,		<i>Tuddington,</i>	212
Monuments at		<i>Cople,</i>	—
Walter Roloun,		<i>Tempsford,</i>	—
Nicholas Roland,		<i>Eton Socon,</i>	—
Monuments at		<i>Hetberfet,</i>	214
John Covegrave,		<i>Nelton,</i>	215
1339 Sir William Bernak,		<i>Reepbam,</i>	—
1372 Joan Wynston,		<i>Holm,</i>	—
Cecilia Kerdeston,		<i>Shelton,</i>	—
Henry de Nottingham,		<i>Gorleston,</i>	216
1373 Ralph de Shelton,		<i>Sionbam Aspal,</i>	—
Bras figure at		<i>Long Melford,</i>	—
Monument at		<i>Clare,</i>	—
Cloptons		<i>Rendlesham,</i>	217
Lionel, duke of Clarence,		<i>Letberingham,</i>	218
1317 Robert de Ufford,		<i>Brundish,</i>	—
John Wingfield,		<i>Trumpington,</i>	219
Another,		<i>Landbeach,</i>	220
William de Boville,		<i>Ely,</i>	—
Elmound de Brundish,		<i>Burgh green,</i>	221
Trumpington,		<i>the Temple,</i>	—
Chambrelan,		<i>Great Stukeley,</i>	—
Monuments at		<i>Sandleford chapel,</i>	222
Burghs,		—	—
1255 Bishop Everdon,		—	—
Sir Nicholas de Styvecle,		—	—
Monument in		—	—

C E N T U R Y X I.

Death came drybynge after, and all to dust passed
Kings & Kayfers, Knightes & Popes,
Learned ne lewed, he ne let no man stande
That he hitte even he never stode after.
Many a lovely lady & lemmans of Knightes
Swoned & swelted for sorrow of Deathe's dintes.

PIERS PLOWMAN.



C E N T U R Y XI.

THE tomb of EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, the last of the Saxon line, may 1065 fairly be said to be the first of Norman work among us. His original one before the high altar ¹ was too inauspicious to his successor to let it remain long. Wolfstan, bishop of Worcester, a great favourite of king Edward, refused to resign his see to any other than the prince who placed him in it. He went to his benefactor's tomb, and struck it with his staff, which immediately adhered to it, so that it could not be plucked away by any prayers or hand but Wolfstan's ².

The Conqueror, on his first coming to London, paid a visit to this tomb, and made an offering of two palls to lay over it. He not long after altered the tomb, and built a more curious one of stone, said to be very costly ³.

In his charter to Westminster Abbey, by which he gave them other lands in exchange for Windsor, which the Confessor had given them, after a gift of £100. of silver to complete the building of the Abbey, he adds, "Ob reverentiam nimii amoris quem ego in ipsum inclitum regem Edwardum habueram tumbum ejus & reginæ juxta eum positæ ex auro & argento fabрили opere artificiosè decoris mirifice operiri feci ⁴." This was the least respect he could shew to the memory of a prince whose pious chastity had left the succession open to him.

The coffin of the Confessor was first opened 36 years after his death, when Gilbert Crispin was abbot, 1101, and found perfectly incorrupt, the joints flexible and sound, the flesh whiter than snow, and the beard of the same colour. Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, would fain have got a hair of it, but it would not stir. I shall transcribe Alured abbot of Rievaulx's account of this first translation, as he calls it. "Accedunt ad tumulum sancti viri qui ad hoc fuerunt invitati, sullatoque lapide quo sarcophagum claudebatur, tanta odoris fragrantia omnium naribus, ut et ecclesia repleretur, & in sepulchro aromata scaturire putarentur. Primum deinde pallium quo sacratissima membra fue-

¹ Widmore's Hist. of Westminster Abbey, p. 15.

² Dant's Antiq. of Westminster Abbey, l. 52. & aut. ibi cit.

³ Ailred Rieval de vita Edw. p. 408.

⁴ Walpole's Anecd. of Painting, l. 19.

"runt involuta pristinam venustatem & integritatem reservasse conspiciunt. Spe
 "deinde gloriæ potioris animati extracto pallio cætera ornamenta vestesque con-
 "siderant, & omnia solida invenerunt & integra. Producent brachia, plicant
 "digitos, articulos explorant, & omnia sana, omnia flexibilia, & antiquo repe-
 "riuntur vigore firmissima. Investigant postremo carnis integritatem pariter &
 "colorem, quæ vitro purior nive candidior futuræ resurrectionis gloriam præ-
 "ferebat. At cum desideratam faciem ejus attingere omnes pariter timuissent,
 "præfatus episcopus Roffensis testimonio conscientiæ vel amoris factus audacior,
 "sudario quo caput sanctissimum tegebatur manum iniecit, & a parte inferiori
 "descendens barbam beatæ canicie niveam fide plenus extraxit, eam ac si viveret
 "mento firmius inhærere præsentens. Delectatus miraculo & desiderio igni-
 "tus pilum unum extrahere, sibi que servare conatur; sed hæsit firmius, nec se
 "quitur voluntatem effectus.—Itaque retento pallio quo sanctissima ejus membra
 "fuerant involuta, aliud æque preciosum apponunt, diligenterque curatam glebam
 "illam dulcissimam suo recondunt in thalamo."

Miracles multiplying at the tomb, abbot Gervase de Blois, about 1158, applied to pope Innocent II. to get Edward canonized. His want of success did not discour- age the next abbot Laurence, who, in a sermon, publicly called upon Henry II. and his subjects to second his wishes. Such an application could not fail of success. Pope Alexander III. issued an order for the canonization of the "glo- rious king Edward." Henry II. at the instigation of Becket (who little suspected how soon it would be his turn to be martyred and fainted) prepared an higher tomb and rich feretory, into which his reliques were translated 1163¹, 77 years after his burial. This solemn ceremony was performed at midnight; and, upon opening his coffin, his body was found uncorrupted: for which reason Flete, the historian of this abbey, says, *preciosissimum incorrupti corporis sui thesaurum in hoc sacro monasterio reponi mandavit*. The habit in which he was dressed was taken off, and likewise the ring which he had given to St. John the Evangelist disguised as a beggar, and which the apostle had returned him by certain pilgrims from the Holy Land. Of the burial clothes (*tres panni*) abbot Laurence made three embroidered copes (*capas brudatas*). The body was arrayed (as it appeared, if the late discovery by Charles Taylour, who drew out of the coffin pieces of gold- coloured and flowered silk and linen, were true) *vestimento holoserico* as usual, de- posited in a chest of oak, and removed into the afore said feretory.

From this time the royal tomb became a sacred shrine. When Henry III. rebuilt the church, he erected, in a chapel dedicated to St. Edward, an higher tomb, in which it is said he inclosed the two former feretories, (though Mr. Dart doubts this) and placed over him a third of gold and precious stones. In this shrine his body was lodged 1269², the king himself, his two sons and brother, and the chief nobility, assisting to carry it; and in or near it was placed in a gold cup the heart of Henry, son of Richard, king of the Romans, slain at Viterbo³. This shrine Mr. Widmore, from Wykes, says, was made 1269⁴. Mr. Widmore adds, and after him Sir Joseph Ayloffe⁵, that Henry had before made one, 1241; but that was not suffi- ciently sumptuous, or not conveniently situated, or it might be new made for the sake of the Mosaic-work, then probably first introduced into England from Rome. Mr. Vertue did not know of the shrine made 1241, but refers 1269 to that of Pietro Cavallini, who, he supposes, was commemorated on it in an inscription to the following effect, not noticed by Camden in his account of the monuments here, 1600, 1603, 1606. Great part of it was remaining in Keep's time, who says the other was of a late hand⁶.

¹ P. 408, 409. ² Bromton & Matthew of Westminster. "Præfente rege Henrico qui hæc procuraverat," Mat. Par. 99. See the Ceremony in Taylour, 29—31. ³ Dart, ubi sup. In a coffin of pure gold. Weever, 455.
⁴ Wykes, 88. Ann. Waverl. 225, and Widmore, p. 75. ⁵ 1266, Knighton, col. 2438. ⁶ P. 138.

Anno milleno Domini cum septuageno
 Et bis centeno, cum completo quasi deno,
 Hoc opus est factum, quod "Petrus duxit in actum
 "Romanus civis," homo, causam noscere si vis,
 Rex fuit Henricus sancti presentis amicus.

Mr. Vertue adds, the words marked by inverted commas only remained in April 1741; and in June following they were picked out and erased.

The cavities of them in the cement are still very apparent; and at the east end, or head of the shrine, I read, Apr. 14, 1781, the following words:

—uxit in actum Romanus civis ho.—

They are cut in the most antient simple Gothic letters of this century, without abbreviation:

VXIT O IN AETVM ROMANVS
 CIVIS O HO

No more of this original inscription is now to be discovered. A coat of plaister has been laid over it on the north and south sides, and at the ends of the east side, which has totally concealed it; and on this coat coloured black has been written in gold capitals the following inscription in Richard the Second's time:

O Omnibus insignis O virtutum laudibus O heros sanctus Edwar O dus.
 East side:

co [here follows the inscription in Gothic letters] die.

North side:

O moriens 1063 fu O per æthera scandit O sursum corda.

The rounds in both inscriptions are in relief, and formerly contained mosaic-work. At the head and end of this second inscription are these figles, which to better mystagogues than myself may unravel the whole. The first is most unfaithfully given, the other totally omitted, in Vertue's and Dart's plates.



It is controverted whether the shrine was erected by the king or his chancellor Ware, who was chosen abbot of this house 1260, 43 Hen. III. and went to Rome for his consecration the same year. There it has been supposed he met with Cavallini, then in high fashion, having just finished, 1256, at the expence of Giacomo Giovanni Capocci and his wife, in the church of St. Maria Maggiore, an elegant shrine of St. Simplicius and Faustina, which, on the new paving the

* Mr. Dart is mistaken in supposing the inscription of Richard II's time to have been put on when the old one, which was inlaid, was worn away. We have seen many letters of it remain so lately as 1741. But perhaps the greater part were picked out much sooner.

church 1168, was brought over to England, and is now at Strawberry-hill, set with stones in mosaic-work, and supported with wreathed columns.

Ware was sent to Rome by Henry III. 1167, to procure workmen for his new building. Mr. Dart¹ remarks a material difference between the work of the shrine, and that of the pavement of the Confessor's chapel and the high altar: that of the shrine being of a thin mosaic, like the tomb of Henry III.

The conformity between the shrine and the tomb is most striking, whether we observe the stile of the design or the inlaying: the capitals of the pillars at the corners of Henry III's tomb and those of the niches of the Confessor's are the same: the porphyry is of the same polish.

The artist brought over by the abbot executed the singularly rich, but now miserably neglected, pavement of the high altar at Westminster; on the north side of which the abbot had a monument with this inscription, alluding to this pavement:

Abbas Ricardus de Ware qui requiescit

Hic, portat lapides quos hic portavit ab urbe.

Ware died 1183.

The first invention of mosaic-work has been generally ascribed to Giotto, whose birth is dated 1176, and his death 1336, at the age of 60.

When Giotto is celebrated as the inventor of the art of working in mosaic, it must be understood of his executing elegant figures in it: for the general practice of this art had been long before him revived in Europe. In 977 the best artists were brought from Constantinople to Venice for rebuilding the church of St. Mark, which was ornamented with several works in mosaic². The great dome at Pisa, in which were the like works, was begun in 1016; and in 1125 a heaven in mosaic was begun at St. John Baptist's church at Florence³. Besides St. Peter's at Rome, pope Innocent III. restored in 1200 some mosaics then decayed⁴.

We have no reason to be surprized that there were able artists skilled in this manner of working so early as the reign of Henry III. and among them a Roman citizen named Peter, who should, on account of their merit, be invited by this magnificent monarch to adorn his grand and costly cathedral dedicated to St. Peter.

Andrea Taffi acquired great reputation by his works at Florence, particularly a large figure of Christ seven cubits long, which was much celebrated. He died 1294, aged 81.

Gaddo Gaddi, of Florence, worked with reputation both in Rome and Florence in mosaic-work. He died 1312, aged 73. These were both earlier than Giotto, Cavallini's master.

It is extraordinary what confusion we find in authors about Pietro Cavallini. Mr. Vertue⁵ endeavours to prove, that the shrine of the Confessor, and the tomb of Henry I. who died 1172, were executed by this artist, who, he adds, made the shrine for the Capocci 1156, and died, according to Vasari and his epitaph at Rome, 1364, at the age of 85. By this last date, Cavallini could not have been born till 1179. Vasari says, Cavallini was born when Giotto restored painting to life, assisted him in his famous Bark of St. Peter (which was finished in 1319) and died at the age of 85. He does not ascertain the year of his death, nor does Baldinucci give the dates of his birth or death (contrary to his usual custom) but contents himself with telling us, that he flourished about 1310, and is of opinion that he drew towards the end of his life in 1372⁶. He was of Rome, and was buried there in the church of St. Paul without the walls⁷. P.

¹ II. 24.

² Ridolfi, Part I. p. 12.

³ Cinelli, Bellezze de Firenze, p. 27.

⁴ Bonanni Hist. Templi Vaticani, p. 33.

⁵ Archæol. I. 33.

⁶ Decem. I. Sec. II. p. 6, 7.

⁷ Vasari. I cannot find any account of his monument in travellers.

Reffa puts the birth and death of Giotto 1276—1336, of Pietro Cavallini 1304—1379, but these last dates are erroneous. Pietro Cavallini was born in 1279, and died 1364¹.

The name of *Petrus Romanus Civis*, has led Vertue strangely astray. We do not find, indeed, any other Peter, a Roman. The probability seems to be, that this Peter was some workman sent either by Taffi or Gaddi to execute their designs. If any weight could be given to the accuracy of expression in monkish Latin rhymes, *duxit in actum* would seem to mean, *carried into execution*; but the writers of these jingles always sacrificed meaning to sound, so that no argument can fairly be drawn from their expressions.

It is not to be doubted, but the artist, whoever he was, executed both the shrine of the Confessor and the pavement at the same time, if he did not stay here till the death of Henry III. or perhaps returned again to do the monument. I am inclined to think from the words *cum completo quasi deno*, the date of the inscription of the shrine is to be translated 1280 instead of 1270, and then he may well have executed all three together; and there will be no improbability in Mr. Walpole's giving him the honour of designing the Eleanor crosses. Mr. Vertue adds, the design of Sebert's shrine on the south side of the altar, and the paintings over the shrine; and Sir Joseph Ayloffe, the monument of Aveline, countess of Lancaster. But admitting the objections above stated to Cavallini being the artist, not only the merit of these works, but that of the invention of working in Mosaic-work will be taken from him.

Mr. Talman drew the shrine of the Confessor, when nearer its original state, and the Society of Antiquaries employed Vertue to engrave his drawing.

On the north and south sides of the lower story, which is solid, are three niches or arches, and another at the east end not half the depth of the others; the back of each is inlaid with mosaic in as many different patterns; the little wreathed pillars inlaid with beautiful coloured mosaic, some of which is still in high preservation; Mr. Dart seems mistaken, when he supposed these niches to be intended for the sick and infirm to repose in.

On this basement or pedestal is a feretory or frame of wainscot, which Mr. Dart supposes of original erection, and to have been formerly covered with plates of metal; I rather think it was painted in pannels with figures of saints. It consists of two stories, very neat and regular, said in time past to have been curiously plated with gold, and adorned with precious stones, but Mr. Dart says it does not seem ever to have been covered over head. Great part of what are called precious stones is still there; for on the pilasters between the arches is a kind of Mosaic-work of stained glass², a customary ornament at that time, as appears by the tomb of Edmund Crouchback on the north side of the altar, which is inlaid after the same manner³. In the spandrills, the glass in one single place seems to cover colours, and shew them through. The frame was originally terminated at the top by a third story or pediment, as appears by Sandford's and Vertue's print, and that in the octavo account of the abbey 1722; but that upper frame is now sunk in. Over all was the curious one mentioned by Paris⁴.

Mr. Dart was of opinion, from the difference of workmanship, that the shrine was built or repaired at different times. The pillars at the East end are very unlike each other⁵, one having a Doric capital, the other a rich wreath of vine-leaves wretchedly expressed in the plate, and both stand on the base of the tomb: the pillars at the West end have no capitals, and their bases are buried in the earth. This last circumstance he accounts for, by observing, that under

¹ See Pilkington's Dictionary, articles, Taffi, Gaddi, Giotto, Cavallini.

² Dart II. 24.

³ See the Antiquary Society's print.

⁴ Dart Ib.

⁵ These differences in the pillars are expressed in Vertue's print, but not in Dart's, though he gives the same side.

the coronation-chair the floor is paved with tiles different from the Mosaic pavement, in which place he inclined to think were steps to descend under the tomb, where very probably the enshrined body of the faint lay. The custom of enshrining, he says, was very different; sometimes the coffin was placed level with the surface of the earth, sometimes upon it, and sometimes *in altum*. The first was for men of exemplary piety and mortification, which was the case of this faint: the second for men of more early example, and was first a custom, as in the case of St. Cuthbert before he was faint, and others, but afterwards allowed as a favour to faints of the second rank: the elevated body was usually for martyrs. Upon the most attentive examination, and the intermixture of red tiles with the pavement, I am inclined to think the same part of mosaic pavement was originally laid on such tiles. They now appear not only through several round holes, whence the mosaic has been removed, and where one might suspect them of being inserted by way of repair, but in other parts where they seem coeval with it. So that whether there was or was not a way at the back of the high altar under the coronation chair, by which to descend into the Confessor's vault, it was probably once covered, as well as the whole floor of this chapel with mosaic, which is broken into only by the tombs of the dutches of Gloucester, John Waltham, bishop of Salisbury, 1395, and another older at the head, ascribed by Dart to Richard de Wendover, bishop of Rochester, 1250. Though I do not think Mr. Dart has accounted for this variation of the pillars at the West end, I cannot substitute a better hypothesis. I once conceived, from the plain face of the lower part of the shrine here, and rich inlaying of the upper, there might have been an altar against this end; but this is contradicted by the mosaic-work continuing close up to the shrine here, unless we suppose it removed hither at the dissolution. It is astonishing to observe on what a hard stone this beautiful and rich mosaic has been inlaid in rounds, lozenges, serpentine wreaths, and other forms.

Within this shrine lay the coffin, of firm strong wood, bound about with iron. The boards of this coffin being broken after the coronation of James II. and a hole of about 6 inches by 4 made in it, opposite to the right breast of the corpse, Mr. Taylor, or Mr. Keepe, on Saint Barnaby's day, 1685, after morning service, accompanied by two friends who had been viewing the tombs, examined the place by the help of a ladder. He put his hand into the hole, and turning the bones, drew from under the shoulder-bones a crucifix richly enamelled and gilt, affixed to a gold chain two feet long, which he shewed to his friends; but fearing to take them away without the knowledge of the bishop of Rochester then dean, and not being able to obtain access to him, he acquainted one of the choir with the discovery, and shewed him the things. This person advised him to take charge of them till he could see the dean. He did so for near a month, when he shewed them to the archbishop of York, Dr. Dolben, who introduced him with them to archbishop Sancroft. After this the discoverer had drawings made of them, and they were shewn to Sir William Dugdale, who promised to write some observations on them. The dean of Westminster at last saw them, and the finder had the satisfaction of depositing them in the royal hands. In consequence of this, the coffin was secured in a new one of two inch planks, fastened together with iron wedges.

The chain is described as being 24 inches long, of pure gold; the links oblong, and curiously wrought. The upper part to lie in the nape of the neck, was joined by a locket, composed of a large knob of massy gold of the size of a milled shilling, and half an inch thick. Round this went a wire, on which half a dozen little gold beads finely wrought hung loose. On each side of the locket were set two large square red stones, supposed rubies, and from it, fixed to two gold rings, the chain descended, and meeting below, past through a square piece of gold made hollow for the purpose, wrought into several angles, and painted

painted of different colours, resembling so many precious stones. To this was joined the crucifix, to be taken off at pleasure by a screw. It was in shape like a cross humettè flory or botonè; the upright part four inches, the transverse scarce three: all the ends neatly turned, and the botons enamelled with figures: The cross had enamelled on it the figurè of Christ crucified, and an eye above casting a ray on him: on the reverse, a Benedictine monk, and on each side of him these Roman capitals.

On the right limb,

(A)

Z A X

A

on the left,

P

A C

H

The cross was hollow, opening by a screw, as if to inclose some relique. The discoverer drew the head to the hole, and found it very sound and firm; the upper and nether jaws whole, and full of teeth; a list of gold about an inch broad, like a coronet, surrounding the temples. There was also in the coffin white linen and gold coloured flowered silk, that looked indifferently fresh, but on a touch fell to pieces.

The author of this discovery quotes Ailred abbot of Rievaulx's life of St. Edward p. 402, as saying, that after his death, "his body was washed, and embalmed with sweet scenting odors and aromatick spices, wrapped in white and precious linen, and those covered with rich and costly vestments; a coronet on his head, a crucifix on his breast, and other regal ensigns of majesty." But all Ailred says is, "Parantur regales exequiæ, preciosis lintheis & optimis palliis corpus involvitur." Hoveden (p. 256.) says, he was buried the next day after his decease.

Such is the story told in the quarto pamphlet printed 1688, and signed Cha. Taylor. The truth of this discovery was questioned by Mr. Talman, who drew the shrine, since engraved by Vertue for the Society of Antiquaries, and in 1722 could find no traces of the coffin having been opened¹. But this is not extraordinary, since the writer expressly says it was new cased immediately after. Hearne, in a MS. note in my copy of this tract, says, *Cha. Taylor* was an assumed name for *Henry Keepe*, the author of the first English account of the Westminster monuments. Mr. Dart² calls him *Young*, and says it was H. Keepe who turned papist under James II. Who the writer was, and whatever credit is due to his narrative, we have already seen he is very little to be trusted in his extracts from the old historians who relate the several translations of the Confessor's body.

Mr. Le Neve imagined that what Taylor found was part of the jewels offered at this shrine by Alphonso the Third, son of Edward I. with the golden coronet of Llewellyn, prince of Wales. But it is very unlikely such offerings should get within the coffin. At the same time I am not without my doubts, that the crucifix and chain were not deposited with the body originally, or at any subsequent translation.

I shall just add, that the present story among the Vergers is, that the discoverer found with the chain a sceptre three feet long, which, after shewing to one of his friends in Tothill-street, was shewn to the archbishop, and by him to the king, who, when he abdicated the throne, carried it away, and presented it to the pope, among whose regalia it is still to be seen. If any more stress could be laid on the oral than the printed story, one would suspect, that the Confessor was buried like Edward I. with his sceptre, &c. in his hands; and that by the decay of the coffin some such paraphernalia came to light.

Within the wooden coffin strongly bounded with iron in the middle of the shrine the body is still supposed to be lodged³. By a measurement which I

¹ Antiquary Society's minutes.

² Antiq. of Weslms I. 174. ditto by J. C. 154. Keepe, 138.

³ II. 25.

took of it April 14, 1781, it appears to be seven feet six inches long, by two feet one inch wide at the head, and twenty-two inches at the feet, and twenty-two inches deep. It lies within the stone-work at the depth of about fifteen inches from the top of the side arches, and five from the stone-work at each side.

1074. The Confessor's *virgin* wife EDITHA, daughter of earl Godwin, who survived him six years, and died 1074, was buried on the north side of his tomb, but has no distinct memorial. The words before cited from the Conqueror's charter seem to imply that she and her husband had one common tomb.

1069. The celebrated archbishop STIGAND died in prison at *Winchester*, and was buried there. Bishop Fox lodged his remains in the same leaden chest with Wina, first bishop of Winchester, with this short inscription:

Hic jacet Stigandus.

They were dislodged 1647¹, and are now in another leaden chest on the wall of the choir, without any distinct memorial.

1073. The monument of LEOFRIC, first bishop of *Exeter*, who died 1073, and was buried in what was then the cemetery, but since, by the addition of buildings, made the south transept of his cathedral, has been long since demolished. That erected by the dean and chapter, 1568², is in the style of the age in which it was erected; an altar-tomb under an elliptic arch garretted at top, springing from grouped pillars, having the same above their capitals. The first border under the table is adorned with angels, the second with quatrefoils and little arches, and the lowermost with plain compartments. On the upper border is this inscription in gold letters:

Leofric, the first bishoppe of Exeter, lyeth here.

1084. The monument of ARFAST, first bishop of *Thetford*, who died 1084, is gone with the cathedral in which he was buried.

1089. No better fate has attended that of WILLIAM WARREN, earl of *SURREY*, who died 1089, and was buried in the Chapter-house at *Lewes*. His epitaph preserved in Dugdale³ from the abbey register is as follows;

Hic, Guilliélme comes, locus est laudis tibi fomes,
Hujus fundator & largus sedis amator.
Iste tuum funus decorat, placuit quia munus
Pauperibus Christi quod prompta mente dedisti.
Ille tuos cineres servat Pancratius heres,
Sanctorum castris qui te sociabit in astris.
Optime Pancrati, fer opem te glorificanti;
Daque poli sedem talem tibi qui dedit ædem.

1081. But that of his countess GUNDREDA, who died before him in child-bed⁴ at Castle Acre, May 27, 1085, has been recovered by a fortunate accident. This coffin-fashioned tomb stone of black marble, 5 feet 5 inches long to the break, 2 feet broad at head, and 22 inches at foot, was accidentally discovered by Wm. Burrell, Esq. fixed over the tomb of Edward Shirley, Esq. who died Mar. 16, 1550, and was son of John Shirley of Isfield, clerk of the kitchen to Henry VII. and cofferer to Henry VIII. some of which family probably removed it from the monastery soon after the dissolution into Isfield church, seven miles from Lewes.

¹ Godwin, 213.

² Le Neve's Fasti Bo.

³ Bar. I. 74.

⁴ Vipartus cruciata. Lewes reg.

It was removed from thence 1774, at Mr. Burrell's cost, to St. John Baptist's Southover church by Lewes, as nearest to its original spot, which it was to have a second time covered, could it have been determined in the ruins of the abbey. It is now inclosed within a pew, and this inscription over it;

Within this pew stands the tomb-stone
of GUNDRAD, daughter of William the
Conqueror, and wife of William the first
Earl of Warren, which having been deposited
over her remains in the Chapter-house
of Lewes priory, and lately discovered
in Isfield church, was removed
to this place at the expence
of William Burrell, Esq.

A. D. 1774.

An elevation of its modern front was engraved with the stone itself for Mr. Watson's History of the Earls of Warren. The latter makes a head-piece to this century.

The form of the letters answers to those on the tombs of bishop Roger at Salisbury, William Deincourt at Lincoln, between 1087 and 1100, Ilbert de Chaz at Monkton Farley, and that of Hilperic at Cologne*. One may account for the intermixture of the Saxon and Roman capitals here, by supposing the *ε* maintained its ground with the Saxon names and orthography longer in these southern countries. The figure *ε* occurs on our coins as late as the three first Edwards.

The inscription is in leonine verse, and contains a turn of sentiment unusual in monkish epitaphs.

Stirps, Gundreda, ducum, decus evi, nobile germen,
Intulit ecclesiis Anglorum balsama morum:
Mar[tis or tha] - - - - -
- - - vit miseris, fuit ex pietate Maria.
Pars obiit Marthe, superest pars magna Marie.
O pie Pancrati, testis pietatis & equi,
Te facit heredem, tu clemens suscipe matrem.
Sexta kalendarum Junii lux obvia carnis
Ifregit alabastru - - - - -

The first line comprizes her illustrious descent more comprehensively than bishop Roger's. The second alludes to her merit in first introducing into England the Cluniac order, a reform and perfecting of the Benedictine, and this is the *balsama morum*. Then follows a beautiful allusion to the characters of the two sisters, Martha and Mary, in the Gospel, with the happy application of the contrast between them. The poet, concealing the blameable part of Martha's attachment to the world, ingeniously represents her worldly-mindedness as directed to and governed by the best views, those of providing for the necessities of life, and relieving the distressed. Enough remains of the third line to shew that the comparison begins here, that the first word is the name of Martha, and that her example was followed by Gundreda in charitable distributions, while in her devotion she copied the example of her other sister, who sat at Jesus's feet attentive to his doctrine.

The corporal part, in which this good lady resembled Martha, came to the end of all flesh. The *pars magna Marie*, which I understand as synonymous with the *better part*, i. e. the soul, survives. The address to St. Pancratius is peculiarly happy. He was the patron of the new foundation, and of the old church which preceded

* Montf. L. 175.
D

it. The endowments of this house were very considerable; fourteen churches and chapels in Yorkshire, besides large possessions in Suffex, and the church before of wood was rebuilt of stone. The revenue at the Dissolution amounted to between £900. and £1000. a year. As the countess died in child-bed, and the mother only is recommended to the regards of the faint, it is probable the infant survived. The seventh line fixes her death to the *sixth* calends of June with Dugdale and Sanford, though an antient record seen by Le Neve¹ makes it the *eighth* calends. Notwithstanding the harshness of the construction, I cannot understand *obvia* in the sense of *hostilis*. These two lines do not rhyme together. The comparison with the two sisters holds very consistently with styling this good princess's devotions the breaking the alabaster box of her flesh and body, in allusion to the alabaster box of precious ointment with which Mary, the sister of Lazarus, anointed the feet of Jesus preparatory to his death; and with this the *balsama morum* correspond. *Ifregit* wants, indeed, the mark of the N over it, and makes the verse hobble; but there is a similar omission over *herede* in the second line, where it is indispensable; and instances of such hobbling are not unfrequent.

Ordericus Vitalis is guilty of two mistakes about this lady. He makes her survive her husband, which is expressly contradicted both by the register of Lewes abbey and the earl's charter to it²; and he calls her daughter of Gherbod, a Fleming, to whom the Conqueror had given the city and earldom of Chester³; in which he is copied by Du Chesne⁴, Imhof⁵, and Dugdale⁶. Milles⁷ and Sandford⁸ make her the Conqueror's fifth daughter. The ledger book of Lewes abbey⁹ calls her daughter of Queen Matilda mother of Henry I. consequently she was daughter of the Conqueror.

1085. The monument of VITALIS, twenty-first abbot of *Wolmynster*, and second after the Conquest, who was elected 1076, and died 1082; (though Widmore puts his death 1085) is supposed to be still subsisting in the south cloister there, mistaken for that of *Laurentius*, another abbot. But since Flete describes it as being "a small one of *white marble* at the feet of *Gervasius*;" and Sporley, as "of white marble, plain, almost even with the pavement," I do not see how one of these three figures of abbots now there, and which are of *grey* or *blue* marble, can be ascribed to him; much less one *with brasses* described by Keepe. These three figures are probably of this or the next century, and being without mitres, must precede *Laurence*, who procured the mitre for this house¹⁰; but I doubt they have lost all the criteria for assigning them to their owners. See Widmore, p. 20. Dart's Appendix to Vol. II. p. 11. Mr. Dart's print is much too flattering. Mr. Basire's here annexed is a faithful representation of their present state. The middlemost, which is also the rudest, being in so low relief as to be hollowed in the stone, and inclosed in a border, and without a mitre, which was granted afterwards, is now inscribed GILBERTUS CRISPINUS, who immediately succeeded Vitalis, and died 1117, as Widmore, but as the present inscription 1114. Widmore gives the middlemost to *Gervasius*, who died 1160, but Dart denies it.

Vitalis's epitaph now gone, though the poetry be mean enough, is yet, says Mr. Widmore, better than those of some of his successors. It was this:

A vita nomen qui traxit, morte vocante,
Abbas Vitalis transit, hicque jacet.

¹ MS. note in Dugdale's Baronage in my possession.

² Mon. Aug. I. 616.

³ P. 2. Tab. XVIII.

⁴ P. 12.

⁵ P. 522. a. c.

⁶ Bar. I. 74.

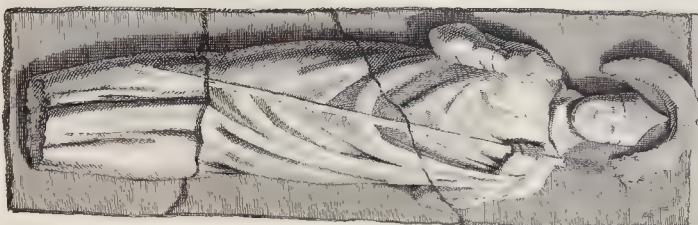
⁷ Mon. Aug. II. 909. in addit. ad tom I.

⁸ The second is dated 1176, consequently the mitred one cannot be Vitalis as now inscribed. Dart gives it to Humez, who died 1222. Add. Epit.

⁹ Tab. Geneal. com. Warr. & Surr. p. 1083.

¹⁰ Cat. of Honor. 62.

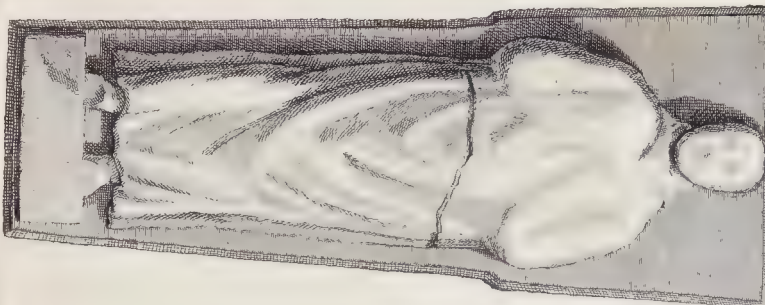
VITALIS ABBAS
JO 82



GISLEBERTVS CRISPINVS ABBAS
III 4



LAURENTIVS ABBAS
II 76



Gilbert's epitaph was gone in Flete's time. Sir Joseph Ayloffe assured me there never were any inscriptions on the sides of these tombs, as I had conceived there might have been, like that on the sides of bishop Roger's at Salisbury.

On the north side of the altar at *Lincoln*, is a rich canopy monument of 1092, six arches with purfled pediments, buttresses, and finials; and at the head and feet within are double pannels of rich diversified foliage. In the south front of the lowermost of the two tombs covered by it are two quatrefoils in circles; a third replaced with a black marble table, with this modern epitaph, erected by bishop Fuller:

HUJUS FUNDATOR TEMPLI REMIGIUS URNA
HAC JACET ATQUE BREVI: SIT SATIS APTA VIRO!
SI TAMEN INGENTI TRIBUES EQUALE SEPULCHRUM
EJUS PAR MENTI, MENS EA QUANTA FUIT!
SIT TUMULUS TEMPLUM QUOD STRUXERAT IPSE, MINORÆ
NEC POSSIT TUMULO, AVT NOBILIORE TEGI.

The fourth front of the easternmost tomb has three knights in mail and surcoats, sitting and reclining their heads and arms on blank shields, an unusual decoration; and on the north front are two figures writing. The first of these tombs belongs to bishop REMIGIUS, who having translated the see from Dorchester hither, began to build this church 1088, and left it unfinished at his death, 1092. Both he and his successor Bloet, who finished the church, and died 1122, are said by Willis¹ to have been buried in the church of Remigius's building; the first in the choir, the other in the north transept, and both to have had contiguous monuments, or as he calls them *chapels*, on the north side of the choir. It seems probable, that the present monuments ascribed to both were erected over their remains within the old choir, when it was rebuilt by bishop Alexander in the reign of Henry I. and Stephen. This choir was continued further east about the close of Henry III's reign, and the screen, rood-loft, and stalls, made in that of Edward II². To some of these periods may these monuments be ascribed. They can therefore be mentioned here only by anticipation, being the work of the succeeding century. For this remark I am indebted to Mr. Essex's intimate acquaintance with every part of this cathedral. The knights on the front of this monument may denote the soldiers placed to guard our Lord's sepulchre; as on a tomb in the north side of the altar at Northwold, in Norfolk, where are three armed men between three trees, all in a reclining posture. These sepulchres were always erected on the north side of the altar. Thomas Fienes, lord Dacre, by his will, 1531, bequeathed his body to be buried on the north side the altar at Hurstmonceaux, and ordered, that a tomb should be made for placing there the sepulchre of our lord. Sir Henry Colet wills to be buried at Stepney, at the sepulchre before St. Dunstan, and his monument is still to be seen on the north side of the church³.

The last of the monuments on the south side without the choir at *Wells* is by 1059. Godwin⁴ referred to bishop DUDO, who died 1059; and that on the north 1088, side to his successor GISO, who died 1088⁵.

Though the CONQUEROR had no grave or monument in England, the circumstances that attended his death are connected with the present subject. He had no sooner breathed his last at the abbey of St. Gervase, on a hill out of Rouen to the west, than all his domestics not only forsook him, but plundered his apart-

¹ Cathedrals, II. 46.

⁴ P. 365.

² See Arch. IV. 150—156.

³ Blomfield's Norfolk, I. 517, 518.

⁵ Ib. 366.

ments so completely, that his corpse was left naked, and he would have wanted a grave, had it not been for the more grateful clergy and the archbishop of Rouen, who ordered the body to be conveyed to Caen, and one Herluin, a gentleman of the place (*pagensis eques*) from pure goodness of heart (*naturali bonitate*) took upon himself the care of the funeral, provided the proper persons (*pollinētores & vespiōnes*) and hired a carriage to convey it to the river, and thence quite to Caen. There the abbot and convent, attended by crowds of clergy and laity, came out to meet it. But as they were proceeding to pay the proper honours, they were alarmed by a sudden fire which broke out in a house, and destroyed great part of the city. The distracted people went to give the necessary assistance, and left the monks, with a few bishops and abbots, to go on with the service; which being finished, and the *sarcophagus* laid in the ground, the body still lying on the bier, Gilbert, bishop of Evreux, pronounced a long panegyric on the deceased; and, in conclusion, called on the audience to pray for his soul. On a sudden starts up from the crowd Ascelin Fitz-Arthur, and demands a compensation for the ground they stood on, which he said William had forcibly taken from his father to found his abbey on it; and in God's name forbids the burying him on his property, or covering him with his turf. The bishops and nobles having satisfied themselves about the truth of his demand, were obliged to pay him immediately sixty shillings for the grave, and promise an equivalent for the rest of the ground, which they afterwards gave him. They then proceeded to the interment: but in laying the body in the sarcophagus, it was found to have been made so small by the ignorance of the mason, that they were forced to press the corpse with such violence, that the fat belly burst, and diffused an intolerable stench, which all the smoke of the censers and other spices could not overcome. The priests were glad to hurry over the service, and make the best of their way home in no small fright¹.

William Rufus erected to his father's memory a costly monument, executed by the goldsmith Otho, to whom he caused to be delivered a great quantity of gold, silver, and precious stones; and the following epitaph, composed by Thomas, archbishop of York, was put on it in gold letters².

Qui rexit rigidos Northmanos, atque Britanos
 Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,
 Et Cenomanenses virtute coercuit enses,
 Imperiique sui legibus applicuit;
 Rex magnus parva jacet hic GULIELMUS in urna:
 Sufficit & magno parva domus domino.
 Ter septem gradibus se volverat atque duobus
 Virginis in gremio Phœbus, & hic obiit.

In 1522, Peter de Marigny, bishop of Castres, and abbot of St. Stephen at Caen, at the solicitation of a great cardinal, an archbishop, and an Italian bishop, desirous to see the remains of the Conqueror, opened his tomb, and found the body in the original situation. The abbot caused a painting to be taken of it on wood just as it appeared. But in 1562, the Hugonots, not content with destroying this painting, demolished the tombs of the Conqueror and his wife, with their effigies in relief to the life, and broke in pieces with their daggers the Conqueror's *biere* made of *pierre de volderil*, and supported on three little white pilasters. They expected to have met with some treasure, but found only his

¹ Porro dum corpus in sarcophagum mitteretur, & violenter, quia vas per imprudentiam cœmentariorum breve structum erat, complicaretur, pinguis venter crepuit, & intolerabilis fœtor circumstantes personas & reliquum vulgus implevit. Fumus thuris aliorumque aromatum de thuribulis copiose ascendeat; sed tetercinum putorem excludere non valebat. Sacerdotes itaque sollemniter exequias perficere, & ascitum suum cum pavore mappalia repetere. Ord. Vit. 663.
² Versus hujusmodi ex auro inserti sunt. Ord. Vit. 15. *Pencilled* in letters of gold upon his tomb. Sandford, p. 6. Rather mislaid, as on the Confessor's shrine.

bones, still joined together, and covered with red taffety. Those of the arms and legs were thought longer than those of the tallest men of the present age. One of these sacrilegious wretches, named Francis de Gray de Bourg l' Abbe, gave them to Dom Michael de Comalle, religious and bailiff of the abbey, who kept them in his chamber, till Admiral Coligny and his *refrères* ruined and destroyed every thing there¹.

The Conqueror's wife MAUD was buried, 1086, between the choir and altar, 1086, in the nunnery of the Holy Trinity, which she had founded at Caen. A tomb of gold and jewels was erected over her, and this epitaph²:

Egregie pulchri tegit hæc structura sepulchri
Moribus insignem, germen regale, MATHILDEM.
Dux Flandrita pater, huic extitit Hadala mater;
Francorum gentis Roberti filia regis,
Et soror Henrici regali fede potiti,
Regi magnifico Willermo juncta marito,
Præsentem sedem, præsentem fecit & ædem,
Tam multis terris quam multis rebus honestis,
A se ditatam, se procurante dicatam.
Hæc consolatrix miserum, pietatis amatrix,
Bonis dispersis pauper sibi, dives egenis.
Sic infinitæ petit confortia vitæ,
In prima mensis post primam luce Novembris.

The monuments of bishops OSWALD and WOLSTAN at *Worcester*, under the 992. window of the Lady Chapel (miscalled by Dr. Thomas, bishops *de Constantiis* and 1095. *Gifford*, who lived one and two centuries later) are very much in the style of those of Roger and the other bishop at Sarum; the same attitude and the same foliage under their heads, as under the latter. It is remarkable, that both the Worcester bishops hold a mere baculus, or staff³, instead of a crozier (though both Thomas and Green call them croziers⁴) and have a rose on their breast. Oswald died 992; Wolstan, 1095. The monument in the Lady Chapel, miscalled *Wolstan's*, is more probably bishop *Gifford's*, who died 1301: the altar part of it is adorned with six figures of apostles sitting in quatrefoils; and on it lies a figure in pontificalibus, the hands elevated, but not joined. At the head is a rich canopy, on which sit angels.

That of OSMUND, bishop of *Sarum*, in the midst of the Lady Chapel there, 1099. is a plain coffin-fashioned stone inscribed in modern characters ANNO MXCIX, yet said to have been brought from the old church. The Sarum Obituary says, he lies *inter capellas Salve Regina & S. Stephani*⁵.

The tomb in *Hereford* cathedral, on the north wall, a little above Stainbury's 1099. chapel, commonly given to bishop RAYNELM, is by Godwin⁶ assigned to Robert *Levinga*, the first bishop of this see after the Conquest, who rebuilt this church, and died 1095. I shall in the next century give my reasons for differing from this opinion.

¹ Meulan's Hist. gen. de Norm. Rouen, 1631, fol. p. 239. 240.

² Ord. Vit. VII. 648.

³ It is remarkable, that the staff of the ancient archbishops of Rouen, like those of other ancient bishops and abbots, is not bent, as we see it on their monuments within the last three centuries. It was only tipped by a ball (*pomme*) something like the top of a cane. Afterwards it was made like a shepherd's crook; and at last the end was curved (*recurvit*) as at present. Molcon, Voy. Liturgique de France, p. 271.

⁴ Green's Hist. of Worc. 74, Thomas's Antiq. of Worc. 39.

⁵ Tanner Bib. Brit. 565.

⁶ P. 481.

RICHARD, second son of the Conqueror, who came to an untimely death as he was hunting in the New Forest, was buried in the fourth aisle of the choir at *Winchester*, where is an altar tomb set in the wall, under a small Gothic canopy, on which is this inscription, in Roman-Saxon capitals.

Hic jacet Ricardus Willi senioris regis fil. et Beorn. Dux.

On the ledge above, in the same letters :

Intus est corpus Richardi Willhelmi
Conquestoris filii et Bernie ducis.

William of Malmfbury¹ says it was reported, that this young prince, who had a spirit above his years and delicate person, was struck by a blast of foul air as he was hunting in the New Forest. Gemeticensis² only says he died of a wound received by the blow of a tree, of which he lingered a short time. Ordericus Vitalis³, that as he was pursuing his game full speed a hazel branch bruised him against the pommel of the saddle, and gave him a mortal wound, of which he died within the week, universally regretted. Thomas Rudbourne⁴ says, he died suddenly. The short Chronicle of Gloucester Abbey, in Mon. Ang. I. 994, puts his death 1080, and his burial in that church. He certainly does not witness a charter of his uncle Robert earl of Morton to St. Michael's mount in Normandy, which Mr. Haberdin refers to 1076⁵.

Sandford describes his monument as two black marble stones, inlaid into the new work built by bishop Fox, one of which stands edgewise in the wall, and the other lies flat, containing an epitaph on the verge thereof in Saxon letters, signifying the person therein interred to be duke of Bernay in Normandy⁶.

1090. **CONSTANCE**, second daughter of the Conqueror, wife of Alan Fergant duke of Bretagne, died 1090, and was buried at *St. Melaine*. Her corps was found 1672, under the Tower. It had been wrapt in leather, of which only the fragments remained, as also those of a coarse woollen cloth, with her skull and other bones, and a leaden cross, whereon were engraved her name, date of her death, and the name of her father and husband⁷. Alan died 1119, and was buried in Redon abbey⁸.

William's four other daughters were, *Cecily* abbess of Holy Trinity, Caen, where she died and was buried 1127⁹ : *Adeliza*, a nun, betrothed to Harold king of England, but died before marriage, before 1066¹⁰ : *Adela* or *Alice*, wife of Stephen earl of Blois : *Agatha*, betrothed first to Harold, after to Alphonfus, king of Galicia, but died before marriage, agreeable to her prayer for pure virginity ; buried in St. Mary's church at Bayeux¹¹.

¹ Richardus magnanimo parenti spem laudis alebat puer delicatus, & ut id ætatis puerum altum quid spirans : sed tantam primævi sors indolem mors acerba cito depasita correxit. Tradunt cervos in nova foresta terebrantem tabidi aeris nebula morbum incurrisse. III. p. 62. b.

² Idem arboris male evitate ægorans, post paululum hominem exiit. viii. c. 9. p. 296.

³ Dum prope Quantam in nova foresta venaretur, & quandam feram caballo currente pertinaciter insequeretur ad fellæ citellam valido corli rano admodum confectus est, & lethalter læsus. Dehinc eadem hebdomada penitens & absolutus, atque sacro viatico communicus est : nec multo post cum magno multorum luctu in Anglia defunctus est. V. p. 573.

Idem, p. 781 & Chron. Timmouth sp. Lel. Coll. I. p. ii. p. 325.

⁴ Ap. Lel. Coll. I. ii. 417.

⁵ Familia Aug. Will. Conq. Gotting. 1745. 4^o. p. 7.

⁶ P. 8.

⁷ Lobineau, I. 104. II. 353.

⁸ Ord. Vit. 285. 492. 573.

¹¹ Ib. 573.

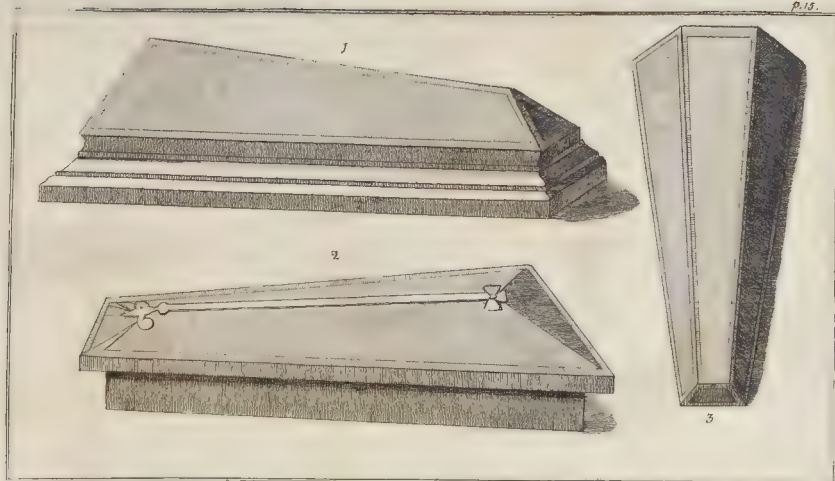
⁹ Ib. I. 128.

¹⁰ Ord. Vit. 549. Sandford.

C E N T U R Y X I I .

Ye pallid spirits, and ye ashie ghosts,
Which joining in the brightnes of your day,
Brought forth these signs of your presumptuous boasts,
Which now their dusty reliques do bewray,
 Tell me, ye spirits, (sith the darksom river
 Of Styx, not passable to souls returning,
 Enclosing you in thrice three wards for ever,
 Do not restrain your images still mourning),
Tell me, then (for perhaps some one of you
Yet here above him secretly doth hide)
Do ye not feel your torments to accrue
When ye sometimes behold the ruined pride
Of these old Gothic works, built with your hands,
Now to become nought else but heaped sands.

SPENSER, Ruines of Rome.



C E N T U R Y XII.

OF the twelfth century the most antient monument is perhaps that ascribed to WILLIAM RUFUS, in the middle of the choir of *Winchester*. Whoever attends to the slovenly, haughty, contemptuous manner, in which this wretched prince was conveyed to his grave¹, will not be surprized at the plainness of his tomb, which is only a common sarcophagus of grey marble, with a cover *en dos d'ane*. This being broken open by the Parliamentarians in the civil war was robbed of some pieces of cloth of gold, a ring set with rubies, said to be worth £ 500. and a small silver *chalice*²: circumstances which would rather induce one to suspect that this was the tomb of some religious person³ than of a king, especially if it be further considered, that the bones of William Rufus had already been lodged by bishop Fox, at the Reformation, in the cathedral, in one of the chests on the side of the choir, along with those of king Canute and other Saxon kings and illustrious persons, who had been deposited in the Sanctum Sanctorum, or, as Rudburne calls it, *The Holie Hole*⁴, behind the altar⁵. Hence

¹ Mortuo rege plures optimatum ad lares suos de saltu manaverunt, & contra futuras motiones quas timebant res suas ordinaverunt. Clientuli quidem cruentatum regem vilius utcumque panis opererunt, & velut ferocem aprum venabulis confossum de saltu ad urbem Guentanam detulerunt. Clerici autem & monachi & cives dumtaxat, egeni cum viduis & mendicis, obviam processerunt, & pro reverentia regie dignitatis in veteri monasterio Scti. Petri celeriter tumulaverunt. Porro ecclesiastici, doctores & prelati, fordidam ejus vitam & tetrum finem considerantes tunc judicare ausi sunt, & ecclesiastica velut bigbanatum absolute indignum censuerunt quem vitales auras carpentem salubriter ac nequitiis castigare nequiverunt. Signa etiam pro illo in quibusdam ecclesiis non foverunt, que pro infimis pauperibus & mulierculis crebro diutissime pulsata sunt. De ingenti avario ubi plures numerorum acerui de laboribus milerorum coacti sunt elemosine pro anima cupidi quondam possessoris nullæ in epibus erogatae sunt. Ord. Vit. 2. p. 782. Langtoft, by an evident mistake in the writing or print, says,

At *Wesminster* is he laid, in St. Peter kirke,
In a tomb portraid, the bishop did it wiske.

For,

At *Winchester* is, &c.

² Sandf. 23. ³ Bishop Blois, who died 1171, was buried before the high altar in his church, according to some, but perhaps at Clugni. See Peter abbot of Clugni's letter to him. Ep. iv. 23. Richardson ad Godw. 216. 7.

⁴ Q. If not a corruption of the *Holie of Helies*. ⁵ Hist. Maj. Wint. Ang. Sac. I. 207. Hist. of Winch. I. 40. 48.

it is that we find no monument for Canute; but on the screen behind the high altar are niches and pedestals for the statues of all the kings and holy men deposited in this grand repository, with their names inscribed on them.

INGELRICA, wife of Ranulph de Peverell, mistress to the Conqueror, who had by her William de Peverell of Nottingham, and foundress of *Hatfield Peverel* priory, Essex, has a better monument of the same date. Her figure, cut in stone, with a lion at her feet, is said to lie in one of the north windows of the priory church. I confess myself almost inclined against the opinion of my late ingenious friend who drew the monument, to refer it to some religious, and that what she holds in her hands, commonly supposed a heart, is a chalice, were I not aware that Leland expressly says Edith D'Oille, foundress of Osene, had a heart in her hand on the north side of the high altar there¹. The figure might possibly have been at first placed as it now stands. It is raised six or seven feet from the ground, and there might be an altar beneath for masses. The window I should think is not older than the reign of Edward III. Most probably the figure lay on the ground, and was removed to the window when that part of the aisle was pewed. Both the figure and window are drawn on a scale of one inch to a foot. See Pl. II. The shields were intended to be put up in the window by Mr. Wright the proprietor of the estate and patron of the church. They are the arms of all the possessors since the dissolution. On the left hand those of *Giles Leigh*, to whom it was granted by Henry VIII. 1537. On the right the same impaled by those of *John Allen* who married Margaret eldest daughter of Leigh, and succeeded to his estate on his death the following year². In the centre are the arms of *John Wright*, esquire³, who rebuilt the priory-house on another spot, and repaired the church about 20 years ago, and since procured the curacy to be augmented to a vicarage.

The tomb given to the foundress of *Dunmow* priory, Essex, JUGA BAYNARD, who died in the beginning of this century, is a coffin of grey marble, the cover *en dos d'ane*, with a cross fleury on the ridge, in the South wall of the present chancel, originally the nave; from which circumstance, though the ancient tradition of the place is against me, I should, were it not that Leland describes such a cross on the tomb of Henry D'Oilli, son of the foundress, at Osene⁴, rather ascribe this tomb to some prior. See the plate at the head of this century, fig. 2.

1107. ROBERT FITZ HAIMON, of the blood of duke Rollo, nephew to William the Conqueror⁵, who founded *Tewkesbury* abbey 1102, died 1107, and was buried in the chapter-house there, was removed, with his wife, by abbot Parker, 1397⁶, into a chapel of free-stone, beautifully carved, with a border of oak-leaves round it, and a gilt fascia of roses, having letters now almost vanished, probably the inscription given by Rudder⁷, and at the corners angels hold scrolls inscribed, *Requies hic dulcis manna*, and other sentences too high and indistinct to be read. The inscription before referred to was

In ista capella jacet Dñs Robertus Filius Haimonis.

Leland⁸ gives it in *camera sacelli*,

Hic jacet Robertus filius Haymonis hujus loci fundator.

¹ It. II. 19. 21.

² Morant's Essex, II. 131.

³ Mr. Wright has here the three fine bulls in terra cotta of Henry VII. Henry VIII. when a boy, and bishop Fisher, from the Holbein chamber in the gate last taken down at Whitehall.

⁴ It. II. 21.

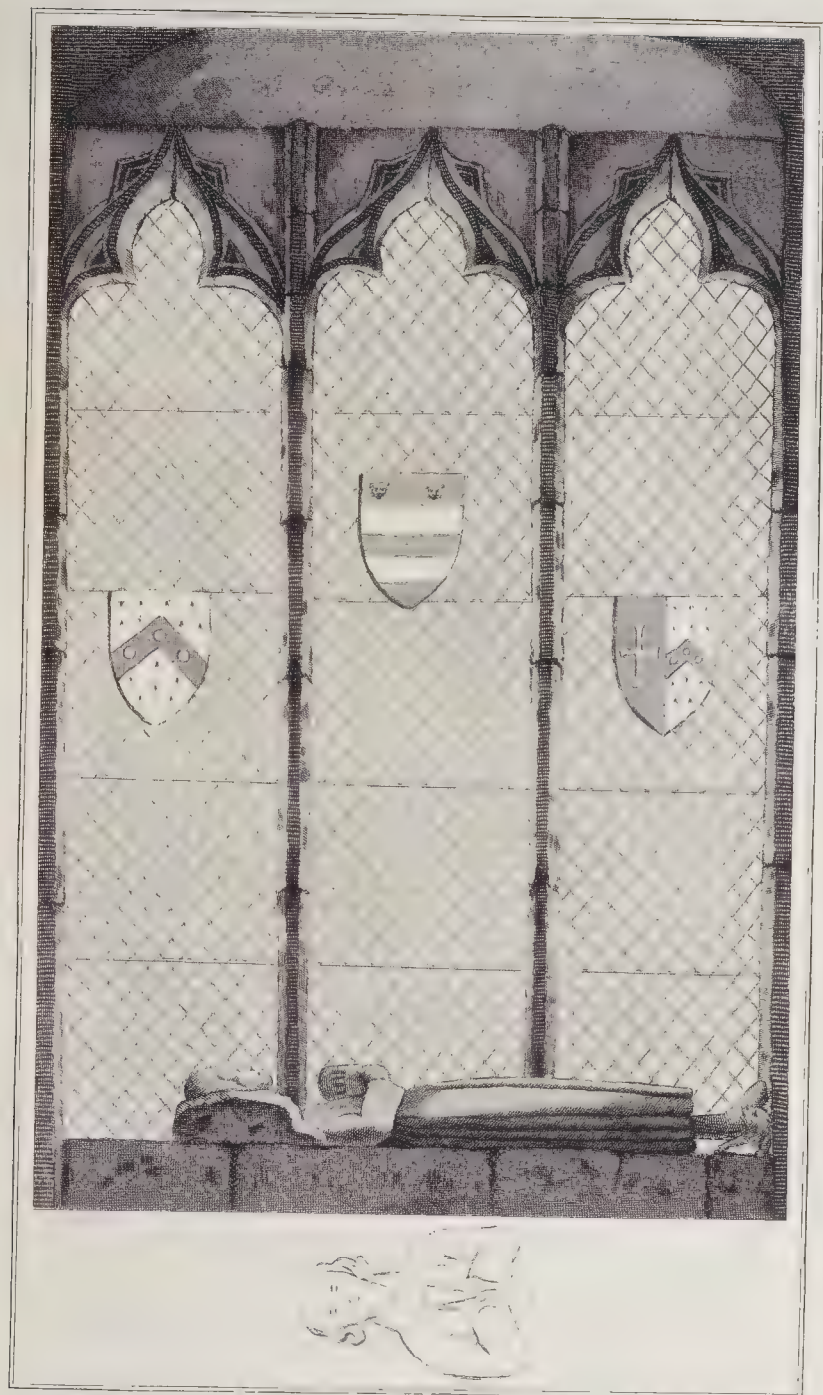
⁵ Lel. It. vi. 96.

⁶ Willis, Mit. Ab. p. 185.

⁷ Glouc. p. 746.

⁸ Ubi sup. p. 96.

Within





*The Monument of Robert FITZHAMON. 1107.
erected in Fenkston church 1397.*

Within this chapel is an altar tomb of speckled marble, having on the south side five niches, and one at the feet: those on the north gone. On the slab was inlaid his figure in brass, with a pointed helmet, long sword, lion at the feet, under a canopy, above which were two shields, and at the sides a brass ledge; all gone. On the east wall of this chapel are indistinct traces of painting of a battle. Two knights in it have on their furcoats Az. bears' heads muzzled, crescents, and bezants. Another knight has a sword and shield, and by him is an angel, and over him a little savage. I am not certain whether there are not two rows of three figures in compartments. The stone roof of the chapel is composed of beautiful fan work, of the age of Henry IV or V. This monument is described here by way of anticipation, being two centuries later.

Robert Fitz Haimon was the chief actor in the conquest of Glamorganshire. Mabel his eldest daughter married Robert earl of Gloucester, natural son to Henry I. who became patron of this abbey in right of his wife, and from them an heir female carried it to the family of Clare, who were created earls of Gloucester, and from them it passed through the Dispenfers, Beauchamps, Nevills, &c. till the dissolution. Jestin, son of Gurgunt, lord of Glamorganshire, being unable to defend himself against the invasion of Rhys ap Theodore prince of South Wales, sent one Enion his servant to Robert Fitz Haimon then knight of the privy chamber to Rufus, 1091, with promise of large reward for his assistance. Robert having retained twelve knights, marched into Wales, slew Rhys and his son Conan; but Jestin breaking his word with them, they turned their victorious arms against him, and having defeated and slain him, divided his territories among them, giving his son and friends a small part¹. He adhered to Robert Curthose against William Rufus², whose death was revealed to him in a vision³, and died of a wound by a spear at the siege of Falcise in Normandy, 7 Hen I⁴. His body was brought over and buried in the Chapter-house at Tewksbury, which church and tower he rebuilt⁵; whence it was removed betwixt two pillars on the south side of the choir, where a daily mass was sung for him. He married Sibill daughter of Roger de Montgomery earl of Shrewsbury, by whom he left four daughters⁶.

GUNDULPH, bishop of Rochester, who died 1107, was buried before the 1107. high altar of his cathedral, in *basilica sedis sue*¹; *ante altare crucifixi ecclesie*² *quam ipse construxerat*; probably on the south side, near to the confessional, in a chest without any effigies³. Whether his remains are interred in the ancient large stone chest of gray marble covered by a slab of the same, still remaining on the south side of the high altar within the rails is not certain⁴. It does not seem to admit of a doubt, that the former was the place of interment, if we believe the contemporary author of his life in Wharton. But it would be committing too great an anachronism in the æra of monuments to suppose that his was the brasless slab which had the figure of a bishop, under a rich canopy, with four shields, and a ledge with four rondeaux at its corners, and two in the middle of each side, now lying before the steps of the altar, or that other brasless slab with a canopy at the foot of the steps of the altar.

The monkish historian says, the bishop's body and hands which had always been black in his life time, after his death turned suddenly white. While he was *in extremis* the monks laid him on a board⁵, on his hair cloth, near the

¹ Powel's Hist. of Wales, p. 124.

² Malmib. p. 88.

³ Mat. Paris, A. D. 1100, p. 53.

⁴ Malmib. p. 89.

⁵ Mon. Ang. I. 155.

⁶ Ord. Vit. p. 578. Mon. Ang. ubi sup.

⁷ Wharton, Ang. Sac. I. 406.

⁸ Ib. II. 291.

⁹ Willis, p. 287. Hist. of Roch. p. 122.

¹⁰ Hist. of Roch. 65.

¹¹ Tabula de more percussu.

When a religious of the abbey of Cluny dies, they wash him at present on a table in the very place where he died. An old dome lavatory used on these occasions is preserved in a chapel there; it is six or seven feet long, seven or eight inches deep, with a stone pillow of the same piece with the trough, and a hole at the feet end to let off the water. There are similar ones in the cathedrals of Lyons and Rouen, and in the hospital in Cluny in the middle of the hall of the sick poor. That in the second church of Cluny serves now only to lay the body so after it is dressed, till the procession and service begins. It was formerly in a hollow in the ground, on the left hand of the door of the great infirmary without. Molcon, Voy. Languedoc, p. 151, 152.

chapel infirmary, and after he breathed his last they carried him washed and clothed in pontificalibus into the church of St. Andrew¹, and laid him before his altar.

1115. In the north aisle of the choir at *Hereford*, under a pointed arch, with a border of nailhead quatrefoils, a mitred head in point, and two in caps at the bases, is a handsome figure of bishop RAINELM; his right hand gloved blessing; in his left a crozier, the top broken off; at his feet a bracket. He died 1115. The inscription painted over him for a long time gave it to bishop Lozing, to whom Godwin² and Leland³ had assigned it, and to whom it is now fixed, by the name of Robert. It was repaired 1768. Over it is painted,

Dn's Robertus de Lotharinga epus' Heref. ob. A. D. 1095.

Bishop Godwin's reason for transferring this tomb from Rainelm to Lozinga is, that the figure on this holds in its hand a church, as if alluding to him as founder of the church. It is true Lozinga began to rebuild it, on the model of that erected at Aix la Chapelle by Charlemagne, and at the same time that Remigius began that at Lincoln. But it is no less true that he lived to finish only the nave, and left the rest to his successor; and that Rainelm erected the tower, with the spire and two transepts. The church which he holds in his hand exhibits the structure thus completed; and I have engraved it, that my readers may judge for themselves, whether this monument belongs to Lozinga or Rainelm, and whether the figure of the church refers to the beginner or finisher thereof.



Willis⁴, after saying that Lozinga was buried "on the south side of the high altar" (instead of which, in strictness he should have said, in the south aisle of the choir) but by mistake of the painter is "called Rainelm," presently after says, that Rainelm was buried "under an arch on the outside the south aisle" (he should have said north) opposite to the choir, by mistake painted Lozinga.

Godwin⁵ buries THEULPHUS, bishop of *Worcester*, who died 1115, in the nave at the entrance of the choir, under a stone whereon were to be seen the figures of two bishops, representing himself and his predecessor Samfon. These appear in no late accounts of this cathedral. Two bishops on the same slab are not uncommon on the French monuments.

1119. HERBERT DE LOZINGA, who transferred the see from Thetford to *Norwich*, 1094, and died 1119, was buried in his own cathedral, before the high altar, under a tomb about an ell high. When the pulpit in the late civil wars was placed at the pillar where now bishop Overall's monument is, and the aldermen's seats were fixed at the east end and the mayor's seat in the middle at the high altar, the height of the tomb being an hindrance to the people it was pulled down. It had, many years before, lost its inscription, which may be seen in Weever. The tomb continued demolished till 1682, when the present altar tomb, inclosed with iron rails, in the middle of the choir near the steps of the altar, was erected by the dean and chapter, adorned with their arms and those of the see on the sides and ends, and on the top an inscription said to be drawn up by Dr. Prideaux, which may be seen in Blomfield, II. 334.

In the north aisle of the choir of *Hereford*, under a pointed arch is the figure of bishop CLYVE pontifically habited, the top of his crozier broken off, and over him this inscription.

Dn's Godfridus de Clyve ep. Hereford. ob. A. 1119,

1122. ROBERT BLOET, bishop of *Lincoln*, who died 1122, was buried in the north transept of his church, but had a chapel on the north side the choir, where it now remains at the head of Remigius, as already described, p. 11. with three

¹ The Cathedral.

² P. 481. He adds bishop Clyve lies a little above his predecessor Robert.

³ It. VIII. 86. *In hoc, infra hanc Robertus de Loreine episcopus Hereforden.* He calls him de Loreine because he was a Lorrainer.

⁴ Survey of Hereford Cathedral, p. 512

⁵ P. 456.





*Sanctus pater abbas quorum est pater abbas Johannes
 abbas Martinus Andreas altissimus, amen
 Sanctus sanctus pater abbas quorum est pater abbas Johannes*

Fig. 1



Fig. 2

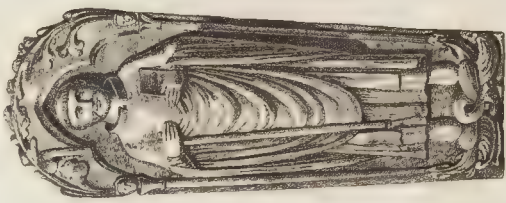


Fig. 3



Fig. 4

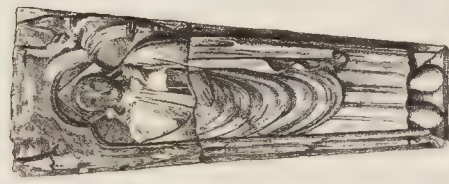


Fig. 5

In a Chapel in St. Luke



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soldiers sleeping on its south front. His portrait whole length in pontificalibus painted on the west wall of the north transept is the only memorial of him now over the place of his actual interment.

JOHN abbot of *Peterborough*, who died 1125, had a monument in the cloister 1125: there, with his figure in relief in a rich robe; in his right hand his staff piercing a dragon under his feet, in his left a book: two angels support his head. This monument is at present in the south aisle of the church. See plate III.

EDITH, wife of Robert D'OILEY, foundress of *Osney*, who died temp. Hen. I. had on the north side of the high altar there a stone figure in the habit of a vowess, holding a heart in her hand, and on the wall of the arch over the tomb was painted the history of her coming to *Osney*, Radulph, her confessor, waiting on her, and the chattering of the pies¹. Her son Henry was buried in the middle of the presbytery, under a flat marble, whereupon was a cross fleuri.

The figure of ROBERT CURTHOSE or COURTOIS, eldest son of the Conqueror, 1134: in a chapel in the north aisle of the choir at *Gloucester*, might pass for one of the first genuine monuments of this age. It is certainly a curiosity in its kind; and its materials bespeak its antiquity. It is made of Irish oak, in armour, and cross-legged², lying on a tomb of the same material, and covered by a grating of wire. Tradition says it was broken in pieces in the civil war, but Sir Hugh Tracey of Stanway bought the fragments, joined them together, and restored them to their place at the Restoration. Leland³, however, says, this image was made long since this prince's death, which happened in 1134.

Instances of sepulchral effigies made of wood are not uncommon among us. I have seen one of a knight unknown in *Buers* church, Suffolk; one in *Messing* church, Essex, called *William de Messing*, its founder; and two in *Danbury* church in the same county; a fifth cross-legged, at *Abergavenny*; and a sixth in the same attitude in *St. Mary Overy's* church in *Southwark*. William Valence earl of Pembroke, at *Westminster*, has both altar-tomb and figure of wood; and William Longespee, earl of Sarum, who died 1226, has a stone effigy lying on a wooden tomb at *Salisbury*. But there appears no reason for putting off a prince of the blood with so cheap a memorial, unless from the hard condition to which his brother's injustice reduced him. His eldest son WILLIAM, earl of FLANDERS, has a handsomer monument in *St. Bertin's* church at *St. Omer's*, engraved by Sandford⁴ from Vredius⁵ with an escarboucle⁶ on his shield, and a very singular helmet.

Robert is habited in a hauberk and gorget of mail, a coronet of oak leaves and fleurs de lis alternately; his right hand crosses his body to draw his sword, which is pendant from his left side, and held in his left hand. On his breast are three lions passant guardant. The slab of the tomb is adorned with a light border of leaves and flowers. On the side are 1. The Confessor's arms. 2. G. a lion rampant, O. 3. O. wings, or, as Sandford, three birds flying 4. Per pale O and . . . a spread eagle S. beak G. impaling G. three fleurs de lis O. At the head an escarboucle; the shield at feet broke out. Sandford says this last was the arms of France and England quarterly, which shew the escocheons to have

¹ *Id.* It. II. 19. 21.

² Mr. Lethbridge, (*Archæol.* II. 294.) observes, that this Robert was not of the order of Knights Templars, in allusion to which so many figures are supposed to be cross-legged: but he forgot that Robert was a leader in the first crusade, 1095. See *Malmesbury*, III. 63. b. Probably the other instances Mr. L. mentions were at least of persons who had taken this vow, if they did not actually fulfill it.

³ *Id.* IV. 172.

⁴ P. 17.

⁵ *Sigilla Com. Flandrie.*

⁶ This escarboucle, which Sandford seems to call Gironne of eight pieces O and Az. an inescucheon G. was the reputed arms of the Forrefters and first earls of Flanders; which Sandford well confutes: But quære if William had it not from his father on whose tomb we see it.

been painted since the reign of Henry IV. He calls the rest the arms of several of the *Worthies*. But whence he got his *lion sitting in a chair, and holding a pole ax* for the second coat I cannot conceive, since they are plainly as above given, taken by me, July 27, 1781. He says that Robert was buried in the *choir* of St. Peter's church at Gloucester, *before the big altar*: but neither Ordericus Vitalis¹, nor Gulielmus Gemiticensis, whom he cites, say more than that he was buried in that church. Leland² says he is buried in the *Presbytery*.

1135. The corpse of HENRY I. was removed from Chateau Lyon, or the royal palace of St. Denys in the Forest of Lyon³ where he died⁴, to St. Mary's abbey at Rouen. The next night the fat carcase was opened in the archbishop's chamber, by a skillful person, and embalmed⁵. His bowels⁶, brains, and eyes, were carried in an urn to the town of St. Ermentrude, and buried in St. Mary de la Pre church, which had been begun by his mother, but finished by him. His body, after having been gasht with knives, and sprinkled plentifully with salt, was sewed up in bulls' hides, to avoid the stench, which was so great as to affect the assistants, and the person who was hired at a great price to cleave his head with an ax, in order to extract the infected brain, though his own head was wrapt round with linen clothes, died of the stench. This, says Hoveden, was the last of many who owed their death to king Henry. While the corpse waited at Caen all the salt and leather envelope could not prevent a black stinking matter from oufing through, which was received in vessels set under the bier, and thrown away. Robert de Sigillo bishop of London, Robert de Vere, John Algafa, and others, both clergy and laity, conducted the bier (*feretrum*) through Pont Audomar and Bonamville, to Caen, where it was kept in the choir of St. Stephen near a month, waiting for a wind to bring it to England. After Christmas it was conducted from thence by the monks, and honourably entered by the king his successor, the bishops and nobles, in Reading abbey⁷. Dr. Stukeley⁸ supposed the chapel of that house was remaining 1721. a large shell 16 yards by 28, with five lancet semi-circular windows towards the east, and three windows over three west doors. Sir Henry Englefield takes this for the hall, 42 feet by 79, and supposes the church intirely destroyed⁹.

1139. I flattered myself I had, by a plausible conjecture at least, ascertained one of Pl. IV. the three tombs of bishops under the south arches of the nave of *Salisbury* Fig. I. cathedral, to ROGER third bishop of that see after its removal from Sherborne

¹ P. 893.

² VIII. b. 75.

³ Ord. Vit. p. 901. If we believe Robert of Gloucester, the King had recourse to the amusement of the chase to relieve the distress of his mind for some quarrel with his beloved daughter Maud and her second husband Geoffrey earl of Anjou.

⁴ "The kyng hyre fader was old man and drou to feblethe And the anguyss of his doght hym dyde more destresse, And skelde hym wel the more, to yt feble he was. So yt he wende an honteth aday to abbe solas." P. 442.

⁵ Gemetic. p. 329.

⁶ Ibi noctu a perno carnifice in archipræfulis conclavi pingue cadaver apertum est, et balsamo fuscoculenti conditum est. Intestina vero ejus Ermentrudis ad villam in vase delata sunt. Ord. Vit. 901.

⁷ The heart, tongue, and bowels of this prince were buried before the high altar at that time (for it has been since removed) of the priory of Bonnes Nouvelles, or de Preez, at Rouen. (Desc. de haut. North. II. 51.)

Kyng Henry brayn and gottes and eyen ybured were At Keyns in Normandy, and fute the bones lie here, Wel yield & yfode to the abbeye of Redyng, And ybured ys there vayre ynon, as vel to an kyng.

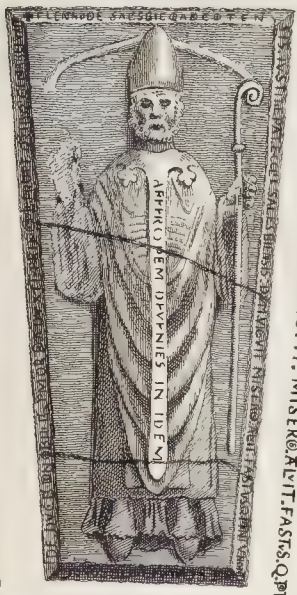
Rob. of Gloe. p. 446. Hoveden, 276. 2.

⁸ Corpus cutellis circumquaque dissectum & sic multo sale aspersum coris taurinis reconditum est & confutum, causa fætoris evitandi, qui multus & infinitus jam circumstantes inficiebat, unde & ipse qui magno pretio conductus securi caput ejus diffiderat ut fortissimum cerebrum extraheret, quamvis intestaminibus caput suum obvolvisset mortuus tamen ex causa pretio male grævis est: hic est ultimus e multis quos rex Henricus occidit. Inde vero corpus regum Cademania sui deportaverunt, ubi dum diu in ecclesia positum in qua pater ejus sepultus erat, quamvis multo sale repleto esset & multis coris reconditum tamen continue ex corpore niger humor & horribilis coris pertransiens decurrebat, & vasa subposita sub feretro suscepta a ministris horrore satiscensibus abjiciebatur.

⁹ Itin. Cur. I. p. 59.

¹⁰ Archæol. VL. p. 62.

Fig. 1



ZSIS.IVSTITE PATECCE :SALESBIENSIS:DVN.VIGVIT. MISEROXELIT.FASTS.Q.PIENTY:NON TI
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Fig. 2

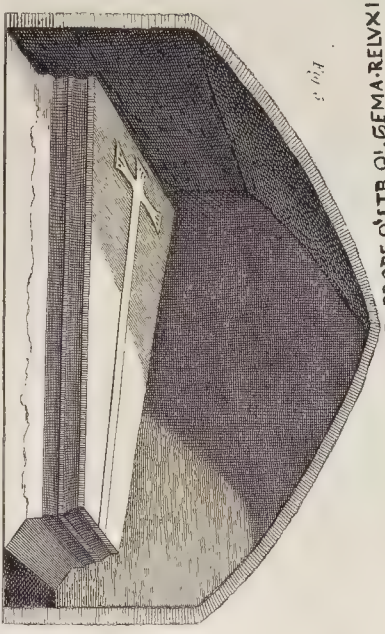
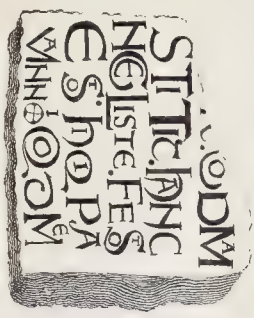


Fig. 3



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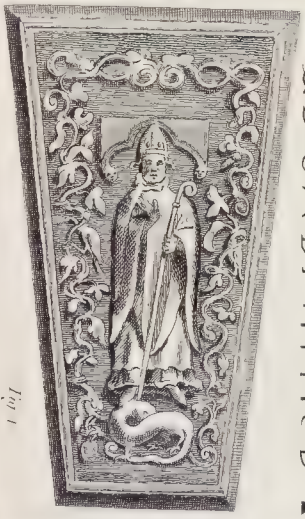


Fig. 5

to Old Sarum. That it belongs to one of the prelates who sat at the latter place, and whose tombs were brought from thence on the removal to Salisbury, is clear from the evidence of Leland, though he mistakes the north for the south aisle'. The inscription on the pall is given by that industrious antiquary, and it is probable that round the edge was never raised above the pavement, till I procured it to be raised 1770, and the pavement disposed round it in such a manner that it can in future receive no injury nor escape the notice of the curious. William de Wenda, who wrote the account of the building of the present church, mentions the removal of only three bishops from Old Sarum, 1226, Osmund, Roger, and Joceline. The monument of Osmund the first bishop is well known to be in the Lady Chapel; Herman answers to none of the characters in the epitaph. These three are the only bishops of Old Sarum that could be buried here: the fourth and fifth were translated to Canterbury, and the sixth and last was buried at Wilton. Of all who filled the new see, except one or two of less note in the 13th Century, the monuments are well known in and about the choir, as will be hereafter shewn in their order.

I conceived the various traits of the epitaph to be decisive in favour of bishop Roger. His great influence with his sovereign Henry I. and his reciprocal mutual esteem for him I traced in the words *Principibus gemma reluxit*: his administration of justice as chancellor and regent of the kingdom intitled him to the name of *Ensis Justitie*, as did his munificence to his infant church to that of *Pater ecclesie Salisburyensis*. His impregnable fortifications, as well as his irreproachable conduct made that *non timuit fastus potentum*; as his high rank in the state made him *clava terrorque nocentum*. By his great wealth disposed on religious foundations *miseris aluit*; and if we consider the sad reverse of his fortune in the succeeding reign, *dum vixit* is not without its meaning. The words inscribed on his pall more strongly mark the distresses of his declining age. *After opem, devenies in idem*, is an earnest address to the sympathy of the spectators, warning them, at the same time, of the uncertainty of human events. The conclusion *Prope que tibi qui gemma reluxit* seems an address to the church, reminding her of the lustre he reflected on her while he presided as bishop in her former situation at Old Sarum. My only difficulty was about the words *de ducibus de nobilibus primordia duxit*. He may have been the younger son of some noble family in Normandy, which the maker of the epitaph may have known from some evidences not noticed by general history; or it may have been introduced merely to eke out the line and the verse. Gervase de Blois, Stephen's bastard, abbot of Westminster, 1160, is styled in his epitaph *de regum genere*.

These ideas I had communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, who thought them worthy of a place in the second volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 188, &c. It has lately been suggested to me by a learned member of the church of Exeter that the last words of the epitaph should rather be read,

Prope quos tumbo quasi or quoque gemma reluxit.

referring to some memorials of noble or royal persons interred in this church. Such, says he, may lead to a discovery of this bishop, whom Mr. Gough, on very insufficient grounds, supposes to be bishop Roger, who sat from 1101 to 1139. He then proceeds to quote a passage from the Continuation of Trivet's Annals, that in February, 1309, the water rose so high as to come up to the feet of the kings which stand at the west door of the choir here, so that mafs could not be

said for two days'. He adds, William Longsword, son of Henry II. died 1226, and is buried in Salisbury cathedral. His son Nicholas, bishop of Salisbury died 1296', and is buried near his father, says Godwin, at the entrance of St. Mary's chapel, under a large marble tomb, adorned with brass plates, and with the arms of his family.

Nothing gives me greater pleasure than to have the best founded opinions controverted in pursuit of truth; but though I offer mine only as a plausible conjecture, and profess myself at a loss as to the meaning of the words in question, I cannot adopt the proposed reading for the following reasons. There are not more noble personages buried in Salisbury than in our other cathedrals, and there are no royal ones. There are not now any figures of kings on the screen of the choir, only twelve arches stood up; and it seems a very forced allusion to refer to such statues, which, like the portraits in windows, are frequently the invention of the artist, and not historical memorials, much less sepulchral monuments. The reference must have been to figures erected, or persons buried in the old cathedral; for that the monument is of that æra must be admitted from Leland's testimony, to whichever of the bishops of Old Sarum we refer it, and it does not appear that any royal bodies lay in that church, though the monuments of Longespee and the other earl of Salisbury might be brought from thence. Bishop Longespee's tomb, stripped of its brasses, remains to this day in the place assigned it by Godwin, and we cannot suppose the reference reached from the nave thither.

There is a striking conformity between the figure of this bishop and that of Leodegair on a bas-relief in Montfaucon's Monumens, I. pl. XXXI. p. 348. The latter lived in the middle of the seventh century. The monument at Salisbury is of blue speckled marble, with the figure habited in pontificalibus, his right hand lifted up to give the blessing, his left holding the crozier. The inscription is cut on the perpendicular edge or side all round in large capitals, and continued on the front of the robe. The letters are of a form which appears to have been in use among the Romans. On an altar dedicated to Mercury, found at Middleby in Scotland, and whose æra is by baron Clerk fixed to the reign of Julian, we see several letters included in larger ones. But they are more common in the Gothic ages, as has been shewn before on the article of letters used in epitaphs among us.

None of the ancient historians who mention the death of bishop Roger tell us where he was buried. Dr. Richardson says he was buried in his own church. Browne Willis, in his short account of the church at the end of his Mitred Abbies, only says he was removed hither; but neither of these writers produce their authorities. Mr. Price says, he was placed in the wall of the north aisle of the present church, in an arch made for the purpose, by tradition. The tomb shewn for his by the vergers is that in the north wall of the presbytery, which Pl. IV. I think belongs to bishop Mortival, who died 1329, or perhaps to some intermediate prelate.

If it be objected, that the three old monuments of bishops now in the nave, added to Osmund's in the Lady-chapel, make more than Wenda expressly says were brought from Old Sarum, and that therefore one of them must be given to some prelate of the new see; I submit to any impartial critic in these matters, whether any of them suit with the style of the 13th century.

I foresee but one more person to whom this monument may suit, and that is Osmund, who was of Norman extraction, enobled and invested with the same

* A. 1509. 16 kal. Feb. Inundatio aquarum qualis non visa fuit multis annis aptea. Ita quod in ecclesia cathedrali Sarum aqua illa regum pedes qui ad odium chori occidentale assant attingebat: unde per duos dies non cantabatur missa in eodem. Continuatio Triveti, ed. Hall. 1722. p. 7.

† Triveti Ann.

‡ Note on his life in Godwin.

high office, and honoured with his confidence, by William I. as Roger was by Henry I. but if it can be rendered probable that the monks of Salisbury, when they placed his remains in the Lady chapel, threw this venerable tomb into the nave, or if it can be proved that it was the practice thus to separate the corps and the monument, I consent to this transfer, and admit, that as Lady chapels are of later date, the corps might be afterwards moved into it, and that the stone now there is a bare memorial erected after the dissolution; but still I think, he would have been lodged originally in a more distinguished place.

The other antient unassigned tomb in the nave is engraved pl. IV. f. 4. It may belong to bishop *Herman* or *Joceline*.

ROBERT earl of GLOUCESTER, natural son of Henry I. who died 1147, was 1147. buried in the middle of the choir of St. James's church, *Bristol*, "in a sepulcher "of grey marble", set upon six pillars of a small height". In his tomb was found a writing containing the time of his death and what he was, which a brewer in Bristol had.

GILBERT DE CLARE earl of PEMBROKE, who died 1148, 14 Stephen, was 1148. buried in *Tyntern* abbey, Glamorganshire, which his brother Walter had first founded. When the late duke of Beaufort had the site of this fine church cleared, to be preserved in a manner worthy himself and it, they found a figure of a knight in free-stone, in complete mail; his right hand crosses his breast to his shield, which is on his left arm; a dagger in his belt, and encircling around his flat round helmet; his crossed legs, with the dog or lion at his feet, were broken off, and kept in private hands. The tomb appears to have been very little raised from the floor, and to have been divided into two compartments lengthwise, without admitting a figure on either hand. A beautiful moulding of flowers and leaves runs round it. Being opened at the time of its discovery, it was found to contain the bones of more than two persons. The tradition of the place ascribes this to *Strongbow*, son of Gilbert, Conqueror of Ireland. But he is expressly said by Leland³, to have been buried 1176, in the Chapter-house at Gloucester, with this inscription;

Hic jacet Ricardus Strongbow filius Gilberti comitis de Pembroke.

Above bishop Melun's monument at *Hereford* is a similar one for bishop 1148. BETUNE. Over it,

D'nus Robertus de Betun epus Herefordensis.

In the *Temple* church, *London*, is the figure of GEOFFREY DE MAGNAVILLE, first earl of ESSEX, so created by Stephen, A. D. 1148. He is represented in mail with a surcoat, and round helmet flatted on the top, the nose-piece of which very much resembles that worn by Raoul de Beaumont, who lived 1210, in *Montfaucon*⁴, who calls it a bar of iron to defend the nose from swords. His head rests on a cushion placed lozenge fashion, his right hand on his breast, a long sword at his right side, and on his left arm a long pointed shield, charged with

¹ Dugd. I. 535. says a green Jasper stone, from Lel. It. 6. 155. b.

² Lel. It. 7. 68. b.

³ Ib.

⁴ Mr. Grote says, his right hand, which is shewn, has five fingers and a thumb; a peculiarity which I confess escaped me, when I viewed it 1761: nor does it appear in the drawing sent to the compiler of the Antiquarian Repertory, v. I. p. 112. I am therefore almost tempted to suspect my good friend was misled by a figure of a brist hand grasping a spear eight feet long, set in stone over the door of a neighbouring cottage, formerly taken from another tomb in the church, in which was found a body entire, with leather bulkins and buttons on the coat, which all crumbled away on touching. There is something in this last carving like the hilt of a sword, which may be mistaken for the sixth finger.

⁵ Ib. IV. 172.

⁶ Monuments II. Pl. XIV. 7. p. 113.

an *escarboucle* on a diapered field. The chronicle of Walden-abbey¹, which he founded, says, after his creation he augmented his family arms, which were quarterly A. and G. with an *escarboucle*: *postquam gladio comitis accinctus erat arma progenitorum cum Carbunculo nobilitavit*. This is the first instance of arms on a sepulchral figure among us. They obtained in France 40 years before.

This noble earl, driven to despair by the confiscation of his estates by king Stephen, indulged in every act of violence, and making an attack on the castle of Burwell, received his death's wound, and was carried off by the Templars, who, as he died under sentence of excommunication, declined giving him Christian burial, but wrapping his body up in lead (*canali inclusum plumbeo*) hung it on a crooked tree (*torva arbore*) in the orchard of the Old Temple, London. William, prior of Walden, having obtained absolution for him of the pope, made application for his body, in order to bury it at Walden; upon which the Templars took it down, and deposited it in a mean manner, in the cemetery of the New Temple². They probably afterwards gave him more honourable sepulture in the porch before the west door of the church³. See pl. V. fig. 1.

1150. ROBERT CHICHESTER bishop of Exeter, who died 1150, was buried on the south side of the high altar of his church⁴. Godwin⁵ ascribes to him a tomb of a bishop, contiguous to which, and opposite to the door leading to the bishop's palace, is the monument of a knight of the same family, as appears by the arms on his shield. Leland⁶ places the latter tomb in the fourth aisle of the choir.

1155. A blue stone, with uncial letters, in the fourth aisle of Lincoln choir, may be that assigned by Willis in his plan to HENRY of HUNTINGDON, who is supposed to have died after the year 1150.

1159. MARTIN abbot of Peterborough, who died 1155, had a monument in the cloister there, with his figure holding a crozier and book, treading on a double dragon, who bites the pillars of the flowered arch of his canopy. See Pl. III. fig. 2. It is now in the fourth aisle of the cathedral.

WALDEVUS, second abbot of Mailros, who died 1159, lies on the south side of the high altar there, under a tomb of beautiful blue marble, engraved in the frontispiece to this century, fig. 3. He was son of Simon de St. Liz, and canonized by Pope Alexander III. His body being found uncorrupted twelve years after his death, this polished marble was put over him. The cover being raised by one of the lay brethren, when they were preparing to lay his successor William the 7th abbot by his side 1206, 48 years after his death, there issued from the tomb an extraordinary fragrance, and on applying a candle the corps was seen entire, and all the vestments were found as fresh and entire as at first⁷. On opening this tomb a third time (1240) the body was found crumbled to dust [*incineratum*], except a few small bones which were carried off by the assistants⁸.

¹ Mon. Ang. I. 448. ² Ib. 450. ³ Ib. 448. This is the circular part of the church in which his figure now lies.

⁴ So bishop Lyttleton, in his observations on the cathedral of Exeter, MS. pen. Soc. Ant. ⁵ P. 402. ⁶ Pl. III. 32.

⁷ Fordun Scotichr. viii. c. 66. Hoc sono, qui est quadragesimus octavus a decessu S. Waltheri, hic Willelmus abbas scripturus post eum moritur, & ut iuxta corpus ejus tumularetur provisum est, tamquam alter Waltherus vitam sanctitatem. Cum vero cementarii tumulum tanti viri in loco prebito ad dextram ejus conderent, incitantibus quibusdam monachis, frater Robertus latens imitus quasi & valde formidolosus operculum marmoreum tumbæ S. Waltheri paululum suble-
vabat, & ecce suavissimi odoris fragrantis evaporans illius se infundit naribus ac si monumentum repleum fuisse aromati-
bus. Et quia noctis crepusculum aderat accensa candelæ per aperturam intronissia idem frater ac ceteri circumstantes
introducunt, & corpus sanctum integrum, & omnia ejus indumenta incorrupta cum integritate & venustate prius reperi-
unt, scilicet sex monachi & totidem conversi, qui pia ac devota indagine sed præsumptuosa domicilium illud vitæ
virginitatis balsamo delibutum confecerunt.

⁸ Chron. Mailros, p. 205.



GERVAŒ DE BLOIS, natural son of king Stephen, and abbot of Westminster, 1160. was deposed, and buried 1160, according to Flete, under a little plain black marble slab, in the south cloister, at the feet of abbot Humez; (not under the great smooth one, commonly called *Long Meg of Westminster*, which Keep mistakes for it;) and had this epitaph¹,

De regum genere pater hic Gervasius ecce
Monstrat defunctus mors rapit omne genus.

The beginning of which resembles bishop Roger's at Sarum. Matthew Paris says², he was *clarior genere quam moribus*, and charges him with mis-spending the revenues of his church. Mr. Widmore assigns the middlemost of the three stones now in the cloister to him; but Dart denies it. Sandford gives the epitaph in the Gothic capitals³.

In the south wall of Trinity, or Becket's, chapel, at Canterbury, opposite the tomb of the Black Prince, "we see one of a singular form, so unlike all the monuments since the Conquest that I have met with the descriptions of, that I should look on it as a piece of Saxon antiquity rather than Norman: perhaps brought hither to be preserved as such after this chapel was built. It was designed to stand close to a wall, but is not so here. It is shewn as the tomb of archbishop THEOBALD [who died 1160], but there is very little reason to think it so. It has been conjectured to be that of St. Anselm; but of this there is no probability. His remains were deposited in the old chapel at first dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, but from his being entombed there called St. Anselm's chapel to this day. This chapel escaped the fire, and here it is probable his bones rested till the demolition of Becket's shrine, when it is much more reasonable to believe his remains shared the same fate, than that the commissioners for destroying all remains of superstition here would remove his bones from the chapel where they had been worshipped to a more honourable place. St. Anselm being a native of Piedmont, in king George the Second's reign the king of Sardinia desired to have his remains sent over to him, and his ambassador had succeeded so far as to obtain leave and authority to have a search made for the purpose. A person commissioned to make this search applied to a member of this cathedral, whom he thought best able to assist in his enquiry, and inform him whether this tomb might not probably contain the remains of that prelate; but was so fully convinced by him that all search after any such relics would be fruitless, that the monument was left entire, and the design laid aside. The writer of this account gives this from his own knowledge⁴."

After such authority as is here adduced it would be presumption in me to suggest a conjecture, that from the form of the monument, resembling a shrine, and the four heads on it in high relief, two mitred, one shorn, and the fourth covered with a cap, it may have been the depositary of the reliques of some prelate who filled this see in the Saxon times. Godwin⁵ adopts the tradition that gives it to Theobald. "Sepultus fertur (says he) ab australi parte facelli quod D. Thomæ dicitur; tumulum vidimus marmoreum fatis elegantius fere ad *reli formam sapigiatum*."

As it may seem a little extraordinary that archbishop BECKET had no other tomb than his shrine, I shall beg leave to transcribe a little more from Mr. Gostling. In a MS order of chapter appropriating the vaults to the prebendaries among Mr. Somner's collections the first prebendary is to have the vault

¹ Dart. II. xiv. Widmore, p. 26.
⁴ Gostling's Canterb. p. 268, 269.

² Vit. Ab. St. Alb. p. 73.
⁵ P. 71.

³ P. 44:

called *Bishop Becket's tomb* under our Lady's chapel. Mr. Somner corrects this *above* our Lady's chapel. Mr. Gostling observes, that the assassins threatening to return, and cast his body out a prey to birds and beasts, the monks buried him privately next day, in the vault *under the east end of the church*, and in a *new sarcophagus* of marble. Without stopping to account for those threats, this hasty burial, and this new marble tomb procured on a sudden, Mr. Gostling conceives he was laid in a common grave. This grave he thinks was opened in archdeacon Batteley's time, who had a stone in the undercroft taken up, under which was found a grave, with no remains of corps or coffin, but all perfectly clean, the earth having probably been disposed of, as an invaluable relic. Mr. Gostling goes on to conjecture that the circular tower added to the east end of Trinity chapel, and to this day called *Becket's crown*, was erected in honour of him, the ground room designed for a chapel to be dedicated to him, and an altar to be prepared there, for the reception of his relics, when it should be thought proper to remove them thither: that this should be called the *tomb* of St. Thomas, rather than his chapel, by way of distinction; for other churches might soon have chapels or altars to him, but his tomb was only to be found here: that therefore this place was called his tomb even when it was carrying up, and communicated its name to the adjoining vault, through which was the way to it, as his shrine did that of the martyr, to the whole church not long after: that over this chapel should be one of our Lady, perhaps in allusion to his having invoked her with his last breath. That there was such a chapel in this tower appears from the place and dimensions of an altar to be seen in the pavement, and from the steps up to it, and that it was dedicated to the Virgin Mary appears from a figure of her still in the window over it. If it be objected, that no signs of a tomb appear in the place which Mr. Gostling proposes to call by that name, he answers, that the votaries becoming too numerous for this chapel to contain them, the monks translated the body to the more capacious one of the Trinity, where the shrine could be seen on all sides. Gervase says, Becket was buried in a little chapel added at the outside of the circular wall at the east end of the church, in which he was particularly fond of performing his devotions. An anonymous correspondent of Mr. Gostling's has also accounted for the delay of translating 36 years, from 1184 to 1220, that the monks waited till they had an archbishop so zealously attached to their interests, and so obsequious to the Pope, as to consent to give up the profits of this shrine to them from the fee. This archbishop they found in Stephen Langton¹. The chapel at the east end called *Becket's crown* was begun about this time, but left unfinished at the dissolution, till a citizen of Canterbury gave £100, 1748, to complete and bring it to its present figure². Erasmus describes the shrine as a coffin of wood covering another of gold (i. e. plated with gold, or gilded metal)³, and drawn up from it by pulleys and ropes. "The shrine (says Stow) was builded about a man's height, all of stone, then upward of timber plain, within which was a chest of iron, containing the bones of Thomas Becket, skull and all, with the wound of his death, and the piece cut out of his skull laid in the same wound⁴. The timber

¹ Godwin (p. 77.) insinuates, that the body was not taken out of the *subterraneous crypt* where it was first buried till its translation and enshrinement in the east part of the church.

² Godling, lb. 121, 122.

³ Sub capla ex auro purissimo fabrefacta & lapidibus pretiosis innumerebilibus, margaritis nientibus velut porta Jerusalem, & geminis coruscantibus ornata, ac etiam imperiali diademate coronata. Symeon. 6.

⁴ He should have added the point of Sir William Tracy the fourth assassin's sword, which broke off against the pavement, after cutting off the top of his skull, so that the brain came out.

In thulke siede the verthe smot, yt the other adde er ydo.

And the point of is fuerd bree in the marbreston a tuo.

Zat thulke point at Canterbury the monckes lateth wite

Ver honor of the holi man yt therewith was smite.

With thulke strok he smot al of ye scalle & eke the crowne

That the brain orn al ebrod in the pavement ther done.

(Robert of Glouc. p. 476.)

" timber work of this shrine on the outside was covered with plates of gold, da-
 " masked with gold wire, which ground of gold was again covered with jewels
 " of gold, as rings, 10 or 12 cramped with gold wire into the said ground of
 " gold, many of those rings having stones in them, broches, images, angels,
 " precious stones, and great pearls; the spoil of which shrine in gold and
 " precious stones, filled two great chests, one of which six or seven strong men
 " could do no more than convey out of the church at once; all which was
 " taken to the king's use, and the bones of St. Thomas, by command of the
 " lord Cromwell, were then and there burned to ashes, in September, 1538.
 " 30 Hen. VIII." The figure of this shrine, engraved by Vaughan in the
 " Monasticon", from a Cotton MS. and copied by Dart, allowing for bad draw-
 " ing, may bear some resemblance to that of the Confessor, supposing the arches
 " below to be drawn out of proportion. "All above the stone work was wood. The
 " *Clinidia* were set with gold and jewels, covered with gold plates, and bound with
 " gilt bands, like bracelets, set with jewels, adorned with figures of Genii and rings
 " to the number of about ten or twelve, forming a golden circle. These sacred spoils
 " filled two large chests, which six or eight of the strongest men could hardly carry
 " out of the church. A rich jewel, with an angel carved on it" [probably an antique
 " gem with a victory], which had been offered by the king of France, Henry VIII.
 " had set in a ring, which he wore on his thumb. The iron chest below contained
 " the bones, scull, and broken part of the latter, which occasioned his death.
 " The three bouquets on the top of the shrine were gilt, and weighed two of
 " them sixty ounces, the middlemost eighty ounces."

In the south aisle of the choir at *Hereford*, under a pointed arch, with two 1167.
 borders of lilies, and a bishop's head in the point, and two at the bases, is the
 figure, pontifically habited, of bishop MELUN, who died 1167. Above is
 painted,

D'nus Robertus de Melun, epus Herefordensis,
 Obiit A. 1167.

The empress MAUD, mother of Henry II. was buried, according to Hoveden⁶, 1167.
 at *Rouen*, in the abbey, or rather priory, of St. Mary de Prê, or des bonnes
 nouvelles. But the Chronicle of Bec says, in that abbey before the high altar,
 where her corps was found 1282, *ante sedem majoris altaris*, done up in an
 ox's hide, and that in 1421, the English, in plundering the monastery, laid
 open the tomb of the empress, which is in the middle of the choir. Lastly, in
 repairing this altar, February, 1684, they found her bones directly under the
 lamp which burns before the host, and taking them up, inclosed them in a wood-
 en chest, with leaden plates. A copper tomb was made, to perpetuate her mem-
 ory, and the bones were deposited in the same place the 22d of December fol-
 lowing⁷.

In allusion to this circumstance the portrait of Becket in the windows of Trinity chapel, Oxford, has a sword's point
 sticking in his scull. Edmund Grime, who was cross-bearer to Becket, and had his arm almost cut off in defending him,
 and wrote his life, says, Hugh the subdescon, who had joined himself to the assassins at Canterbury, scooped out his
 brains with the point of a sword, and scattered them over the pavement. Lyttelton's Hist. of Henry II. IV. 361.
 Erasmus five the statues of the three assassins over the south porch of the cathedral, and under them their names,
Tufo, Rufus, Berri. We must suppose he overlooked the fourth figure (for there are four empty niches), and gave a
 foreign sound to the names of *Trocy, Fitz Urse, and Briton*. Patrick's note in loc.

⁶ Chron. p. 576. Ed. Hovew. Gossling, p. 278. 279. ⁷ L. 21.

⁸ *Clenodium* or *clivodium*, a trinket or jewel, *bijou*. Du Cange.

⁹ *Gemma in signum una cum angelo eam indigante*. This is what Stowe, p. 155, calls "that renowned precious
 Stone that was called the *Regall of France*, which Henry VIII. put into a ring which he wore on his thumb.

¹⁰ The Latin account, at the side of Vaughan's plate.

¹¹ Ann. p. lii. 289. b.

¹² Description, de la haute Normandie, II. p. 52.

1170. ROBERT FITZ HARDYNG, who founded the Austin Monastery at *Bristol* and died 1170, has on the south side of the beautiful Lady chapel in that cathedral, under a canopy, an altar tomb, with his figure in complete armour, and a lion at his feet, and that of his wife EVA by him. At their feet is a shield, with their arms projecting from the wall, and at their head a modern inscription, probably put up when the whole was repaired, 1742.

1171. HENRY DE BLOIS, brother to king Stephen, who died bishop of Winchester 1171, was buried before the high altar of his church. Some have supposed this the church of Clugni; but on new paying the choir at Winchester, about 25 years ago, they discovered, close on the right hand of Rufus's tomb, almost by the bishop's throne, just below the surface, a stone coffin, containing an entire skeleton, which some imagined the body of Canute; but others, more justly that of this prelate. It was wrapt in a brown and gold mantle, with traces of gold round the temples; a wooden cross about two yards long and of the size of a common walking stick lay by its side, and a large gold ring with a stone of great value, which was lodged in the treasury.

1176. Five years after comes the last of the three abbots of Westminster before mentioned, LAURENTIUS, whose name is now cut over an unmitred figure, contrary to what one would expect for the man who procured the mitre for this house. This figure shews a simple religious; it never had any thing abbatial about it, though Keepe¹ describes it as having mitre, ring, and pastoral staff. See plate I. The form of the stone is uncommon, and I do not recollect another instance. Mr. Widmore² has appropriated this to Vitalis; Dart³, from the mitre, gives the tomb inscribed Vitalis to a later abbot (Humez, 1222), but it is most likely that his tomb was misplaced or broken at the rebuilding of the church by Henry III. The epitaph preserved and once, says Mr. Dart, cut in the stone ledge of it, was as follows:

Clauditur hoc tumulo vir quondam clarus in orbe,
Quo præclarus erat hic locus, est, & erit.
Pro meritis vitæ dedit illa laurea nomen,
Detur ei vitæ laurea pro meritis.

1178. RICHARD DE LUCIE, chief justice of England, who first planned the justices of assize throughout the realm, was buried 1178, in the abbey of *Leicester*, which he founded 1177. In Weever's time some workmen digging for stones on the site of the church, found several stone coffins, and a handsome freestone effigy of an armed knight, his sword hanging at his side in a broad belt, on which were engraved many fleurs de lis⁴, lying on a flat marble, which lay as a lid to a tomb of white smooth hewn ashler stone, in which wrapt in a sheet of lead lay his dry body, whole and undisjointed, having on its head something like hair⁵. Sir John Hippisley, the owner, covered it up, and planted on it a bay tree, flourishing 1753. His son Geoffrey, bishop of Winchester who died 1204, was also buried here, being a benefactor.

1181. Archbishop ROGER's is the oldest monument in the cathedral at *York*. It is wrought in the north wall of the nave, under a surbait or elliptical arch, surrounded by a fascia of very rude oak leaves, projecting in the middle, with an angel or

¹ P. 180.

² P. 29.

³ H. xix. but p. xi he acknowledges his mistake.

⁴ Weever supposed the fleurs de lis a rebuis of the name of *Lucy*; but besides that this would be founded only on the corruption of *fleur de luce*, this ornament is not unfrequent on belts and in the diapering of shields.

⁵ They found other such statues of men and one of a woman, with many grave-stones and bones. Weev. 777. Stukeley, Arch. I. 47. Hailes, I. 102.



*A view of the Monument of Robert, 1st. Hardyng who died 1333,
and his lady in the Vault of Bristol Cathedral*

figure in relief. The front of the tomb is composed of pierced quatrefoils; through which, Mr. Drake¹ says, may be felt with a stick his leaden coffin, which seems also to have been laid in the wall. He died 1181.

HENRY son of Henry II. who died 1182, has a tomb on the south side of 1182: the altar at *Rouen*, with his figure, royally robed and crowned (he having been crowned in his father's life time) a sceptre surmounted by a bouquet in his left, his right on his breast, a long belt, and his mantle fastened on his breast by a fibula². He was first buried at *Mans*, but soon after, by his father's command enforcing his own bequest, at *Rouen*³.

Mr. Dart⁴ ascribes to GILBERT CRISPIN, abbot of Westminster, who died 1184, 1184: the middlemost figure in the south cloister, at the feet of Vitalis, which he observes has no mitre, that being acquired afterwards, by Laurence, between 1160 and 1176; but Mr. Widmore thinks his gravestone is not remaining. It was of black marble, and had this epitaph not legible in Flete's time:

Hic pater insignis, genus altum, virgo, senexque,
Gisleberte, jaces; lux, via, duxque tuis.
Mitis eras, justus, prudens, fortis, moderatus.
Doctus quadrivio, nec minus in trivio;
Sic tamen ornatus nece sexta luce Decembris
Spiramen cœlo reddis, & ossa solo.

Flete says it was in *eadem tumba marmorea sculptum*. Widmore, round the tomb, Petrus Blefensis gives him and Geoffrey abbot of Croyland this common character. "Ambos Franciæ genitos & nutritos, ambos in septem liberalibus artibus "insignes doctores, sensu celebres, senio reverendos⁵."

HENRY II. who died 1189, and was buried at *Fontevraud*, had a monument 1189: there in the style of the time. It is a figure without a beard or whiskers, royally robed and crowned. His mantle is now Azure, his furcoat red embroidered with flowers and lozenges, and his mattress with crosses and lozenges, a cushion under his head. On the back of each hand a jewel, which Montfaucon⁶ knew not what to make of, and which appears in Dr. Stukeley's print of king John's effigy⁷. This figure, with those of his queen, his son Richard I. and Isabel wife of king John, were removed from their original tombs, and laid together on one altar-tomb, under a magnificent arch, highly ornamented with emblematic figures and festoons, &c. by the abbess of Fontevraud, daughter of Henry IV. of France, 1638, who sent Sandford a drawing of it by her own *scenographer*,—to whom it does no credit.

The manner of this king's burial was as follows. He was clothed in royal robes, a crown of gold on his head, gloves⁸ on his hands, boots of gilt wrought work, and spurs on his legs⁹, a great ring on his finger, his sceptre in his hand, his sword by his side, and his face uncovered¹⁰. In this manner we may suppose succeeding kings were buried, and their effigies on the tombs copied from it. Edward I. was found in nearly the same circumstances, and Henry III's statue answers to this idea. The four figures singly are engraved by Montfaucon:

¹ P. 421. ² Montf. Mon. II. p. 114. pl. xv. 3. ³ Chron. Norman. p. 1004. Sandf. 67. ⁴ Append. xiii.

⁵ Contin. Ingulphii, p. 130.

⁶ Mon. II. 114. pl. xv. 1.

⁷ Itin. I. pl. xviii.

⁸ Sandf. 62, calls them *subiti*, but the original gives no colour.

⁹ Calceamenta auro texta in pedibus et calcearia. M. Par. boots of gilt leather and gilt spurs. Sandford.

¹⁰ Math. Paris, p. 151. Sandf. 71.

His epitaph inscribed on his tomb is thus given by Matthew Paris, the third line alluding to a common saying of his, that "the whole world was not sufficient for a great prince"; and the last to the dying words of Severus to his urn: "Thou wilt hold the man whom the whole world could not contain".

Rex Henricus eram, mihi plurima regna subegi,
Multiplicique modo, duxque comesque fui.
Cui satis ad votum non essent omnia terræ
Climata terra modo sufficit octo pedum.
Qui legis hæc pensa discrimina mortis, &c in me
Humanæ speculum conditionis habe.
Sufficit hic tumulus cui non sufficerat orbis.

At the corners of the tomb the abbess placed two modern kneeling statues of white marble, of Joan queen of Sicily, third and youngest daughter of Henry II. who died 1195, and of her son by her second husband Raymond, earl of Toulouse; who both had tombs and figures in this church³.

1189. On the north wall of the Presbytery at *Winchester* is this Inscription for bishop TOCLIVE:

Præfulis egregii paufant hic membra Ricardi
Toclive, cui summi gaudia funto poli.
Obiit Anno 1189.⁴

1191. In the south wall of the south transept at *Exeter* is an altar tomb, with quatrefoils at the sides and ends, and a black marble slab, the brass gone. This is the place assigned by Leland⁵ to bishop JOHN. If this means John who was promoted from the chanterhip of this church 1186, and died 1191, I doubt a monument adorned with brasses does not suit this early period. No other bishop of this name was before Leland's time buried here.

1197. The heart of WILLIAM LONGCHAMP, fourth bishop of Ely, who died 1197, and was buried abroad, was deposited in a little marble tomb near the altar of St. Martin in his cathedral⁶. He gained the confidence of Richard I. who promoted him to the highest dignities in the state.

1198. Under an arch on the north-west side of the choir at *Worcester* is a defaced monument of a bishop, lying on a double cushion, and at his feet two lions. JOHN DE CONSTANTINIS, who died 1198, was buried on the north side of the altar, in or near this spot. Gifford, in the next century, erected himself a handsome tomb in the same place, *juxta magnum altare a dextra parte*, says his will; but by order of the archbishop of Canterbury, January, 1302, John's remains were replaced here, and Gifford was entombed on the opposite side of the altar⁷.

1198. In the south wall of *Little Dunmow* church, Essex, is an altar tomb of alabaster, with the figures of a knight in armour, his helmet under his head⁸, his hair cut round; his feet with the lion at them broken off. His lady has the mitred head-dress richly flowered, a rich stomacher and necklace; and at her feet, which are wrapt in her robe, two dogs. On the north side of the tomb are

¹ Quoniam sepe vivens dixerat, universam orbem mihi non sufficere pro voto principis, inscriptio illius tumuli talis fuit.

² Dio, lxxvi. 869.

³ Sandford adds an 8th line,

Res brevis est ampla cui fuit ampla brevis.

⁴ Godwin, 217. Warton, 102.

⁵ It. III. 32.

⁶ Richardson on Godw. p. 254. ex MS. Barlow. Bentham's Ely, p. 144.

⁷ Q. if not the first instance of the helmet under the head.

⁸ Green, p. 72.

shields,

Fig. 2.

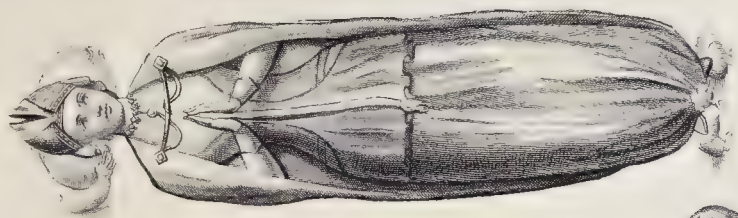


Fig. 1.

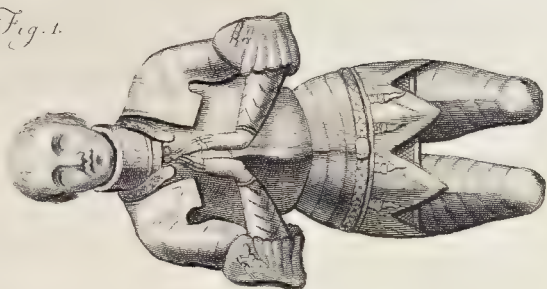


Fig. 3.

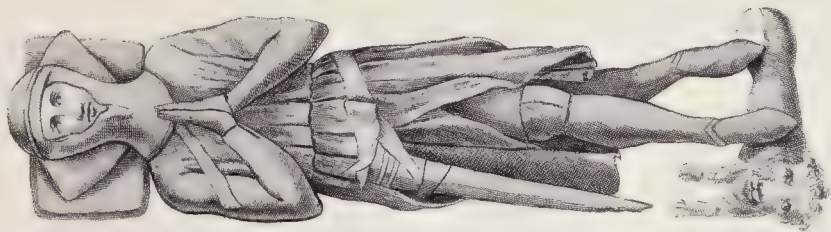
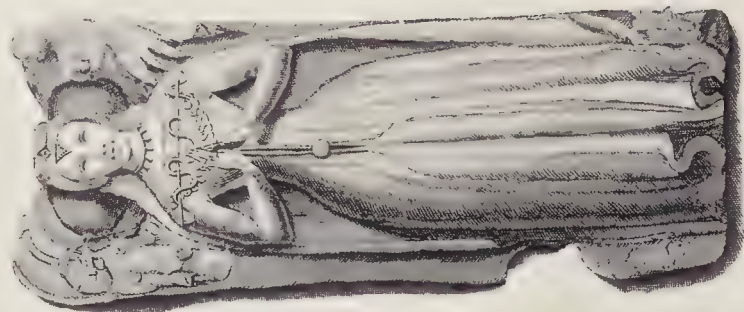
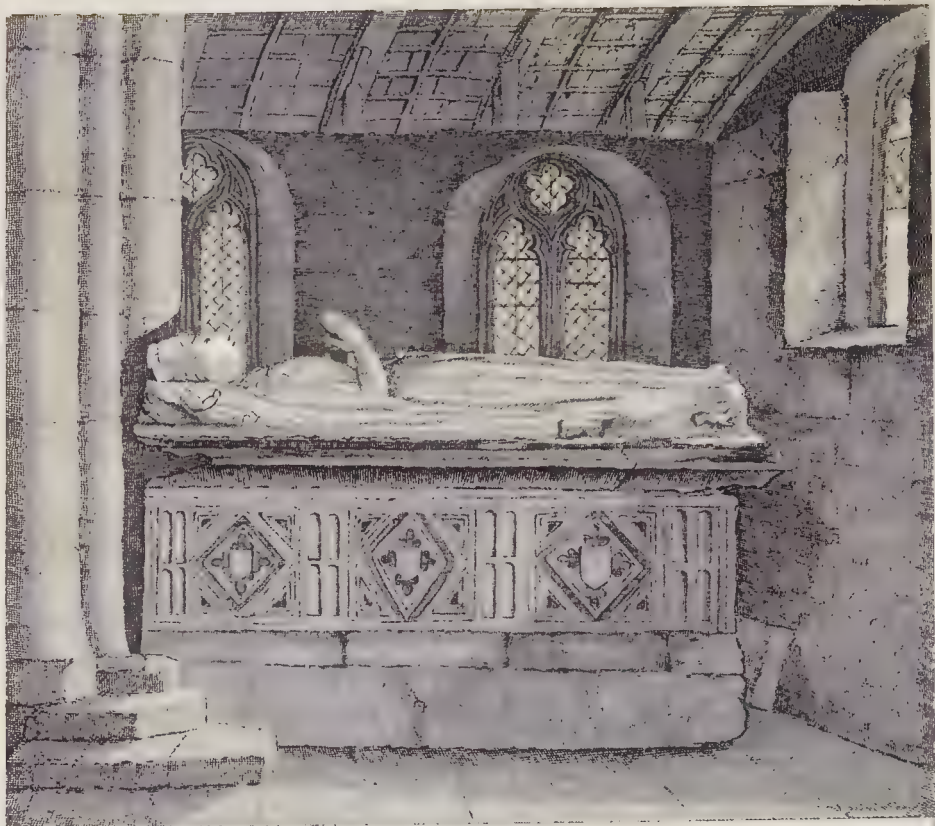


Fig. 4.

Fig. 1. Walters at Cambridge.

Fig. 3. Walters at Cambridge.





Monument of . Matilda . Fitz . Walter . at . Dunmow .

shields, alternately pendant and held by savages; *Fitzwalter* single and impaling Vaire O. and Az. or G. and A. *Bobun*, or *Bobun* quartering Az. an inescutcheon G. on a chevron 3 estoiles S. single. and impaling *Bobun*. A Fitzwalter shield I rescued from the head of a grave in the church-yard. The whole monument has suffered by removing from before the high altar, when the chancel was demolished at the dissolution. It is ascribed to WALTER FITZWALTER, who died 1198, 10 R. I. and his second wife MATILDA BOHUN.

His granddaughter MATILDA, who is said to have been poisoned by king John about the beginning of the next century for refusing his solicitations and according to the Chronicle of Dunmow in the Monasticon II. 76. was buried *inter duas columnas in choro ex parte meridionali*, has now a monument over against him. Her figure of alabaster has on its head a covering like a woollen night-cap, a collar of SS. a necklace of pendants, falling from a rich embroidered neckerchief, a rich girdle, her sleeves close to her wrist, and slit there. Her fingers stained with a red colour, which they pretend represents the effect of the poison, but more probably retaining traces of original painting, are loaded with rings, there being two on some of them; on her left little finger two together, on the third one, on the second two separate, on both thumbs one square, and one on the middle, third, and little fingers of the right hand. Her face is round and full, but rather unmeaning. At her head two angels, at the side of her feet two dogs. This figure with its slab is now laid on a grey altar tomb, decorated with shields in quatrefoils parted by pairs of arches, and evidently of a more modern style. Though this situation above assigned will suit the present choir, it must be observed, that what now serves as choir is only the east end of the south aisle, all the rest being pulled down; so that the bodies to which these tombs originally belonged are probably in the ploughed field that now occupies the site of the choir.

I am indebted to the pencil of my ingenious and lamented friend Mr. Tyron for the drawings of these monuments. Pl. VI. 1 & 2, & Pl. VII.

ANDREW, the third abbot, in the south wall of the south aisle of the choir at 1199. *Peterborough*, has a rich Gothic canopy, and holds a book and a crozier piercing a dragon at his feet. These three porphyry figures were brought from three arches of the chapter house now remaining in the south wall of the cloisters; and over them is written on the wall,

Hos tres abbates, quorum est prior abba *Jobannes*,
Alter *Martinus*, *Andreas* ultimus, unus
Hic claudit tumulus; pro clausis ergo rogemus.

These three, buried in one grave, were John 18th abbot; who died 1125; Martin 20th, 1155, and Andrew 23d, 1199.

Below them lies a fourth, under an arch in the wall, without any animal.

In a chapel in the south aisle is a fifth abbot with book and crozier, piercing a double-headed dragon. This figure, which seems the oldest of the five, has not been assigned to any particular abbot. See plate III.

In the south aisle of the choir at *Hereford* bishop VERE, third son of Aubrey 1199. de Vere, first earl of Oxford, who died 1199, has the same arch and figure as his predecessors *Clyve*, *Betune*, *Foliot*, and *Melton*, with this inscription,

D'nus Gulielmus le Vere Episcopus Herefordensis.
Obiit. A. 1199.

And the arms of *Vere*. This tomb is raised in.

¹ Willis, 488. Gunton, 27.

Bishop Godwin¹ justly observes, that these four monuments, with the figures on them, holding croziers in their left hand, and blessing with the right, are so exactly alike that nothing but the place and rank distinguish them.

1199. RICHARD I. who died 1199, and was buried at the feet of his father, had a tomb at *Fontevraud*, with his figure in beard and whiskers, royally robed and crowned, his mantle adorned with flowers and lozenges (now as well as his tunic painted) and jewels on his hands, which are laid on his breast and belly². This figure is now on the modern mausoleum. The same king has another figure on the tomb, in which his heart was interred at Rouen. It has no beard, and the crown is different; his right hand hangs down, his left holds a sceptre, surmounted by a bouquet; a fibula like that of Henry II. but longer, confines his robe on the breast; and a long studded belt is round his waist³. His bowels were buried at Chalons; Sandford⁴ says, in disgrace of their unthankfulness, which if he means it as a reflexion on the bowels, i.e. the king himself, who behaved so very ungratefully to his father, the punishment should have been inflicted on his heart; if on the city of Chalons, it seems none; for bodies, hearts, and bowels, were, at that time of day, frequently buried in different places⁵.

Two wooden figures of cross-legged knights, under arches in the north aisle of *Danbury church*, Essex, are by Mr. Morant⁶ referred to some of the St. CLERE family, who had lands there from the reign of Stephen to that of Edward II, and probably founded this aisle. The *Darcies*, to whom Weever⁷, from the current tradition of the place, ascribes them, were not lords here till the end of the 15th century. They are engraved, Pl. VII. 3, 4. from drawings by Mr. Tyson, who much admired the elegance of their workmanship. There is a great resemblance between them and the monuments in the Temple church.

In opening a grave, October or November, 1779, near this spot, was found a leaden coffin, in which was enclosed a body, preserved in some sort of liquor. As far as the liquor covered it the body was well preserved: the hands were remarkably perfect, the nose decayed. This discovery led Mr. Tyson, who communicated it to me, to conclude with great probability that the above figures were not lids of coffins.

¹ P. 284.

² Montf. II. 114. xv. 4.

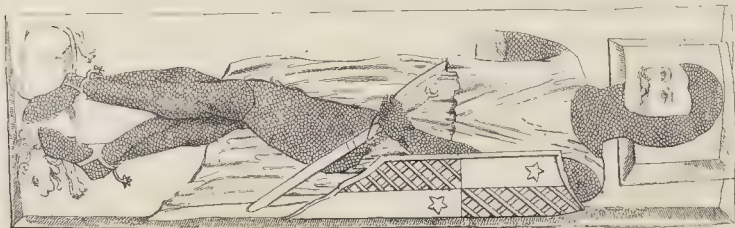
³ Montf. II. 114. xv. 5.

⁴ P. 79.

⁵ See his epitaph, Sandf. 79.

⁶ Hist. of Essex, II. 30.

⁷ P. 640.



Albericus de Vere, surmounted the Grim, first Earl of Oxford. 1091.

C E N T U R Y XIII.

Ye heavenly spirits, whose ashy cinders lie
Under deep ruines, with huge walls opprest,
But not your praise, the which shall never die
Through your fair verses, ne in ashes rest:

If so be shrilling voice of wight alive
May reach from hence to depth of darkest hell,
Then let these deep abysses open rive,
That ye may understand my shrieking yell.

Thrice having seen, under the heaven's veil,
Your tombs devoted compass over all,
Thrice unto you with loud voice I appeal,
And for your antique Fury here do call.

SPENSER, Ruines of Rome.



Bishop's Chair - Aquilone 1268. 127

C E N T U R Y XIII.

THE XIIIth Century should open with St. Hugh the Burgundian, bishop 1200. of Lincoln, who had a magnificent shrine and silver chest, into which his reliques were translated by the kings of England and France, 1282, 5 John, behind the high altar of his cathedral. Only the traces of it remain in the pavement. It has been succeeded by a table monument, erected by bishop Fuller, between 1667 and 1675; with an inscription, which may be seen in Browne Willis' account of the cathedral¹. The monument or shrine commonly ascribed to him, and engraved by Dr. Stukeley², was supposed by Mr. Lethieullier to be that of Hugh, a child, crucified and canonized 40 Henry III. I shall insert here his account at large, in a letter to Mr. Gale, printed in the *Archæologia*, I. 26.

" In looking over the several monuments within the cathedral of Lincoln I took particular notice of the poor remains of one in the isle on the south side the choir, which I recollected the author of the *Itinerary Curiosum* had given a draught of as entire (without mentioning from whence he had his authority), and called it the shrine of St. Hugh the Burgundian, bishop of this see.

" The story of this bishop is well known. We are told, that in regard to his sanctity he was carried to his grave on the shoulders of two kings: that he was interred at the east end of this church, which he had built, and had a shrine erected over his grave, which in the inventory of the riches of this church (an original of which was shewn me in their archives) is said to have been of gold, the marks of which still remain in the pavement and against the pillar³ where it stood, and in its place, bishop Fuller, a great restorer of the antiquities of this church, placed a table tomb, with an inscription on it that has frequently been published.

" Now I believe there is no instance of the same saint having two shrines dedicated to him in the same church, and from what I have above said we may therefore conclude, that the forementioned shrine in the south aisle never belonged to St. Hugh the bishop; but some other saint must be looked for to hallow it.

¹ P. 49.

² It. Cur. I. pl. xxix.

³ This pillar is the first North Eastern one from the back of the high altar: but it may be doubted, whether the holes on the pavement, and marks of iron in the pillar, did not rather belong to another monument. It should seem that the shrine would occupy the centre of the area, or nearly the site of the tomb erected by Bishop Fuller.

" This faint I think I may venture to affirm was a child named *Hugh*, who was crucified by the Jews dwelling in the city, 40 Henry III. and whose torments in the Christian cause were in the zeal of that age thought sufficient to merit canonization. But before I attempt to prove that this shrine was erected to this infant saint it seems necessary to produce some evidence that such an one ever existed: since M. Rapin, in his history of the reign of Edward I. speaking of the banishment of the Jews out of England by the following passage calls in question the certainty of any such crime having ever been committed. As for the imputation, says he, of crucifying, from time to time, Christian children, one may almost be sure that it was only a calumny invented by their enemies. But to omit all the retailers of this story, which are many, I refer you at once to Matthew Paris, an historian of veracity and credit, and who probably could not be imposed upon in a fact he was contemporary with, it happening about five years before his death.

" That author has given us the story in a very full manner, which I shall not trouble you with repeating, but only observe, that he tells us the name of the child was Hugh, and that the canons of Lincoln procured his body, and buried it honourably in their cathedral '.

" M. Paris's relation is fully confirmed by the two records you sent me copies of; the one being a commission from the king to Simon Pafselewe and William de Leighton to seize to the king's use 'domos' quæ fuerunt Judæorum Linc. suspenforum pro puero ibidem crucifixo,' and the other a pardon to one John

¹ I shall lay before the reader the original account at large.

² Anno quoque sub eodem (1255) circa festum apostolorum Petri & Pauli Judei Lincolnie furati sunt unum puerum Hugonem nomine, habentem ætate octo annos. Et cum ipsum in quodam conclavi secretissimo lafe & alius pueribus alimentis nutritum, miserunt ad omnes fere Angliæ civitates in quibus Judei debebant, & convocaverunt de unaquaque civitate aliquos Judæorum, ut in consuetam & opprobrium Jesu Christi interessent sacrificio suo Lincolnie. Habebant enim, ut dicebant, quendam puerum absconditum ad crucifigendum. Et convenerunt multi Lincolnie. Et convenientes constituerunt unum Judæum Lincolnensem pro iudice tanquam pro Pilato; cuius iudicio & omnium favore affectus est puer diversis tormentis, verberatus est usque ad cruorem & livorem, spinis coronatus, & capitis & cæchionis laceratus. Et insuper & singulis punctis cunctis qui dicitur *Anacris* *, potatus felle, derisus probis & blasphemis, & crebro ibidem fruentibus Jesu pseudopropheta vocatus. Et postquam diversimode illulerant ei crucifixerunt: & lancea ad cor penetraverunt. Cum expirasset depolierunt corpus de cruce, & nescitur qua ratione evicerant corpusculum; dicitur autem quod ad magicas artes exercendas. Mater autem pueri filium suum absentem per aliquot dies diligenter quæsit, dicuntque ei a vicinis quod ultimo viderant puerum quem quæsit Judæum cum pueri Judæorum sibi coactis & domum Judæi cuiusdam intrantem. Intravit igitur mulier subito domum illam, & vidit corpus pueri in quodam puteum precipitatum. Et caute convocatis civitatis ballivis inventum est corpus & extractum. Et factum est mirabile spectaculum in populo. Mulier autem mater pueri querula & clamosa omnes cives in uno convenientes ad lachrymas & suspiria provocavit. Erat autem ibidem dominus Johannes de Lexington, vir quidem circumspexius & discretus, insuper eleganter litteratus, qui ait, audivimus quondam quod talis Judei in opprobrium Jesu Christi domini nostri crucifixi non sunt veriti attemptare. Et capto nunc Judæo in cujus domum scilicet intravit puerulum, & ideo alius suspensior, ait illi, 'Miser, nescis quod te festinus manet interitus? Totum aurum Angliæ non sufficeret ad ereptionem tuam aut redemptionem. Verum tamen dicam tibi licet indigno qualiter poteris vitam tuam reservare, & membra ne mutileris. Utinam te salvabo, si quæcunque in hoc casu aguntur sine falsi ramine mihi pandere non formides.' Judæus igitur ille, cui nomen *Copernus*, sic credens viam invenisse evasionis respondit dicens, 'Domine Johannes, si didis facta compensas pandam tibi mirabilia.' Et animavit eum & simulavit ad hoc domui Johannis industria. Et ait Judæus: 'Vera sunt que dicunt Christiani. Judei culte enim hoc faciunt & locis absconditis & occultis Jesu crucifigunt. Sed non quolibet anno compertur. Occidit enim Judei crucifixerunt, & cum obdormit, & mortuum vellent abscondere non potuit obrui in terra nec abscondi. Insulte enim reputabatur, corpus infans augurio; sed hoc enim eviceratur, & cum mane putatur absconditum eddidit illud terra, & evomuit, & apparuit corpus aliquoties inhumatum supra terram; unde abhorruerunt Judei. Tandem in puteum precipitatum est, nec adhuc tamen potuit occultari. Mater enim improba omnia persequendo tandem corpus inventum ballivis intinnavit.' Domus autem Johannes tenuit Judæum vinculis mancipatum. Et cum hæc canonice ecclesiæ Lincolnensis cathedralis honorificent petierunt corpusculum sibi dari. Et concessum est illis. Et cum ab infinitis factis confideretur, honorifice in ecclesiā Lincolnensem tanquam preciosi martyris humabatur. Sciendum quoque Judei temerunt puerum vivum per 10 dies, ut tot diebus passus lase tormenta vivus multiformis tolerat. Cum rex redisset de paribus boreisibus Angliæ, & certificaretur de præmissis, increpavit dominum Johannem quod tam flagitiosam vitam & membra polliceretur, quod dare nequiverat: dignus enim erat blasphemus ille & homicida mortis pena multiformis. Et cum iudicium reo immineret irremediabile, ait: 'Imminet mihi mors mea, nec potest mihi dominus Johannes perituro suffragari. Nunc dico vobis omnibus veritatem; huius pueri de quo calumniantur Judei morti contentebant omnes fere Judei Angliæ, & convulsus fere civitas Angliæ in qua Judei habitant quidam electi convocabantur ad illius pueri in equum & tractus ad paschalem sacrificium.' Et cum hæc dixisset simul cum aliis deliramentis, ligatus ad caudam facinorosi participes quater viginti & undecim in bigis Londinium ducti carceris custodie mancipantur. Qui si forte ab aliquibus Christianis plangebantur ab emulis eorum *Cursus* & facies lacrymis deplorabantur. Postea vero per inquisitionem iudici cor. d. a. m. ligis præceptum fuit & inventum quod Judei Angliæ communi consilio puerum innocentem pluribus diebus flagellatum interemerunt crucifixum. Sed postea pro iniquitate illa mater dicit pueri contra ipsos tali morte appellationem suam coram rege confidenter prosequente Deus ultionum dominus dignum pro meritis reddidit novæ ad hoc specialiter preparatas venio præsentati. Et in turri Londinensi plurius viginti ter ad simile iudicium in carceres sunt reclusi. M. Paris, p. 912, 913. A. D. 1255.

³ Part of the bones so marked were purchased and appropriated to Welborne's Chantry. Reg. Decani & Capit. fo. 100. v. of Welborne's Chantry.

* *Anacris*, a kind of a knife or dagger worn at the girdle. See Tyrwhitt's Chaucer, vol. 359. and note.

† A set of foreign clippers and cutters, with which the Jews sacrificed.

" a convert who had been condemned ' pro morte pueri nuper crucifixi apud
" Lincoln dum prædictus Johannes fuit Judæus ejusdem civitatis."

" As there is as good authority for the truth of this fact as can be brought for
" any transaction in past ages, I am satisfied you will not require further proof."

" Upon a strict enquiry I was informed by one of the minor canons (a gen-
" tleman who has a taste for these studies) that this was the tomb of the cru-
" cified child; and as a farther proof, the verger shewed me a statue of a boy,
" made of free-stone, painted, about twenty inches high, which by tradition
" they affirm was removed from the said tomb or shrine. I have inclosed a
" slight sketch of it, by which you will observe the marks of crucifixion in the
" hands and feet, and the wound made on the right side, from whence blood
" is painted in the original as issuing: the left hand is on the breast, but the
" right held up, with the two fingers extended in the usual posture of bene-
" diction; which attitude, I apprehend, denotes his being a saint, as the
" wounds do his being a martyr¹. The head is broken off, probably at the time
" when the statues in this church underwent that fate.

" In the draught of this shrine given in the Itinerarium the figure of the boy
" is not expressed. That draught I have reason to believe was copied from a book
" of drawings of all the monuments in this cathedral, taken by order of Sir
" William Dugdale before they were destroyed in the late civil wars, which book
" is now in Lord Hatton's library; but the statue of the boy I apprehend was re-
" moved by an order from Henry VIII. for taking away all causes of superstition
" or idolatry.

" The materials this was made of were not worth transferring to the Exchequer
" (whither the shrines of St. Hugh and John Dalderby were sent, the one being
" gold, the other silver). But this figure was set in a by place just behind the high
" altar, where we found it covered with dust and obscurity. As there is no danger
" of superstition in this age, I could wish it were replaced in its proper station².

" Give me leave further to observe, that I think this a very remarkable mo-
" nument, and strong proof of a piece of our English history, which by the passage
" in Rapin is rendered very dubious; and since this fact at Lincoln is so well at-
" tested, there is the less reason to doubt the other stories of the same kind which
" are recorded in different historians, and are collected together by Mr. Prynne, in
" his "Demurrer to the Jews."

" Mr. Willis, to whom I have communicated the purport of this long epistle,
" sends me word he is entirely of my opinion, and extremely pleased to have his
" error in calling it the shrine of St. Hugh the bishop corrected."

The monument has suffered much damage since the draught was taken which
Dr. Stukeley has engraved. The pediment and two pillars which projected
from its front are gone, as are the three short arches on which they rested, and
which there appear adorned with four shields, bearing the arms of England
single and impaling Old France alternately. All that now remains is the back
part of this shrine or tomb; on each side of which are two or three arches, within
which have been painted shields of arms now defaced.

This second application of the monument in question must give way to a
third hypothesis.

This was the place of an image of the Virgin Mary. It appears from the Dean
and Chapter's books, 21 June, 1533, "Decanus et Capitulum concesserunt con-

¹ "I shall beg leave only to add the testimony of our English Homer.

O yonge Hewe of Lyncoln, stayne also
With curysd Jewes, as it is notable;
For it is but a litel while ago;
Pray eke for us, we synful folk unstable,
That of his mercy God be merciable
On us! his grete mercy multiply,
For the reverence of his mother Mary!

Chaucer: *Prioresse's Tale.*"

² This sketch does not appear in the Society's archives.

³ The posture of the hands, so different from the attitude of a crucifix, proves it could not be an image of our Saviour.

⁴ In the late repair of this beautiful church this mutilated statue was thrown away, among other lumber.

“fratri suo Christophero Maffingberd cancellario maximum lapidem marmoreum
 “coram imagine beatæ M. V. in insula australi dicte ecclesiæ cath. Linc. in quo
 “nulla apparet scriptura seu sculptura, ita quod ipse cancellarius cum ab hac luce
 “migraverit bene et libere possit et valeat sub eodem lapide sepeliri.

1201. WILLIAM DE BLEYS, bishop of *Lincoln*, called by Leland *William de Montibus*, who died 1201, after having filled the see two years from his consecration, was buried in the upper North transept of his cathedral. Of his body on its removal a century after its inhumation, in order to rebuild or improve this part of the church, we have the following account from Schawke, who was register at the time. “Will’s de Bloynes, vir literatus et benignus, cujus memoriam benedictione cedit a nonnullis. Nam circa 100 annos a corporis sui humatione effluxis, cum corpus suum a loco in quo jacebat humatus amotum fuisset prætextu “pulchrioris fabricæ¹ faciendæ inventum fuit integrum, et vinum in calice cum “quo humatum fuerat recens, ut videbatur, et purum².”

1202. ALAN, abbot of *Tewkesbury*, canon of Beneventum, and five years a novice Pl. IX. and sacristan of Christ-church, Canterbury, 1179, a great favourite of Becket, and stout opposer of Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, for which reason that prelate got him removed to this abbey 1186 or 7, where he sat 18 years, and died 1202, has, in the south aisle of the choir of his church in the fourth wall, near the vestry, a blue speckled slab, with a cross on it, and this inscription, ✠ ALANVS ABB. under a demi-quatrefoil arch. He is said to have been a man of great wit, learning, and piety, and wrote a life of Becket, the acts of Clarendon, Epistles to Henry II. &c.

1203. In the north aisle of the chancel at *Banham*, Norfolk, under an arch in the wall terminating in a bouquet, and remarkable for its extraordinary simplicity, lies an oak figure of a knight in plated armour, and surcoat, and round helmet, his head on a cushion; his right hand lies by his side, his left lifted up. A large cinquefoil under his left arm bespeaks him to be Sir HUGH BARDOLPH, knight, who had a monument here, and died 1203³. See Pl. X. & XI. an exact representation of this figure, from a beautiful drawing communicated by Mr. Ker-
 rich, Fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge; with the following description of it.

“The Effigy itself is a cumbent statue of wood, cut out of the same piece of oak with the board on which it lies; but some of the smaller, and more salient parts, were made separately, and are fastened to the rest with wooden pins⁴. The whole is hollow and is open at the bottom. It was originally painted all over, but is now almost bare. From the little paint remaining we may gather that his armour was mail, which did not cover the head, but at the height of the mouth was laced with a red lace to a light head-piece, which has a kind of crest or sharp eminence running over it from behind forwards. From what remains on the left arm, there may be some reason to think it was not covered with mail, but narrow plates like those in the seal of king Edward II, but there is so little left, that this is very uncertain; but whatever this part of the armour consisted of, it certainly covered his fingers quite to the ends, and was not divided for each finger. The mailles on the legs seem not to be plain circular rings as usual, but formed into square figures; but this too on account of the very little paint remaining may be questioned⁵. The sword which was placed very forward is now gone; it was fastened to the figure, and was not of the same piece with it. The sword belt was of a yellowish colour, flowered with green and red; the girdle nearly like it; the surcoat, which is scarce longer than the coat of mail, is divided before about four inches be-

¹ Agreement between Dean and Chapter, and Richard Stowe, 1506, to keep up *novum opus*, in arch. eccl. Linc.

² Lib. Craffus, fol. 135.

³ Blomfield’s History of Norfolk, I. 240.

⁴ As the whole of the right arm, and cubit of the left, several small pieces in the folds of the surcoat on the right side towards the bottom, and one large one on the outside of the left knee, which last seems to have been supplied long after the figure was made.

⁵ There are lines cut into the wood in all the parts of the figure which were covered with mail; these seem to have determined the runs of mailles, and I have therefore attended to the number of them in my drawings.

1755 Knight of Barcelona, 1703



PL. X. M. L. II

low the girdle; it was of a deep brownish crimson colour, flowered with yellow. On his knees are plates, which lie over the mail of the legs. There are two large holes in the cubit of the left arm, from whence we may conclude he bore a shield upon it. In his right hand he held something, perhaps a sword. The spurs were gilt, the necks of them are lost, and were not of the same piece with the figure. The spur-leathers buckled upon the top of the instep, and were very gayly painted with green, red, yellow and black. His head rests upon a pillow, of the same colour, and flowered nearly in the same manner, with his girdle. The board, or bed, if you please, on which the figure lies, was green and flowered. There have been upon the edge of this board, on each side six roses (or, as Mr. Blomefield calls them, cinquefoils) and five small shields for arms; but there remain at present only one of the roses entire, which is under the right arm of the figure, and half of another near the feet on the other side, and only one of the shields.

"The paint is water colours, laid upon a very thick ground of whiting, which in several places, as the mailles for instance, is raised into a kind of relievo, so as to be quite rough to the touch; and, before this was applied, the wood, in some parts at least, was covered with linen cloth, but certainly not all over. The colour of the lace, or ribband, which fastens the mail to the helmet, is exceedingly vivid, which perhaps is owing in some measure to the being laid upon gold. The colours of the furcoat are laid in the same manner.

"Upon digging we found almost immediately below the surface of the ground, before the monument, a bed of flint stones laid in very strong mortar, about nine inches thick, near eight feet long, and three wide. We broke through this, and went to the depth of six feet, but could find no coffin, nor any remains of a body, and came then to strata of earth which seemed never to have been disturbed.

"Query, If the body of the person to whom this monument belongs was really buried here, is it not probable we should have found it in the wall itself immediately under the Effigy."

Under the north window of the south aisle at *Canterbury*, east from the song 1105, school, is the tomb of archbishop HUBERT WALTER, who died 1205. His statue, lying on it defaced, is in *pontificalibus*, his hands joined, a dog at his feet. His robe was once neatly painted with the armorial bearings of his family, but time and white-wash prevent these remains from being discoverable. The tomb must have been more perfect when drawn for Dart, who has engraved it p. 131, or it is supplied from fancy. He represents it lying on an altar tomb with nine pointed arches; but as the figure is much shorter than the tomb, they probably were not intended for each other. Godwin says he is reported to be buried in the wall. He saw his epitaph, but heard it was afterwards some how or other defaced. Giraldus Cambrensis, his contemporary, gives him this great character: "Principis erat frenum & tyrannidis obstaculum; populi pax & solatium; majorum pariter & minorum suis diebus contra publicæ potestatis oppressiones in necessitate refugium."

Bishop MARSHALL, who filled the see of *Exeter* from 1193 to 1206, and is 1206, supposed to have built the choir of his cathedral as it now appears, has a monument on the north side of the high altar. The figure lies in *pontificalibus*, the two least fingers of his left hand bent, the others extended as giving the benediction; in his right hand a crozier, at his feet a horned lizard or dragon; at the corner of the arch over his head angels in several niches; on each side the tomb six figures in quatrefoils, three monks on the north side, a bishop on the south side; and in one quatrefoil two figures together. Above, a lion rampant, which Izaak makes his arms.

The improvement or variation between this tomb and bishop Roger's is, the altar tomb decorated with figures, and the coat of arms. It is not however improbable, that Roger had a sarcophagus either above or under ground; I rather

* Godling, p. 252.

* Godwin, p. 85.

* De jure & statu eccl. Menev. & Gemma Eccles. Duff, 2. c. 36.

* P. 3.

* K

think the latter; and that if not left behind at Old Sarum it lies under the raised base at Salisbury.

1206. The only memorial of WILLIAM BLESENSIS bishop of *Lincoln*, who died 1206, and was buried with his three successive predecessors, in the Upper or Lesser North transept of his cathedral, is a whole length figure of him, painted with three more of them on the west wall of this transept. There lie below, in the middle of the floor, close and parallel to each other, three plain blue stones coffin-fashioned, and a fourth decorated with massive figures in alto relievo of persons with various symbols, sitting on branches of a tree, on whose top seems to be the Deity. Among these figures one plainly appears to hold a harp.

The Ichnographies of this cathedral, in Dugdale's *Monasticon*¹, and Willis, ascribe one of these four stones to bishop *Walter de Constantis*. But besides that the date of his death in these plans is confounded with that of Blesensis, he enjoyed this dignity but one year, being translated to the archbishopric of Rouen 1184².

On the north side of the choir³ at *Hereford* is the figure of a bishop pontifically habited; his right-hand giving the benediction, in his left a crozier and embattled tower of two stories. On the wall over him is painted this inscription, *D'ns Egidius de Bruse Epus Herf.*

Ob. A. D. 1215.

This is the monument of GILES BRUCE, or BREOSE, bishop of Hereford, from 1199 to 1215. He was son of William Breose baron Brecknock, and for adhering to the barons against king John, was obliged to fly his country, but having afterwards recovered the king's favour, died at Gloucester Nov. 17, 1215, on his way home, leaving his ample fortune to his brother Reginald, who married the daughter of Llewellyn prince of North Wales. From the tower in his hand Godwin conjectures he built the west-tower of his cathedral⁴.

1215. Fig. 3, 4. Pl. IX. are supposed to have been the figures of ALBERIC DE VERE, third of that Christian name, and second earl of Oxford, and his Lady, on their monument at *Earl's Colne* priory in Essex. They were made of wood, and painted, but being totally destroyed 1736, are here engraved from drawings taken by Daniel King 1653, which were the property of Lord Fairfax, afterwards of Mr. Lethieullier, and now of the Hon. Horace Walpole, to whose polite and liberal spirit of communication I am indebted for many other drawings with which this work is embellished. Mr. Lethieullier, whose judicious remarks accompany all the drawings that were his property, was induced by the material of which these figures were made to assign them to this earl of Oxford, who died without issue 16 John, 1215. Whom he married does not appear from Dugdale. Alberic succeeded his father Alberic, who was made earl of Oxford by the empress Maud, and confirmed in that dignity by her son Henry II. His brother Robert has a monument at Hatfield Broad-oak, before described, engraved in plate VIII.

1225. In the north aisle of *Christ-church*, Oxford, is a tomb generally ascribed to Pl. XII. PHILIP third prior of St. Fridiswode, who finished the present church, erected the beautiful shrine of the patroness still remaining two arches above him, into which he translated her remains 1180, and wrote an account of her life and miracles. He died before 1225, but in what year is uncertain. Bishop Tanner and Wood⁵ make him flourish 1180, Bishop Kennet⁶ and Wood, in another work⁷, 1189. Browne Willis⁸ makes him die 1190, and ascribes this monument also to *Gwymund*, the first prior, by whose care this house was re-established 1111, and the present church began to be built, and who died 1149.

In this diversity of opinions we may suppose the monument to have been erected to one or other of these priors in a late period, to which Mr. Lethieullier, whose drawing is here copied, assigns it.

¹ III. 254. ² Godwin, p. 287. or, as Mr. Willis indeterminately expresses it, under an arch in the fourth aisle.

³ Survey of Hereford, p. 513.

⁴ Hist. & Ant. Ox. I. 55.

⁵ P. 414.

⁶ MS. xlix.

⁷ Paroch. Antiq. p. 144.

⁸ Cath. of Ox. p. 410.

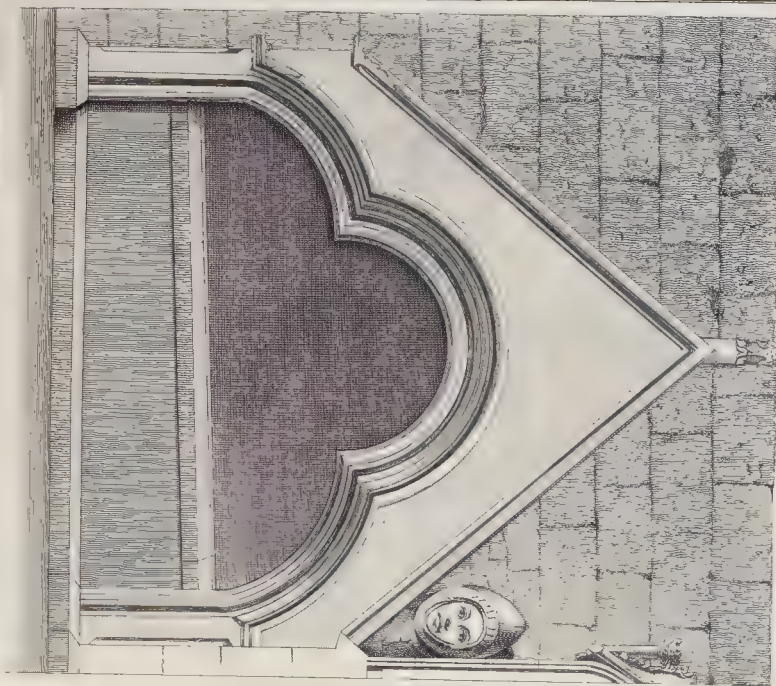


Fig. 1

Alamy, library of the University of Cambridge

Alamy de la ville de Carthage

Alamy de la ville de Carthage



Fig. 2

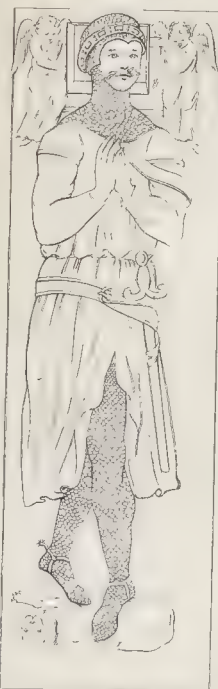


Fig. 3

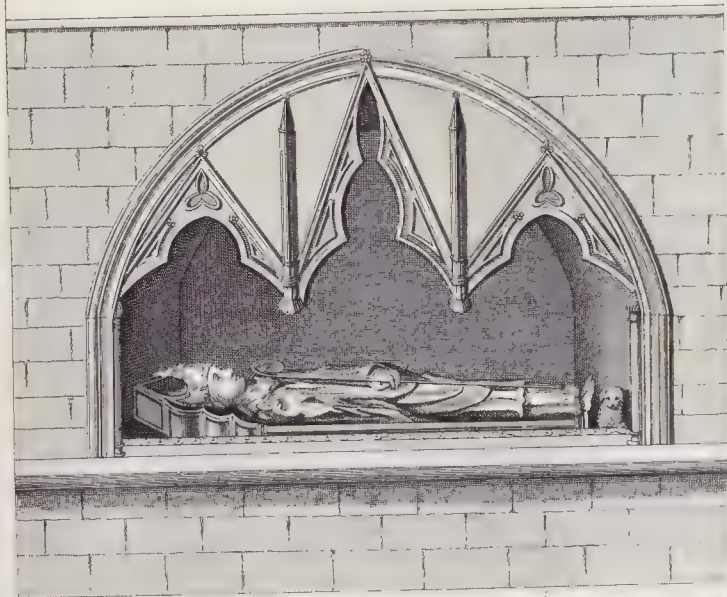
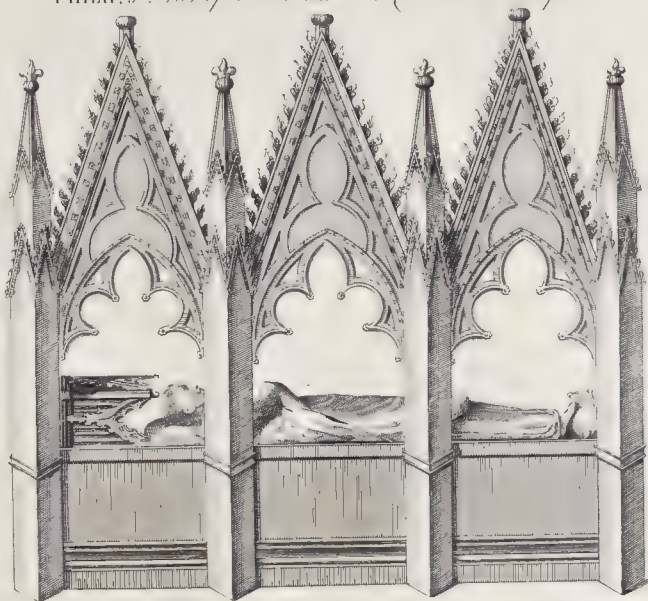


Fig. 4

Scale of Feet

PL IX p. 36

PHILIP, 5th Prince of Wales, in Christ Church, Oxford



Bishop POORE in Salisbury cathedral 1237.

King JOHN died 1216, and his monument in the choir at Worcester¹ is probably of his own age, and the oldest of our Kings in England, if we except that ascribed to Rufus. He was buried here by his own desire in his will, in a monk's cowl. His effigies is royally apparelled. Within his crown was JOHANNES REX ANGLIÆ, now entirely defaced. In his right hand was a sceptre, now broken; in his left a sword reversed, and piercing a lion at his feet. On each side of his head, instead of the usual accompaniments of angels, are two Bishops in pontificalibus, as Dr. Thomas² says, and as Dr. Stukeley has drawn them³, censuring him, but as Thomas has engraved it, holding their croziers. These are supposed to be the bishops Oswald and Wulfstan, patrons of the church, whose monuments now lie in Lady-chapel, though mistaken for two other bishops⁴. The royal body is supposed to lie under Lady-chapel, in a stone vault, in a strong chest, in which, upon opening, was found a leaden coffin, but without any marks or inscription. The tomb above ground being also opened was found quite empty⁵. The Annals of Worcester published by Mr. Wharton⁶ expressly say, he was buried *coram magno altari inter S.S. Oswaldum et Wulfstanum*. The then choir was afterwards converted into the Lady-chapel; and when the high altar was placed where the communion table now stands, and the floor of the new choir had gained a considerable elevation by a subterraneous vault made underneath, the king's tomb, now hidden from view, was taken down, and erected before the new high altar, and between the shrines here, as it had hitherto stood between the sepulchres of these two bishops⁷. On its sides in quatrefoils are the arms of England, three lions passant guardant. Stukeley⁸, on what authority I know not, supposes the image lay on the ground, in the Lady chapel, on a stone now between bishops Oswald and Wulfstan, though since elevated on a tomb in the choir. Dr. Nash thinks the body was left in the choir, when on its being ruined the tomb was brought forward. Sandford pronounces the figures of the king and bishops, all of one stone, to be as old as the time of Henry III. but the altar-tomb on which it is placed is certainly of modern fabric⁹.

One of the figures in the Temple church belongs to WILLIAM MARSHALL, earl 1219, of PEMBROKE¹⁰, whose arms per pale O. and V. a lion rampant G. armed and Pl. V. langued G. are on the shield. It is a knight in mail with a furcoat, his helmet fig. 2. more completely rounded than the adjoining one, and the cushion as in all the rest, and under Longespée's at Sarum, laid straight under his head. He is drawing his short dagger or broken sword with his right hand, and on his left arm has a short pointed shield. Below his knees are bands or garters, as if to separate the cuisses from the greaves; his legs are crossed, and under his feet is a lion couchant.

Our William was descended from the ancient family of that name, who held the office of marshal of England, and of whom Sir William Dugdale¹¹ has given a succession of seven descents from the time of Henry III. to Edward II. He was son of John, who lived in the reign of Stephen, and brother of John, who held the above high office in the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. and died without issue in the latter. The first account of William is 28 Henry II. when Henry son of that prince, who had behaved himself rebelliously against his father, lying on his death-bed, with great penitence delivered to him, as to his most intimate friend, his cross to carry to Jerusalem¹². He obtained from Richard I. on his first coming to England after his father's death, Isabel daughter and heir of Richard earl of Pembroke¹³ in marriage, and with her that earldom, and by that title he assisted at Richard's coronation¹⁴. When that prince went to

¹ P. 35.² Itin. I. xviii. He has represented the figure amazingly rude.³ See before, p. 30.⁴ Green's Survey of Worcester, p. 40. 67.⁵ Angl. Sac. I. 483.⁶ Green, p. 38.⁷ P. 85.⁸ Weever, p. 442.⁹ Bar. I. 599.¹⁰ Hoved. p. 354.¹¹ Dugd. ib. & aut. ibi citati.¹² Dugdale after Brompton, p. 1155. and Hoveden, 373. says only of *Strigul*; but this was Richard de Clare, furnished Strongbow, second earl of Pembroke, which title past with his daughter to her husband. See Camden in Pembrokech. p. 513. M. Paris also calls our William earl of Pembroke, as well as his son William.¹³ Hoved. p. 354. Brompt. p. 1158.

the Holy Land he gave him a share in the government¹, and he engaged himself for the king's performance of his engagement with the king of France to undertake the crusade². He was sheriff of Lincolnshire from the 2d to the 6th of this reign, and of Suffex during the whole, as also 1 Joh. and of Gloucestershire the same year, till the eighth. Upon John's accession he was sent before him from Normandy to keep the peace till his arrival³. He obtained of the king a grant of the whole province of Leinster in Ireland, besides the government of several castles in Wales, and on the borders⁴; and he was sent to receive the demands of the malcontent barons at Brackley, 17 Joh⁵. He supported Henry III. against the partisans of the Dauphin, amongst whom was his own son⁶, and defeated them at Lincoln, which they had laid siege to⁷. He then beleaguered London, and reduced it to the utmost distress; and by his prudent conduct a peace was soon after brought about, 2 Henry III⁸. The last public office which he filled was that of sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire⁹. He founded Cartmel priory, Lancashire, and three more in Ireland, and began a Cistercian foundation at Dowryken in the county of Kilkenny¹⁰, and was a benefactor to several others both there and in England. He died advanced in years at his manor of Caversham near Reading, 3 Henry III. 1219. His body was carried first to Reading-abbey, then to Westminster, and last to this church, where it was solemnly interred on Ascension-day, 27 cal. April¹¹. This epitaph, expressive of his character, was made for him:

Sum quem Saturnum sibi sensit Hybernia, Solem
Anglia, Mercurium Normannia, Gallia Martem¹².

"Fuit enim," says Matthew Paris, "Hybernorum nocivus edomitor, Anglis honor & gloria, Normanniæ negotiator, qui in ea multa comparavit, Gallicis bellicosus & miles invincibilis." The same writer, just before, alluding to the share he had in settling the young king on his throne calls him, "Rector Regni¹³."

He married to his second wife, 5 Joh. Alice, daughter of Baldwin de Bethune earl of Albemarle; and left by his first wife five sons, William, Richard, Gilbert, Walter, and Anselm, who all succeeded one another in his lands and honours, and died without issue; and five daughters, married to some of our principal nobility, to whose heirs the inheritance at length descended. By his second wife he had one daughter, who died without issue. The title borne by this earl and his descendants was earl of Pembroke and marshall of England, lord of Longueville in Normandy, of Leinster in Ireland, and of Chepstow, Strigul, and Caerwent, in Wales¹⁴.

¹ Hoved. p. 375.

² Ib. 376. He obtained for his share of the lands of Walter Giffard earl of Buckinghamshire the chief feat of the barony in Normandy in right of his wife. Dugd. ib. 600. ex rot. Selden Titles of Honour, p. 729.

³ Hoved. p. 450.

⁴ Dugd. Bar. I. 601.

⁵ M. Paris, p. 254.

⁶ Ib. p. 259.

⁷ Ib. p. 295.

⁸ Ib. p. 298, 299.

⁹ Dugd. ubi sup.

¹⁰ Ib. Mon. Hib. p. 177.

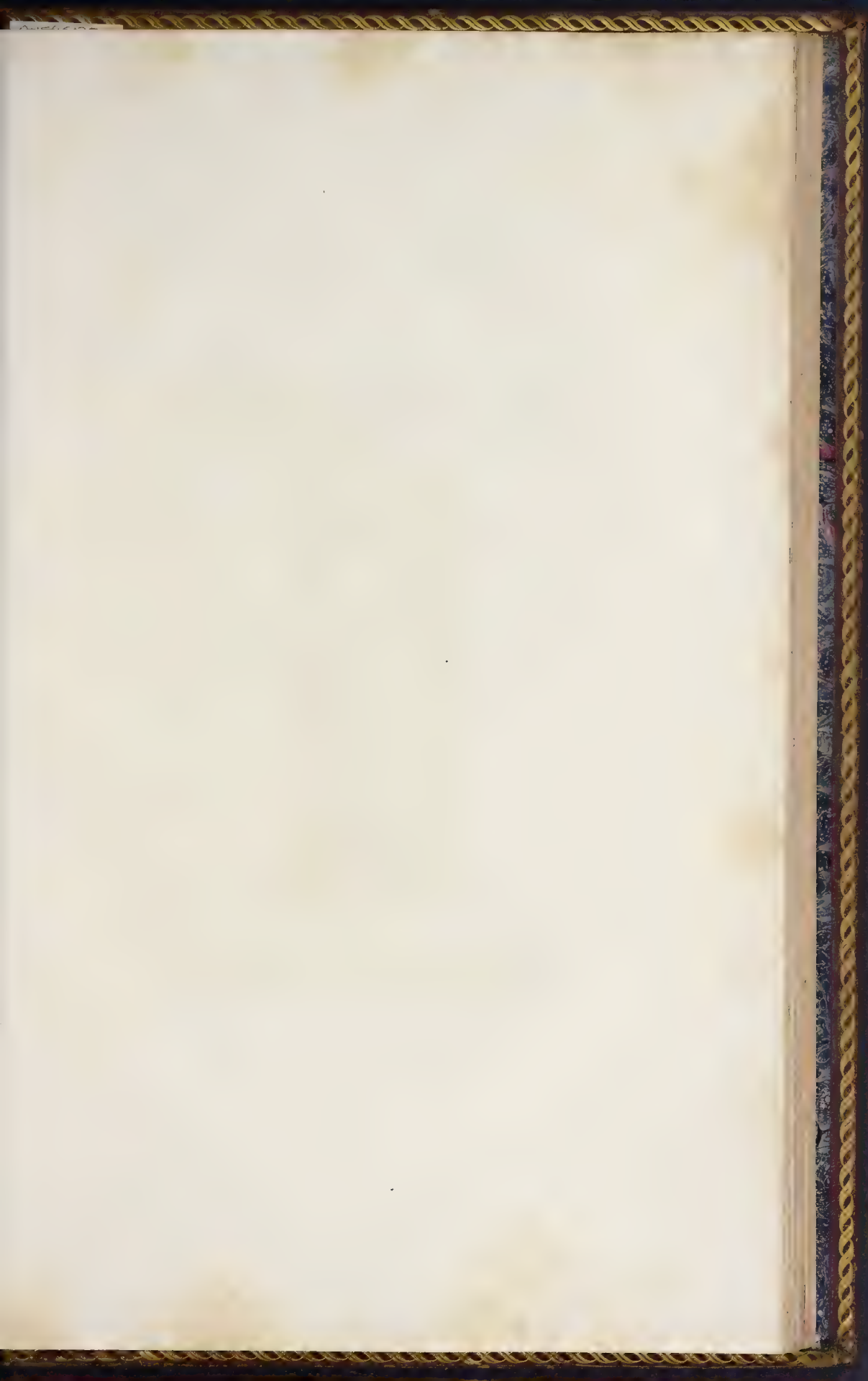
¹¹ MS. in Bibl. Bodl. cited by Dugdale.

¹² For this epitaph Camden (p. 515.) cites Rudborne's Annals; but it is not in the printed copy in Wharton's Ang. Sac. I. 442. Weever applies to this earl the other epitaph, which Camden (Midx. 307.) says was in his time to be read "on the side of his tomb."

¹³ Miles eram Martis, Mars multos vicerat armis.

¹⁴ The young king remained in his care after his coronation. M. Paris, 389. The author of a Life of Eridewide, in Leland Coll. I. 281. has it "rector regis & regni," and a certain writer cited by Dugdale from Lel. ib. II. 737. which passage I cannot find, calls him "miles strenuissimus ac per orbem nominatissimus, Governour both of the realm and the king's person, a man of such worthiness, both in stoutness of stomach and martial knowledge, as England had few then that might be compared with him." Hollinshed, p. 292. His brother Henry was dean of York and bishop of Exeter. See his monument described, p. 36.

¹⁵ Inq. de hundr. de Norf. in bag of quo warrantis in the tally court of the Exchequer, cited by Le Neve, MS. n. in Dugd. Bar. pen. me. in which record he is called, "Marescallus Anglie et Comes de Penbroc." Dugdale does not give us the date of his advancement to this earldom, only to that of Strigul. But see Camden, as before quoted. Miles says he was, in right of his wife, created earl of Pembroke by king John, at his coronation, though before this time he was entitled and called earl marshall and earl of Pembroke, temp. H. II. and R. I. as appears by many deeds which he witnessed by that title, and among the rest, in the confirmation of a charter to Langley church, 8 R. I. Cat. of Honor, p. 1084. Vincenton Brook, p. 413.





Effigie de ROBERT DE VERE, 3^e Comte d'Oxford, après 1279

In the north aisle of the choir at *Hereford* we have, under a pointed arch, 1219.
Bishop MAPENORE, in pontificalibus and colours. Over him is painted,

Dns Hugo de Mapenore Eps Hereford
Obiit A. 1219.

On the north side of the altar, within the rails at *Hatfield Broad-oak*, c. Effex, 1221.
lies the effigies in freestone of ROBERT DE VERE, third earl of OXFORD. It is in Pl. VIII.
good preservation, except the features; in a round helmet, in mail and a furcoat,
cross legged, the right hand drawing the sword, on the left arm the shield fastened
also by a belt over the shoulder, and having on it, in a field of fleurs de lis in
lozenges or diaper work, on the upper half the Vere mullet: the lower half of
the shield is adorned with squares of quatrefoils in rounds with flowers between
them. The head rests on two cushions supported by angels; two more
angels kneel at desks with books at his feet. This figure was originally in a
chapel on the South side of the church, of which a piece of wall remains.
Weever gives the inscription as follows,

Sire Robert De Veer le premier count de
Oxenford le tierz git ici. Dieu de lame si lui
plest face merci. ki pur lalme priera xl
jors de pardon avera. Pater noster, &c.

Dr. Ducarel in 1738 gave the Society of Antiquaries an account of the
inscription, which is probably the same cut in relief in capitals on the ledge of
the slab, of which remains only *Sire er . . .* and some more letters too im-
perfect to be read. See plate VIII.

Morant¹ gravely calls this an effigy of wood, which he must have had from
hear-say, or his own mistake; for neither Weever nor Salmon led him into it.
Not this earl, but *Aubrey* de Vere founded the priory here².

HUMEZ the last Norman abbot of Westminster, who died 1222, is supposed 1222.
to be buried under the westernmost of the three tombs in the cloister there,
generally ascribed to Vitalis. His image on it is in pontificals; and this was
the inscription round the ledge in Saxon characters³.

Ortus ab Humeto Willielmus hic, venerando
Prefuit iste loco, nunc tumulatus humo.

See it engraved Pl. I.

WILLIAM DE TRACY, one of the murderers of Becket, has been generally 1223.
supposed, on the authority of Mr. Riddon⁴, to have built an aisle in the church
at *Mortboe*, Devon, and to have therein an altar-tomb about two feet high, with
his figure engraven on a grey slab of Purbeck marble, 7 feet by 3, and 7 inches
thick, and this inscription:

SYRE [Guillau]ME DE TRACY [gift icy, Diu de son al]ME EYT MERCY.

On the upper end of this tomb is carved in relief the crucifixion with the vir-
gin and St. John, and on the north side some Gothic arches, and these three

¹ P. 506.

² Tan. I. 27.

³ Dart. XIX.

⁴ P. 116.

coats: 1. Az. 3 lions passant guardant, Arg. 2. Arg. 3. two bars, G. Az. a saltire, Or. The first of these is the coat of *William Camville*, formerly patron of this church: the second that of the *Martins*, formerly lords of Barnstaple, who had lands in this neighbourhood: the third that of the *St. Albins*, who had also estates in the adjoining parish of Georgeham.

The figure on the slab is plainly that of a priest in his sacerdotal habit, holding a chalice between his hands, as if in the act of consecration.

Bishop Stapledon's Register, though it does not contain the year of his institution, fixes the date of his death in the following terms, "*Anno 1322, 16 Dec. Thomas Robertus presentat. ad eccles. de Morboe vacantem per mortem Wilhelmi de Traci die Dominic. primo post nativ. Virginis per mortem Will. de Campvill.*"

The era of the priest is therefore 140 years later than that of the knight.

It does not appear by the episcopal registers, that the Tracies were ever patrons of Morthoe, except in the following instances.

"Anno 1257. Cal. Junii, John Allworthy, presented by Henry de Traci, guardian of the lands and heirs of Ralph de Brag¹.

Anno 1275. Thomas Capellanus was presented to this rectory by Philip de Weston².

In 1330, Feb. 5. Henry de La Mace was presented to this rectory by William de Camville³.

In 1381, Richard Hopkins was presented by the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, who are still patrons⁴.

It is probable that the stone with the inscription to William de Traci did not originally belong to the altar tomb on which it now lies; but by the arms seems rather to have been erected for the patron *William de Camville*, it being unusual in those days to raise so handsome a monument for a priest, especially as the altar tomb and slab are of very different materials, and the benefice itself is of very inconsiderable value. It is also probable the monument of *Traci* originally lay on the ground; and that when this monument was broken open, as it was, according to Risdon, in the last century, this purbeck slab was placed upon the altar tomb, though it did not at first belong to it.

The Devonshire Antiquaries assert, that Sir *William de Tracy* retired to this place after he had murdered Becket. But this tradition seems to rest upon no better authority than the misrepresentation of the inscription here given, and because the family of Traci possessed the fourth part of a fee in Wollacombe, within this parish, which is still called after their name. But the Tracies held many possessions in this county, as Bovey Traci, Nymett Traci, Bedford Traci, &c. William de Traci held the honor of Barnstaple, in the beginning of Henry the Second's reign. King John granted the barony of Barnstaple to Henry de Traci, in the 15th of his reign, and the family seem to have been possessed of it in the reign of Henry III.

I am indebted to the friendship of the present Dean of Exeter for the above observations, which ascertain the monument in question.

I shall digress no farther on this subject than to observe of Sir William de Traci, that four years after the murder of Becket he had the title of Steward, i. e. Justice of Normandy, which he held but two years. He was in arms against king John in the last year of his reign, and his estate was confiscated: but on his return to his allegiance, 2 Henry III. it was restored. He was living 7 Henry III⁵. consequently died about or after 1223, having survived Becket upwards of 57 years.

¹ Reg. Brinescombe.

² Ib.

³ Reg. Grandison.

⁴ Ib.

⁵ Dugd. Bar. I. 622.

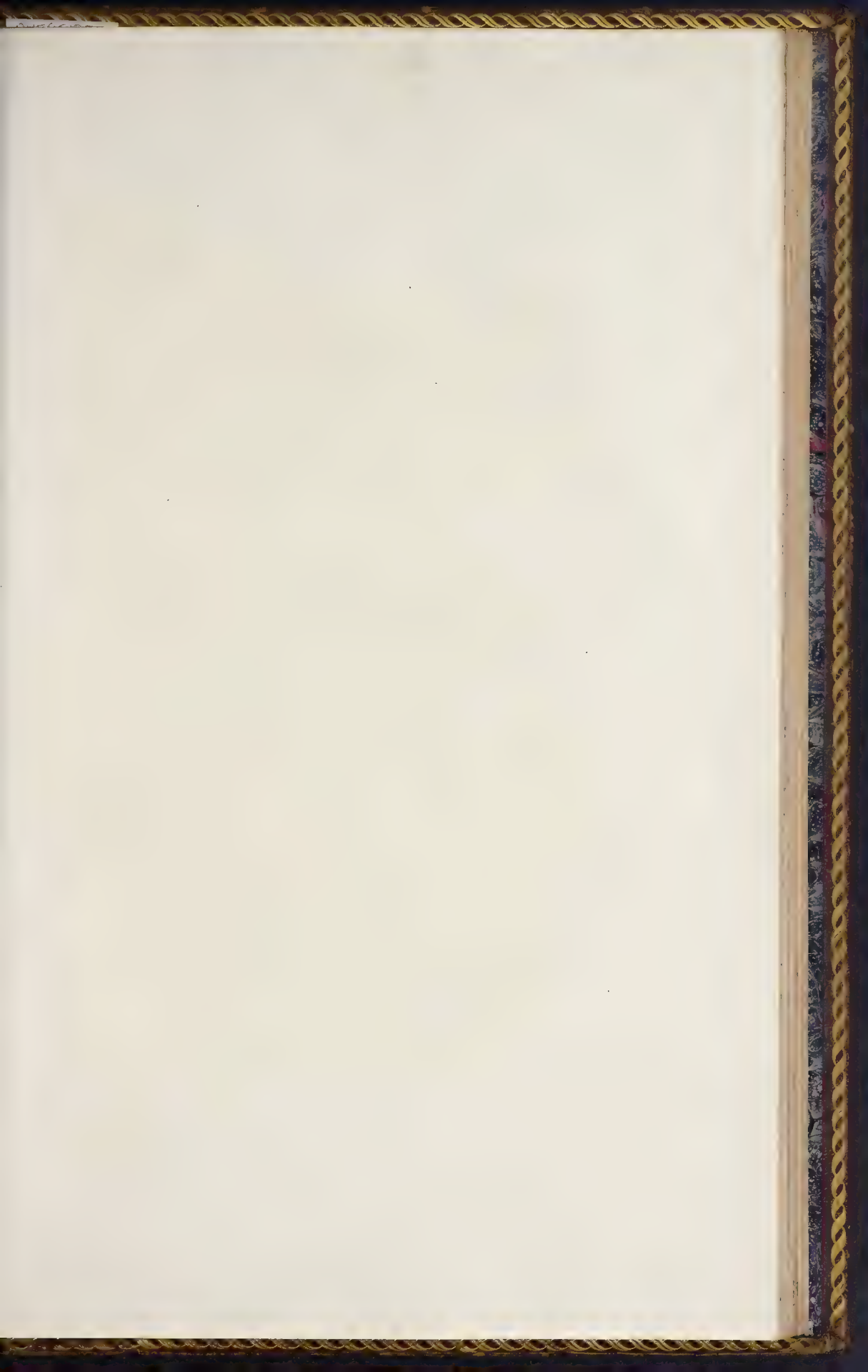


Fig 1

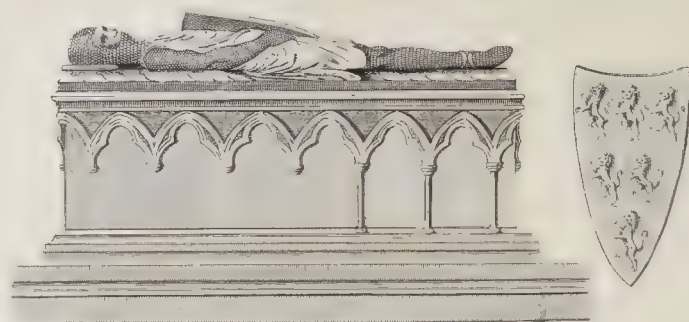


Fig 2



Fig 3



On the north side of the Lady-chapel at *Salisbury* is an altar tomb of wood, 1226. with six demiquatrefoil niches in relief in front, and a slab ornamented with a border of leaves, like those on the tomb of an abbeſs at Romſey, and on it a stone figure of a knight in mail, with a round helmet ſomewhat flattened at top, and covering his mouth as one of the Temple knights; his ſpurs with rowels, his ſhoes piked; his face turned to the right, and on his ſhield Az. 5 lions rampant, but not on his ſurcoat, as ſaid by Sandford¹. This monument belongs to WILLIAM LONGESPE, Earl of Sarum, natural ſon of Henry II. by fair Roſamund, ſuppoſed to be poiſoned, and brought hither from Old Sarum. Sandford has engraved this, and ſays the figure is of grey marble. Both it and the tomb have been painted blue, and the back of the niches adorned with two patterns of moſaic; but the arms in front are now gone. They were his own, which he took after his wife's father William de Eureux, or Fitz Paine earl of Salisbury, and thoſe of England alternately. A portrait of Roſamund on board, formerly in the hands of Mr. Lutton, private ſecretary to James II. afterwards of Mr. Weſt, and ſhewn at the Society of Antiquaries 1743, had a rib-bone nailed behind it, ſaid to be this William's. The monument is engraved Pl. IX. fig. 1.

Below this is another monument belonging to JOHN Lord MONTACUTE, younger ſon of William firſt earl of Salisbury of that family: an altar tomb, with a knight in a pointed helmet of mail, gauntlets, ſword, piked ſhoes, a lion at his feet, and under his head a helmet with a griffin for creſt. At the ſides of the tomb in quatrefoils, Az. 3 fuſils in a border, impaling a ſpread eagle, *Monthermer*; and the fuſils in a border ingrailed quartering the ſpread eagle; and two ſhields defaced.

The moſt elegant of all the figures in the *Temple* church repreſents a comely young knight, in mail, and a flowing mantle, with a kind of cowl; his hair neatly curled at the ſides, his crown appears ſhaven. His hands are elevated in a praying poſture, and on his left arm is a ſhort pointed ſhield charged with three waterbougts. He has at his left ſide a long ſword, and the armour of his legs, which are croſſed, has a ridge or ſeam up the front continued over the knee, and forming a kind of garter below the knee: at his feet a lion. The arms beſpeak this knight to be one of the family of Ros or Rous, and Weever has confirmed this application by the following fragment of an inſcription inſculped upon one of the croſs-legged monuments, as he found it among the collections of one ſtudious in antiquities in Sir Robert Cotton's library.

*Hic requieſcit — R — Ep — quondam viſitator generalis ordinis
milicie Templi in Anglia & Francia & in Italia.*

This, from the pedigree of the lords Ros, he proved to have belonged to one ROBERT, a Templar, who died about the year 1245, and gave to the Templars his manor of Ribſton. Sir William Dugdale² informs us, that Robert, ſecond of the family of Ros of Hamlake, in the reign of Henry II. was a ſpecial benefactor of the Templars, as appears by his grants recited in the *Monafterion*³, among which occurs Ribſtane (in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire) where they founded a Preceptory. But Biſhop Tanner ſhews that Sir William miſtook this Robert for his namesake and grandſon the ſecond Lord Ros, ſurnamed *Furſan*, who incurred the diſpleaſure of Richard I. for what offence is not ſaid, and afterwards of John for a while. About the 14th of that reign he took upon him the habit of religion for a ſhort time, and afterwards was ſheriff of Cumberland, and governor of Carlifle. He was as

¹ P. 115, and the Hiſt. of Salisb. p. 92.

² Bar. I. 545.

³ II 551. 557.

fickle in his adherence to John, and was one of the chief who undertook to compel his observance of the great charter. But he was more faithful to his son. Sir William refers this monument to this Ros, who at the close of his life took upon him this order, and died in their habit, and was buried in their church 1227, 11 Henry III.

1228. The large stone coffin of archbishop LANGTON, who died 1228, is remarkable for its elegant shape, yet has on it in relief a very rude cross, which Dart calls patee, though it is rather fleury. It stands in St. Michael's chapel at *Canterbury*, half within the thickness of the wall, under an arch now closed up; but whether it was altogether within or without the first chapel on this site does not appear.

1228. Bishop FAUCONBRIGGE, in old *St. Paul's*, has a figure like the Salisbury and Worcester bishops of this time, with the pillars of the arch somewhat like Marshall's at Exeter; the ledge of the altar like that of Longespe, and quatrefoils at the sides. He died 1228.

Bishop WENGHAM, at his feet, in the same church, has a similar figure. He died 1262.

Both these monuments are engraved in Dugdale's History of this church.

1229. On the north side of the choir at *St. David's* is the figure in pontificalibus of bishop JORWERTH, who died 1229, and that of his successor ANSELM, who died 1249.

PLXIV. In the middle of *Beaulieu* church, Hants, is a long blue flag, with a brassless figure under a canopy, and an inscription round the ledge, each letter in a single square. This stone was found in a field near the Duke of Montague's house on the site of the abbey-church, and is supposed to have belonged to ISABEL, Countess of Cornwall and Gloucester, third daughter of William Marshall earl of Pembroke, widow of Gilbert de Clare, and afterwards, 1230, first wife of Richard Plantagenet, second son of king John, earl of Cornwall, and king of the Romans, who married a second wife 1243. It must be confessed, there is nothing but the circumstance of her being buried here to fix this stone to her, unless it should be something like a coronet over the head of the figure. Mr. John Bridges shewed the Society of Antiquaries, 1725, a drawing of it, copied here, Pl. XIV. fig. 1. Her heart was sent in a silver cup to Tewksbury, where her brother was abbot, to be buried before the high altar.

1231. The next figure but one to that of the earl of Pembroke before described in Pl. V. the *Temple* church, is a cross-legged knight, in mail, with a furcoat, his helmet round, surmounted with a kind of round cap, and the mouth-piece up, his hands folded on his breast, his shield long and pointed, and now plain; a very long sword at his right side; the belt from which his shield hangs studded with quatrefoils, and that of his sword with lozenges. This may be for WILLIAM MARSHALL, eldest son of the foregoing earl William.

He was among the barons who rebelled against John, but made his submission to Henry III. All that history records of him is, that he defeated Llewellyn Prince of Wales in a pitched battle, 1222, and contributed much to keep the Irish in obedience. He founded the house of Friars Preachers at Kilkenny. He

* Dart. 134. Godl. 142.

* P. 82.

* Sandford, p. 96, 97.

* Dugd. I. 603. Mat. Par. p. 317.

Fig 2



Fig 3

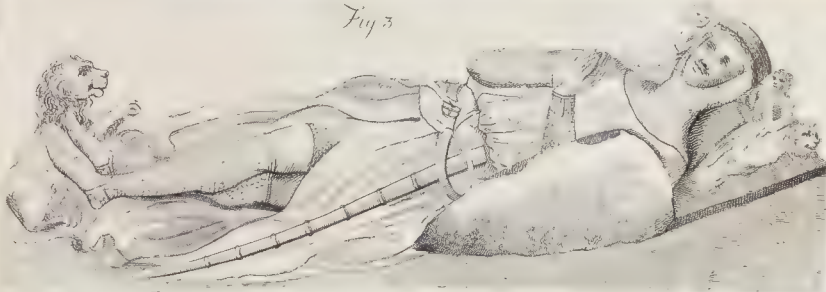


Fig 4

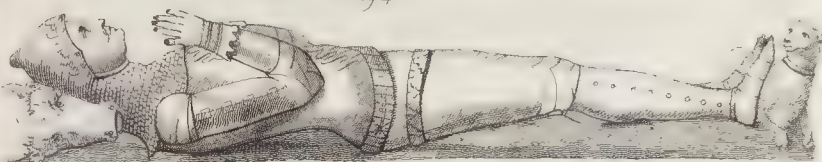
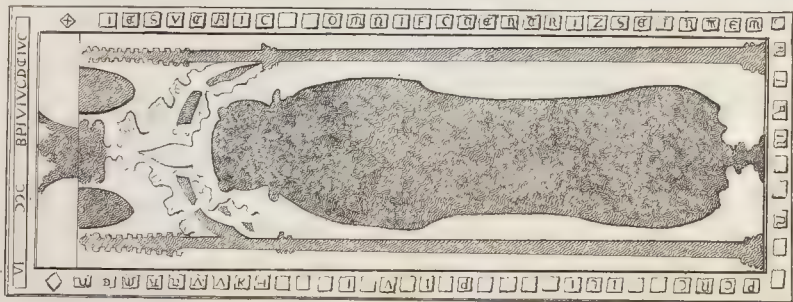


Fig 1



married Eleanor 'second daughter of king John, who was at first highly displeased with the match, and dying without issue, April 6, 1231. 15 Henry III. was buried in this church, 18 Cal. Maii, near the grave of his father'. In the annals of Waverley is this epitaph for him, whether put on his tomb is not easy to say; as we meet with many epitaphs for the same person in monkish chronicles, composed by the compilers, or handed about:

Militis istius mortem dolet Anglia: ridet
Wallia, viventis bella minaque timens.

Mr. Price (in additional observations printed from his MS. at the end of the 1237. quarto description of Salisbury 1774) says, at *Salisbury* bishop POORE has by tradition a monument on the north side of the altar, though he was buried at Tarrant Monkton, Dorset. His effigy *in pontificalibus*, his right hand holding a crozier, his left on his breast, lies on a slab, with a flowered border, under a canopy of three arches, whose fine flowered stone roof has been supplied by a plain ceiling of rough deal. See Pl. XIII. fig. 3. engraved from a sketch by John Carter, 1780. Pl. XIV. fig. 2. exhibits the same monument as it was about 1736.

This worthy prelate, after he had transferred the see from Old to New Sarum, and began the noble structure which we now see there, was translated to Durham 1228, and, after having discharged a heavy debt contracted by his predecessor there, died 1237, at Tarrant Monkton in Dorsetshire, where he was born and where he founded a nunnery, in whose church his heart was buried¹. Matthew Paris gives him the character of great sanctity of life and deep learning; and adds, that when he perceived his dissolution drawing near he preached a solemn farewell sermon to his people, and after a proper disposition of his worldly effects, met death with firm composure.

LHEWELLIN the Great, prince of Wales, who died 1240, was buried in 1240. Conway abbey, of his own founding, from whence, at the dissolution, his coffin was removed into a stable among the ruins, and thence to the beautiful chapel adjoining to *Llanrwst* church, built by Inigo Jones for Sir Richard Wynne, bart. of Gwedir, who was lineally descended from that prince, as is set forth at large in a long inscription there. The coffin is of dark brown marble or granite, seven feet long in the clear, and four inches thick: the sides adorned with whole and half quatrefoils in relief. At the head within is the following inscription in Roman capitals on a brass plate,

"This is the coffin of Leolinus Magnus, prince of Wales, who was buried in the abbey of Conway, and upon the dissolution removed thence."

It is etched by Moses Griffith in the fourth of his supplemental plates to Mr. Pennant's Tour in Wales.

I would just observe here, that the statue over the Welsh gate at Shrewsbury commonly ascribed to this prince really represents Edward I. who conquered Wales, and the arms of England and of Shrewsbury are on the same side of the gate.

ROGER NIGER, bishop of London, who died 1241, had only a plain sarcophagus, covered *en dos d'âne*, without figures or ornaments². Somewhat similar coffins, but both alike ornamented with arches, contained the remains of the king Sebba and Erkenwald there³.

¹ She at first made a vow of chastity; but seven years after his death remarried Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, and was buried at Montargis in France. Weever. Miller, p. 135. Sandford, p. 93.

² Dugd. Bar. I. 603. ex MS. Bodl. Ann. Waverl. p. 193. Ed. Gale.

³ Godw. de Praef. ed. Richardf. p. 746.

⁴ Dugd. St. Paul's, p. 86.

⁵ Ib. p. 92.

In the wall of the south aisle of the choir at *Bristol*, formerly opening into the vestry, is an altar tomb for a lord BERKELEY, his arms painted on the arch. Quære, if THOMAS the second lord, whose wife JANE was buried in the arch between the vestry and the south aisle¹.

1243. Below him, under another arch, an armed figure of THOMAS BERKELEY who died 1243, and was grandson of Robert, the second lord Berkeley². His arms on his shield.

1246. The tomb of abbot BERKYN, who died 1246, stood before the high altar of the Lady chapel at *Westminster*, but was taken down in the following century by abbot Colchester, and a flat stone laid in its place, which when Henry VII. built his chapel, was removed to the area at the foot of the steps, where it still continues, being a large grey stone, robbed of its brass ledge and figure of a mitred abbot, and the traces so worn, that only two roses at the West corners are discernable. The inscription given by Dart³ was as follows:

Ricardus Barkyng prior est, post inclytus abbas;
Henrici regis prudens fuit ille minister.
Hujus erat prima laus, insula rebus opima,
Altera laus æque Thorp⁴ census, Ocham decimæque,
Tertia Mortone castrum simili ratione,
Et regis quarta de multis commoda charta.
Clementis festo mundo migravit ab isto
M. Domini C. bis XL. sextoque sub anno.
Cui detur venia parte pia virgo Maria.

He was privy counsellor, chief baron of the exchequer, and one of the lords justices of the kingdom during Henry III's Welsh wars. His being abbot of this rich house was his first praise: his second and third were, that he assigned the manor of Thorpe⁵ for the expences of the convent and the church of Ockham (I suppose the vicarage of Okeham, c. Rutland⁶) for his table⁷. He purchased of the Foliot family the castle of Moreton Foliot, half the manor of Langdon, with the chapel there, and half the forest towards the manor of Morton⁸.

1247. ROBERT BINGHAM, bishop of *Salisbury*, who died 1247, lies on the north side of the chancel there, under a most elegant arch, on which sit ten angels, surmounted by a rich bouquet, and sided by four rich pointed arches, whose finials are destroyed. In the centre of the embattled wall of the choir here is some rich open work of three stories diminishing. The slab was inlaid in brass, with a cross fleure charged with some figure, and four lozenges; all gone. See Pl. XV.

1250. Mr. Dart⁹ assigns a grey marble slab between the gates of Henry V's chapel and the Confessor's shrine, with the bare traces of a cross, two shields at top (once brass) and a worn ledge of letters, once in high relief, but not now legible, to ROGER DE WENDOVER, bishop of Rochester, who died 1250, and was buried here by the king's express command, though Weever⁹ mentions, from tradition, his portraiture in the wall of Bromley church.

¹ Dugd. Bar. I. 355.

² Dugd. Bar. I. 355.

³ XXI.

⁴ William the Conqueror granted Sac. &c. to Thorp. Dart. I. 21.

⁵ Dart. I. 27.

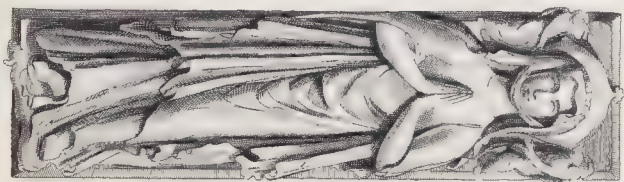
⁶ Ecton, p. 329.

⁷ Dart. Ib.

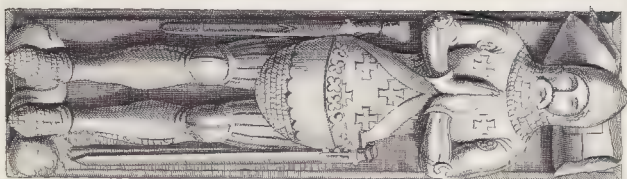
⁸ Il. 40.

⁹ P. 338.

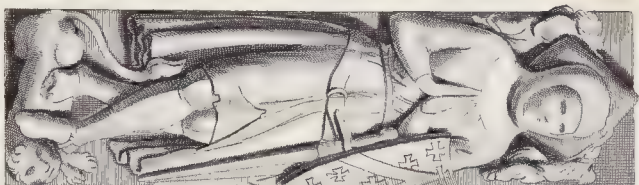
BRISTOL.



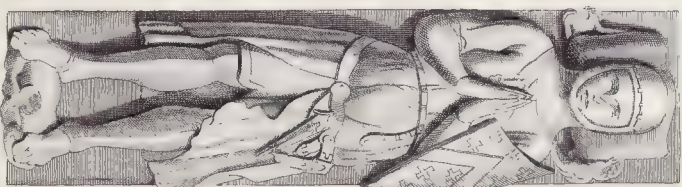
from 1794



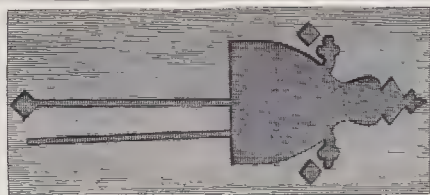
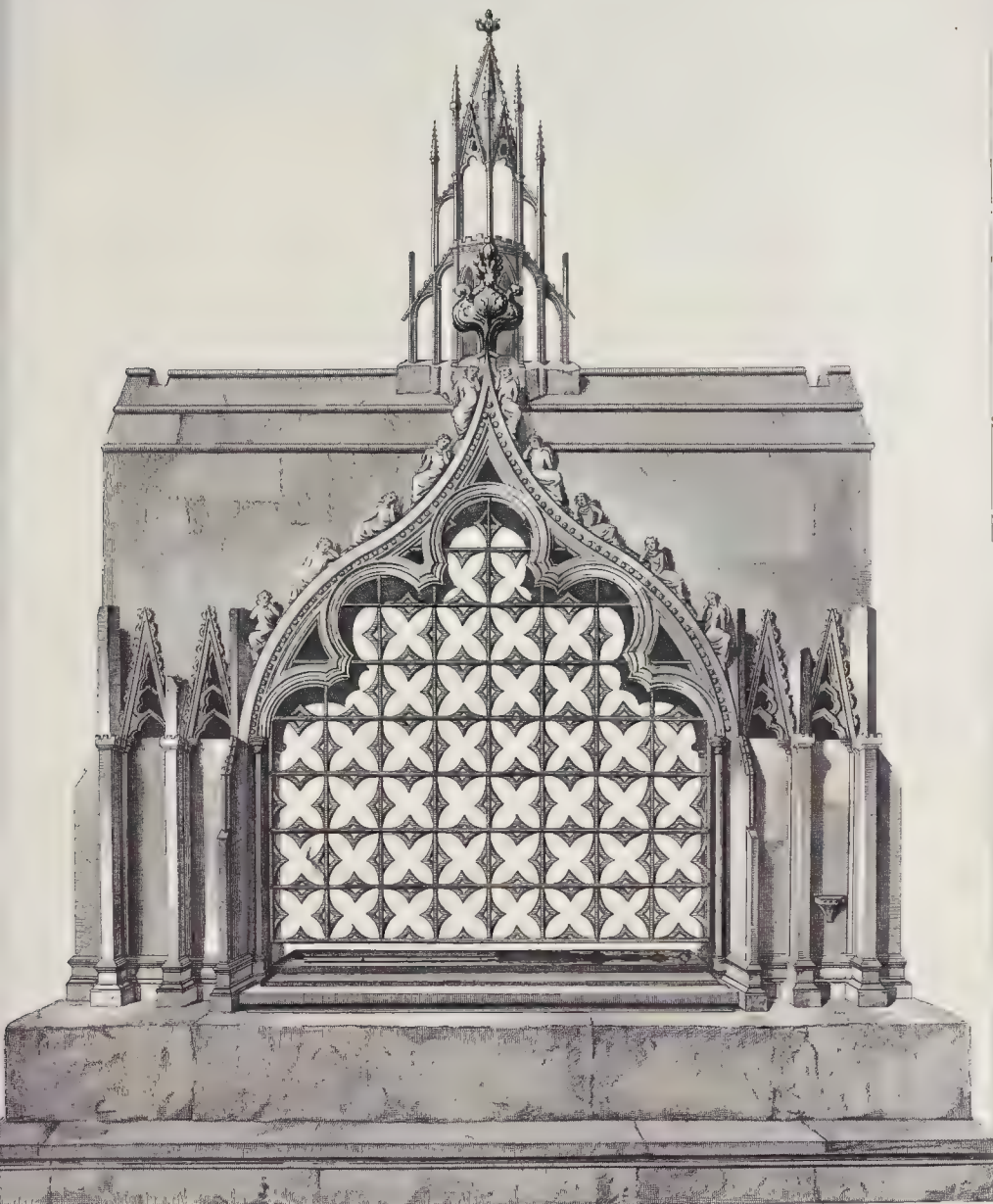
*Thomas's Head
1794*



*Thomas's Head
1794*



*Thomas's Head
1794*



Scale of Feet

Monument of Bishop BINGHAM, at Salisbury, 1217.

Of the two figures dug up in building some offices to Mr. Wray Atkinson's 1251. house at Coverham abbey, in the North riding of Yorkshire, one may be that of PL. XIV. the founder RALPH FITZ ROBERT, lord of Middleham, who died 1251, after having transferred this religious foundation from Swaynebey. The other may represent 3. WALERAN eldest son of Helewise¹, the original foundress, or her father RANULPH DE GLANVILLE, a baron and chief justice of England in the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I². who died 1189. 1 Richard I. at the siege of Acon; or her grandson RALPH, who died 1270, and was buried in the choir here³.

Mr. Topham, who has examined them more than once, and has collected materials for an history of Coverham, inclines to assign them to the NEVILLES, of whom ROBERT married the great-granddaughter of the foundress and representative of her family, and being surprised by some of her friends in an intrigue with a lady of Craven, was so severely handled by them, that he died of the wound 1271, and was buried in the chapter-house at Coverham, near the foundress's tomb⁴.

RALPH, son of this Robert, was in his youth passionately fond of hunting; and once in a fally of jollity, when he presented the annual stag by which he held Baby and other manors of the prior of Durham, insisted that himself, with his own friends and servants, should be feasted with it instead of the prior and his domestics, contrary to the established custom by which the lord partook of the dinner only by special invitation, and his servants, on bringing the stag into the hall, had only a breakfast. This Ralph is said to have neglected his own affairs to converse with the canons of Coverham and Merton, and he had the reputation of a weak⁵ and vicious man. He died 1331, and was buried in the choir of Coverham, near the high altar⁶.

It may be no unreasonable conjecture, that the stag-chace on the monument, PL. XIV. fig. 2. (though since Mr. Buck drew it all these appendages have been destroyed), assigns it to this young sportsman, who was a considerable benefactor to his monkish friends here, who may have decorated his tomb with his appenda es.

Fig. 3. may be the monument of his father. There is no small conformity between the two monuments.

It is impossible to ascertain either with precision; but I have engraved both, from drawings by the late Mr. Buck, which may at least serve to shew the severe undervaluing censure of them by Mr. Maude, in his account of his abbey under Mr. Grose's print of it, that "they are in a style almost too rude for the *groff* period of the Gothic ages." On the contrary the design and ornaments of both are rather superior to the generality of this century, which yet was no barbarous æra of statuary.

The tomb under the west arch of the north aisle of the choir at *Christ Church*, 1252. Oxford, for Sir HENRY DE BATHE, justiciary of England, t. H. II. who died 1252. PL. XIV. has his figure in armour, with whiskers, with a gorget of mail, the helmet fig. 4. pointed terminating in a nob, and under it another with a bull's head; on his breast 3 gerbes O. at his feet a hound collared. In quatrefoils on the front of the tomb are these five coats; a chevron between three greyhounds rampant S. impaling an escocheon G. in a border of roses O. 2. The first impaling nebule and G. 3. The first fingle, and impaling 4. O. three piles, G. a can-

¹ Her bones were removed from Swaynebey, and buried in the Chapter-house at Coverham. Mon. Ang. II. 648.

² Dugd. Orig. Jurid. Chron. ser. p. 4.

³ Observat. in Registr. Hon. de Richmond, p. 235.

⁴ Dugd. Bar. I. 293.

⁵ *Ex sapientioribus in viciis mundanis haud exsistimaretur*, Registr. de Richm. p. 236.

⁶ Dugd. Bar. I. 292.

ton, *Erm.* and also 5. G. three lucies hauriant A. At the head a fess between three gerbes O. impaling the chevron and greyhounds. In a window above is the chevron between three greyhounds.

1252. **BLANCHE**, granddaughter of Henry II¹, and Queen of Lewis VIII. of France died 1252. Just before her death she became a nun at *Pontoise*, which she had founded, and to which church she bequeathed her body. "Facta est sanctimonialis professa velata ante mortem, & supra velum apposita est corona, & vestita est reginaliter, & sic sepulta est, ut decuit, redimita²." I mention this princess only as an example of the ceremonial used at the funeral of a royal religious.

1253. On the south side of the fourth aisle of the choir at *Tewksbury* is a freestone altar-tomb, with 4 quatrefoils on each side. In the spandrils are the cypher here engraved, and a chevron between 3 escallops. In one shield, a Palmer's staff passes through the point of the chevron, or as B. Willis³, over all in pale. He ascribes this monument, which the tradition of the place gives to abbot **ROBERT FORTYNGTON**, to **ROBERT**, who died abbot here 1253. But he mistakes when he talks of "his effigies carved in full proportion" on it.

p. 46.

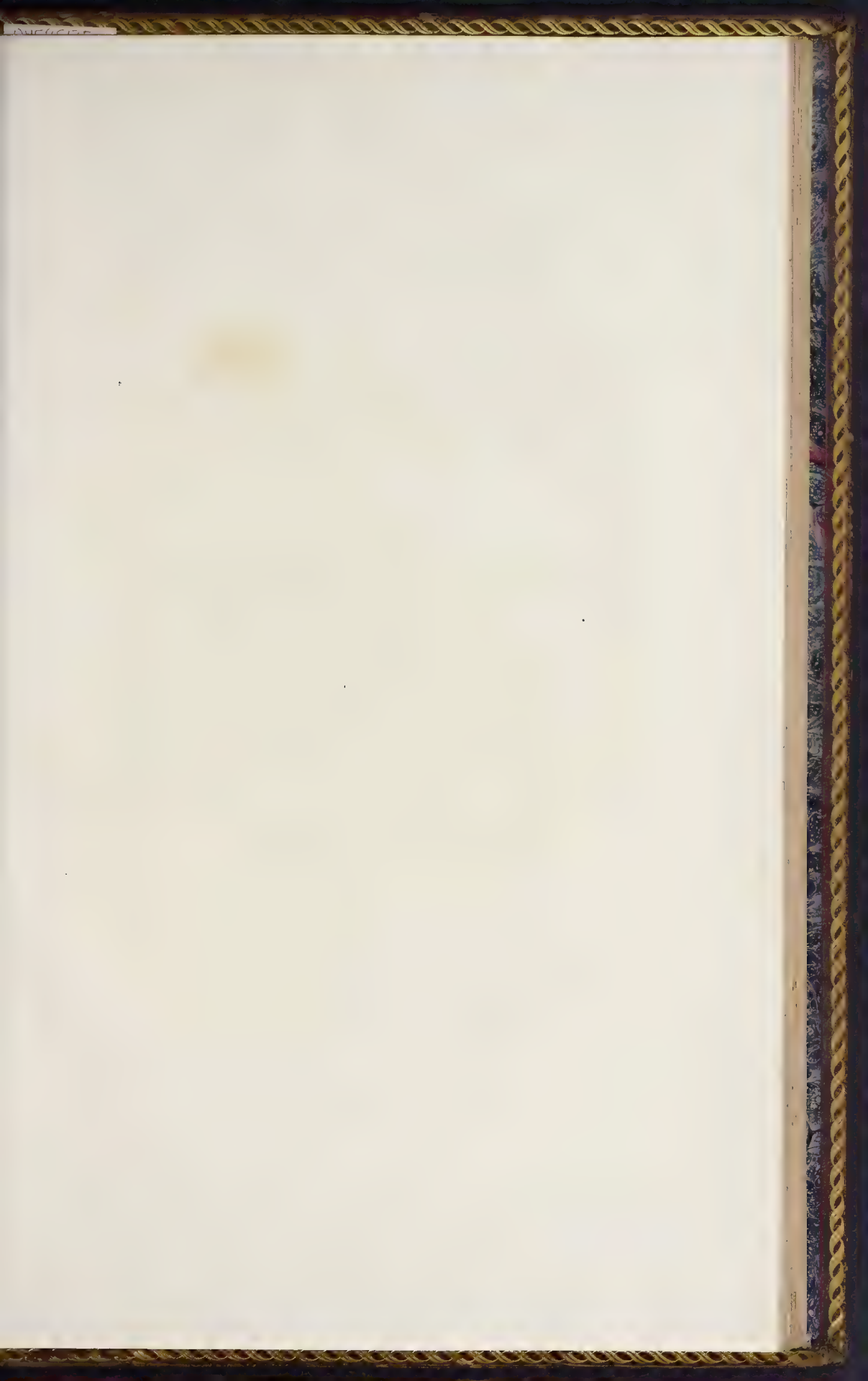


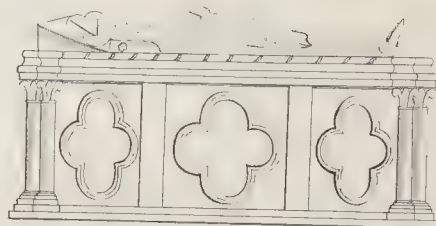
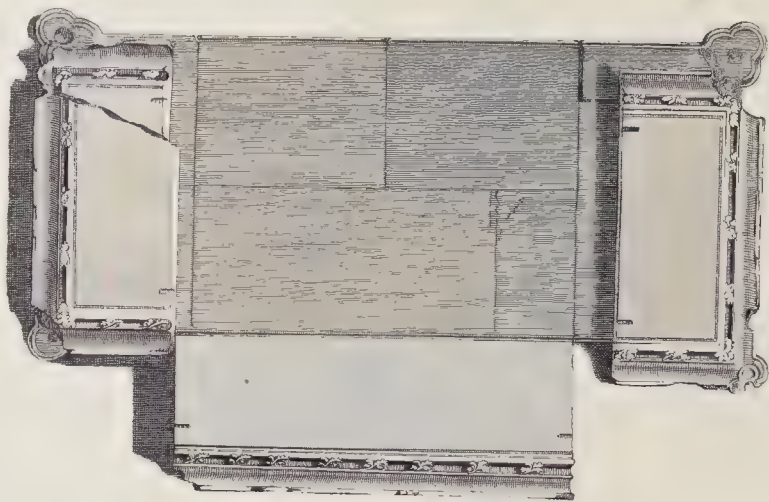
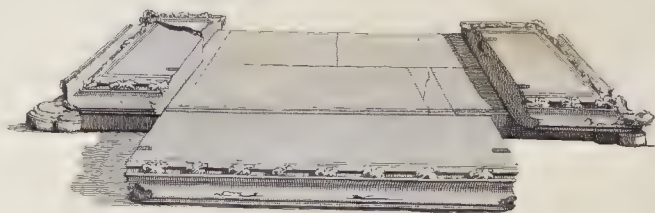
1254. **HUGH NORTHWOLD**, bishop of Ely, who died 1254, has a very ornamented monument there, not faithfully represented in Pl. XV. of Mr. Bentham's well-written history of that church, where it is thus described, p. 148. "It is a raised monument of grey marble, with his effigies curiously carved in his episcopal habit, and as it were enthroned or installed: at the head were angels supporting a crown of glory: on the sides of the stall were carved, on the right hand, a king, an abbot, and a monk. On the left St. Etheldreda, an abbess crowned, and a nun, and at the foot the story of St. Edmund's martyrdom, alluding to the founding of the church of Ely in his time, and to St. Edmund's abbey, over which he presided. This monument, which stood close by St. Etheldreda's shrine, behind the high altar, was probably removed when that was demolished, and the effigies being casually laid on bishop **Barnet's** tomb, has by the incurious been taken for that bishop." To illustrate this description I would observe, that of the figures on the right side, the king, holding in his right hand a ragged staff, in his left a globe, treading on a serpent, probably refers to Henry III. the abbot or rather the bishop, holding in his right hand a rich flowered cross, in his left a church, to Northwold himself when abbot here, as also the figure of the monk broken in the middle, but having under his back at the bottom of his arch a twisted cockatrice: the bishop's right foot treads on a lion looking up, and his left on the breast of a dragon, whose head is defaced. The three figures on the left side represent St. Etheldreda, in three different characters; as abbess, holding in her left hand a church, in her right a crozier; as queen, crowned, her left hand on her breast, her right holding up her robe; and as a nun, her

¹ Hensault (l. 210.) makes her daughter of Alphonso IX. king of Castile: and says, her sister Berengaria was wife of Alphonso king of Leon: whereas she was daughter of Alphonso VIII. king of Castile, and her sister Berengaria married Alphonso IX. king of Leon, who was in right of his wife king of Castile. Sandf. 70.

² Math. Paris, p. 859.

³ Hist. Ab. l. v. 177.





Bischofs Gröfse, ste. 1551

left hand holding up her robe, in her right a globe. I shall only add, that the pillars of the niche (which Mr. Bentham calls, I think improperly, a *fall*) are of richer and more Grecian work than usual, and that over the head of the king at the right side one sees a building, alluding to the magnificent presbytery here, begun by this prelate 1235, and finished two years before his death.

Godwin¹ describes Bishop GROSTHEAD's as a "goodly tomb of marble, with
 "an image of brass over it." Dugdale says, "at the south end of the aisle, going
 "into the revestrie is an antient tomb, called Grosthead's; at the feet a chapel,
 "made south, to another of the same fashion, both semicircular." It appears to
 have been an altar tomb, with a border of foliage round the table, which was supported by circular pillars at the corners, but now lies broken and disordered on the floor. See Plate XVI. So imperfect is the memorial of this great prelate, a protestant in popish times, whose superior judgement struggled hard to break the ice of reformation in the 13th century. He died in his palace at Bugden, Oct. 9, 1253².

Matthew Paris is lavish of encomiums on this conscientious intrepid Prelate, who spoke his mind both to the King and the Pope. He calls him, "Domini
 "Papæ et Regis redargutor manifestus, prælatorum corrector, monachorum
 "corrector, presbyterorum director, clericorum instructor, scholarium sustentator,
 "tor, populi prædicator, incontinentium persecutor, scripturarum sedulus per-
 "scrutator diverfarum, Romanorum malleus et contemtor³." Epithets that might supply the place of any modern epitaph. No one has yet done justice to his life⁴; for the history of which, and of the times he lived in, a period of forty years of the reign of Henry III. my learned and industrious friend Mr. Pegge has collected the best materials, whenever his own inclination and the public voice shall bring them forth.

After the bishop had rested in his grave exactly 529 years and one month, the hand of inquisitive curiosity (*absit invidia sacrilegii*) availing itself of the new paving of the cathedral, and the friendship of the present Precentor, exposed his venerable remains to view. After removing a solid heap of earth and rude stones, to the depth of near 18 inches, the masons struck on the freestone-lid of a coffin, in which had been hollowed a cavity for the face, and which not being cemented was easily removed, and discovered a sheet of lead, raised up over the face, and laid on four loose iron bars, over a freestone-coffin, 23 inches wide at top, diminishing to 11½, 13½ deep, 2½ thick. In this the body of the prelate had been deposited in pickle, a small quantity of which was remaining under the back, in the middle of the coffin. The corpse was reduced to a skeleton; the bones were fallen together, but none of them absolutely perished. The head reclined to the left shoulder; the under jaw, in which all the teeth were complete, was totally fallen; three fore teeth of the upper jaw were gone. Under the right side of the head were a chalice and patten of latten compressed together, by which compression the head had probably reclined to the left. No liquor appeared in the chalice. The left arm lay across the belly; the right was fallen aside. The marks of the slipper soles were visible against the foot of the coffin. The thigh-bone measured 16 inches. Across the body, from the right shoulder to the left foot lay a crozier of red wood, whose middle part was entirely decayed: the top, which lay flat on the bottom of the coffin, was carved into the rude form of a lamb's head, at the bottom of

¹ P. 240.

² Ang. Sac. II. p. 342. ex Ann. Lanercost. See also Ann. Burton, p. 328.

³ See a noble character of him Ann. Lanercost ubi sup.

⁴ He has not even a place in the *Biographia Britannica*. Mr. Wharton only wished to have found an old MS. life of him in some library; for want of which he printed a meagre rhyming legend, by a monk of Bardney. Dr. Knight's performance escaped the strictest researches of the late Dr. Mason, and the late Bishop of Lincoln. Hearne says Wood left a life of him, still in the Ashmolean Museum. Ann. Dundlaple, I. 299. n.

whose neck was a horn or ivory fillet: two rings of horn of the different diameters went round the crozier-top at different intervals; and where it was fitted to the staff there was a brass plate, fitted on with leather, and charged with this inscription in two lines,

✠ PER BACVLI FORMAM X
PRELATI DISCITO NORMAM.

The point of the crozier was shod with a pointed metal ferule armed with a knob, and from it issued a transverse piece of metal, also knobbed, as a stop to keep it steady at the foot. These metal ornaments were reposit in the vestry, and the wooden fragments replaced in the coffin. A ring of gilt metal, with a very small blue stone set in it, was found to have fallen off the fingers.

After a careful examination by the Precentor, Mr. Symphon, Mr. Bradley, the organist, and one or two more members of the church, these respectable remains were carefully covered up again, and as the surface of the coffin is considerably below the level of the new pavement it may be presumed they will rest undisturbed to the end of time—to that period in which all who have enlisted under the banners of Truth, Liberty, and Virtue, shall share with this worthy prelate the great reward; as far beyond the empty wish of the people, and the university of Oxford, that he might be canonized, as his virtues transcended the superstition of his contemporaries.

These remains could not however escape the penetration of the President of the Royal Society, to gratify which they were again opened about a month after their first uncovering. Sir Joseph Banks took out a small portion of the liquor in which the body was originally laid.

Camden¹ says, the bishop commanded this only to be engraven over his tomb,

*Quis sim nosce cupis! caro putrida, nil nisi vermis:
Quisquis es hoc de me tibi sit scire satis.*

But upon his death this was written,

*Rex dolet, ac regnum gemit, ☉ flet Anglia tota,
Plebs plangit, gemitus ingeminare juvat.
Quippe Grostodus, speculum virtutis, asyllum
Justitie, Regis anchora, morte jacet.
Non poterit tamen ille mori cui fama perorat,
Laus loquitur, redolet fructus, abundat honor;
Unde dolens tristatur homo, canit angelus unde,
Unde ferenantur sidera pallet humus².*

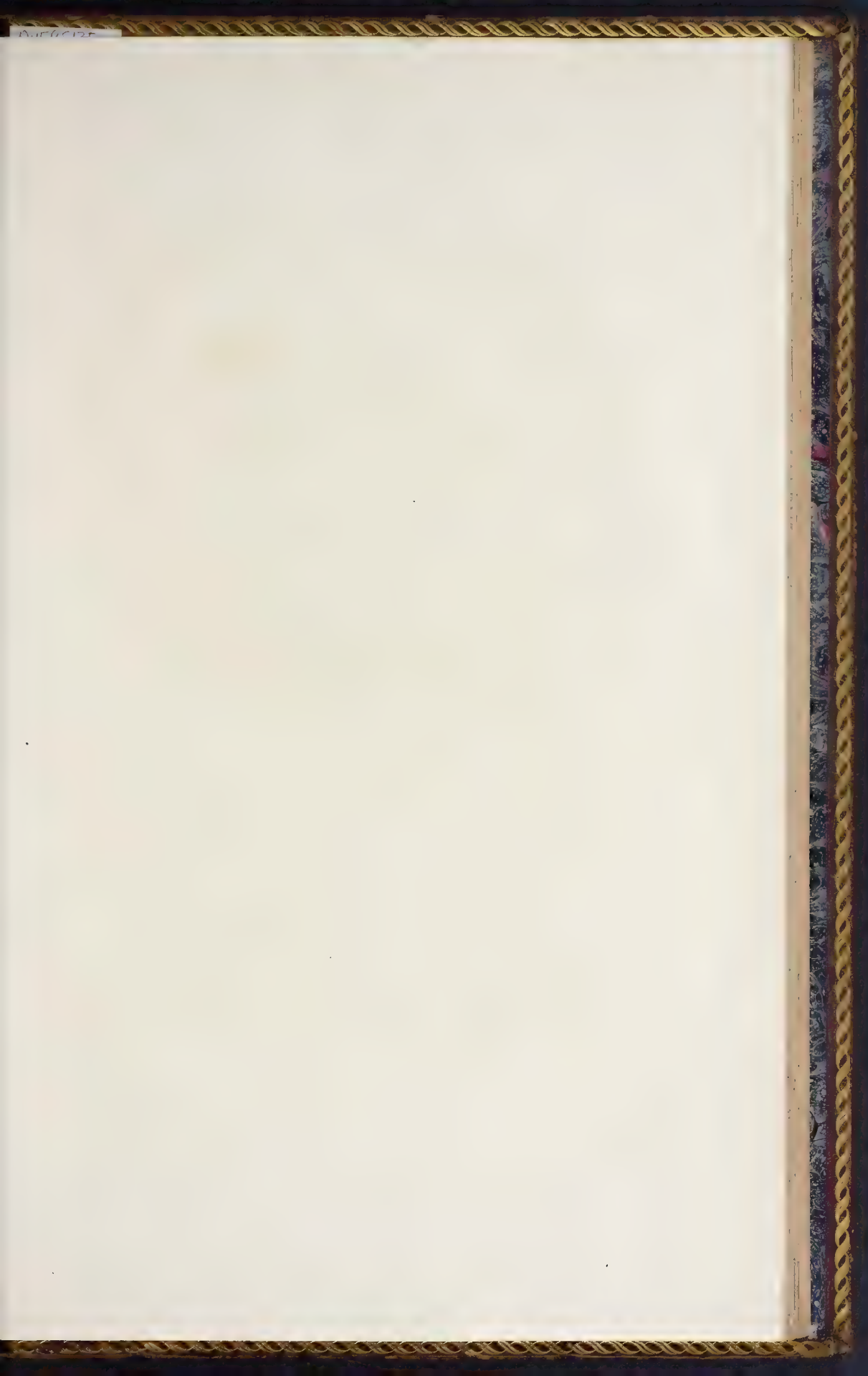
D'Alderby, the fourth of his successors, was buried, in the same manner, in the lower south transept, as appeared on new paving it this spring. The place of his shrine may be distinguished against the West wall of the transept.

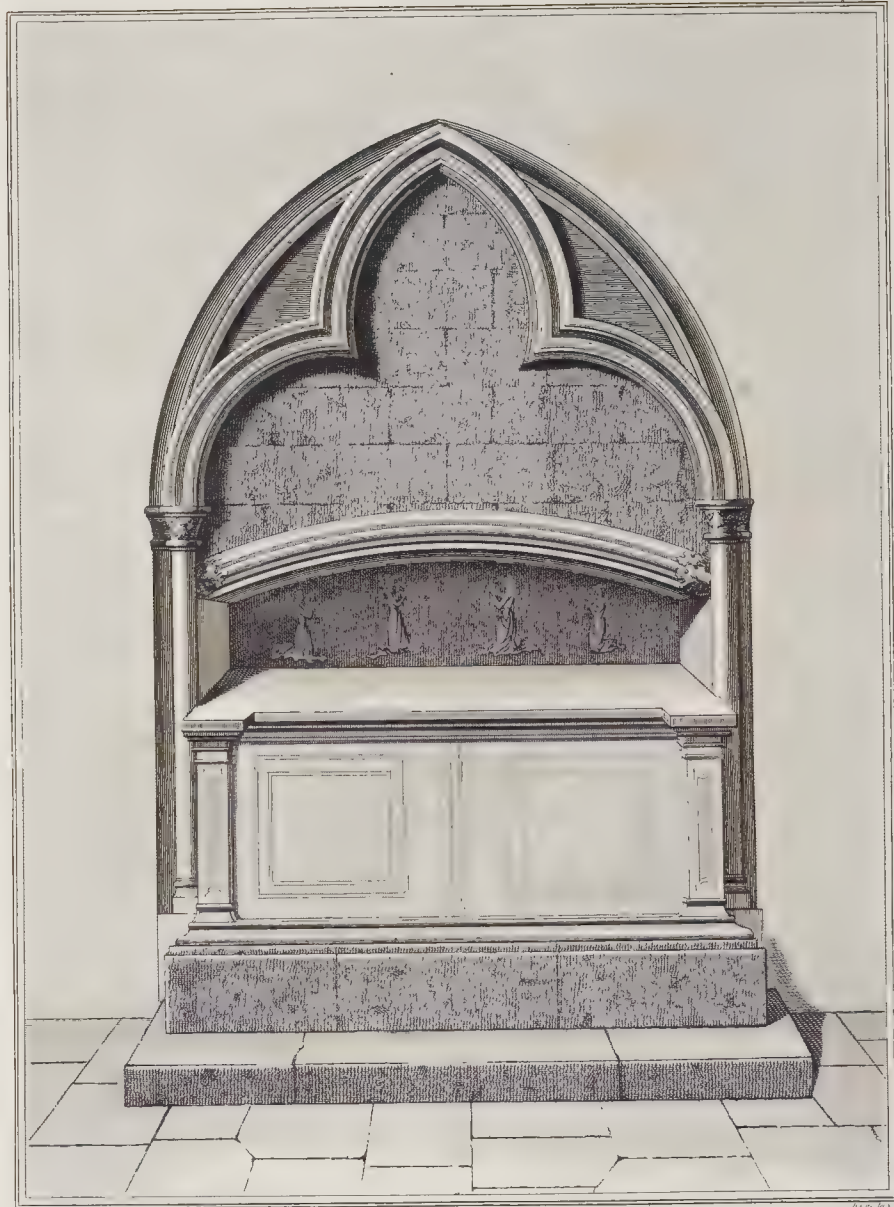
Between bishop Grosthead's tomb and the south wall was buried his intimate and learned friend *Adam de Marisco*, chief of the Franciscans, who died of grief for his loss presently after him the same year³.

¹ Remains, p. 373.

² Part of these lines, with some alterations, are in the monk of Bardeney's Life of him, Angl. Sacr. I. 340.

³ Ann. de Lanercost, ubi sup.





Monument of Henry III. Children

ROGER DE WEESEHAM, another of his friends and favourites, *vir omni laude dignissimus*¹, died 1257, and was buried in his own cathedral at *Lichfield*, in a wooden chapel (*sub oratorio ligneo*) over against canon Radcliffe's monument². But of these two monuments not the least traces remain.

Archbishop GREY's monument at *York*, in the fourth end of the transept erected 1255, by him, is a curious piece of work of grey marble. His figure, pontifically habited and gloved, piercing a snake with his crozier wrapt in his mantle, lies under a very plain arch, with round pillars finely foliated. On the pediment of this arch stand angels censuring him: under his feet two human figures trod on by him with themselves, while a dragon bites the end of the crozier. The canopy above consists of three arches, and the pediment part of three or more such shorter with their proper pediments, the busts on the tops of whose pillars totally misrepresented in Mr. Drake's print are really the usual figures. In this upper story it was pretended the bishop dying excommunicate was lodged, till Mr. Drake had it opened for near a yard, and found it solid. There was no epitaph on this tomb.

KILKENNY, successor of Hugh Northwold, at *Ely*, has a plain monument; only 1256. his figure, in purbeck marble, somewhat like the bishops at Sarum and Worcester; on his breast a lozenge. In the spandrils of the canopy angels hovering with censers³: which in Mr. Bentham's print are made fleurons. At his feet a bending canopy of five arches. This cenotaph in fact covers only his heart, his body being buried in Spain, where he died 1256⁴.

WILLIAM of YORK, bishop of *Salisbury*, lies opposite to his predecessor Bingham, on the south side of the choir, under a flowered arch of another form, surmounted by a rich bouquet, and sided by pursled finials. The black slab had nothing on it.

The next monument of this time is one erected in Westminster abbey for four infant children of Henry III. RICHARD, JOHN, and HENRY, his third, fourth, fifth, and sixth sons, and his youngest daughter KATHARINE. It is formed of mosaic, the sides in plain pannels, the top of the table inlaid in circles, and other irregular figures, with a border of tessellæ in front; and is fixed in the aisle, in the wall between the chapels of St. Benedict and St. Edmund. Over this tomb, on the masonry in the upper arch are faint traces of painting, now almost scratched out, representing a church in perspective, an embattled wall seen through the arches, and in the pavement in front single fleurs de lis O. and lions rampant S. or Az. Under the proper arch or canopy of the tomb were painted four figures⁵, two and two, kneeling opposite to each other, of whom faint traces are yet visible. But on the closest inspection, May 27, 1782, I must acknowledge myself unable to determine whom they represent, as the figures to the left appear surrounded with nimbi, and those opposite to them to be in armour. Over this last arch are broken traces of a few capital letters. This tomb is covered with a wooden lid for the accommodation of the vergers as a desk. Mr. Dart having engraved it very inaccurately, the whole, with the arch over it, is here given, Pl. XVIII.

It appears by records in the Tower, that on the death of the princess Catharine 1257, under the age of five years⁶, the king her father ordered a sumptuous

¹ Matt. Par. 190.

² Whitelocke in Ang. Sac. I. 447.

³ Nothing so common as these, or so often mistaken. In the windows of Stapleford church near Hertford Salmon calls them *figurae*.

⁴ Hist. of Ely, pl. xvi. p. 149.

⁵ Keefe says, they are the effigies of four children painted *in plano*, p. 56.

⁶ Matthew Paris says, she was dumb and helpless, but very pretty, (*muta et inutilis, sed facie pulcherrima*); and that the queen her mother was inconsolable for her death. P. 948.

tnous monument to be here erected to her, and commanded his treasurer and chamberlain of the exchequer to deliver to master Simon de Wells five marks and a half for his expences in going to London for a certain brass image to set on her tomb, and returning home again¹. And on this tomb was likewise placed a silver image, for which William de Glocester the king's silversmith had 70 marks². For this Mr. Dart quotes Strype.

Two artists in stone and silver applied to Henry III. to make a figure for his daughter. He gave the preference to the last, and paid premiums to such candidates as came out of the country: a proof our artists were not so despicable at this era as is generally supposed. The monument of Henry II. at Fontevraud was made by English artists, who had safe conducts to carry it over.

Five children of Edward I. viz. JOHN his eldest, ALPHONSUS his third son, BERENGARIA and ALICE his fourth and fifth, and ELEANOR his tenth daughter, are said to be buried here, and to them Mr. Dart refers the painting of two boys and two girls abovementioned; but unless we suppose them added to Henry III's children, the tomb suits best with the age of the latter.

Alphonfus died 1214, highly regretted by the kingdom for his great beauty and valour³.

It appears that Richard son of Henry III. and Alphonfus son of Edward I. were buried, the first on the South side of St. Edward's shrine, the other on the South side of the choir; but whether the children of these kings had one common place of sepulture is not expressed, though it may be presumed.

1256. Among the figures in the *Temple* church is a stone coffin *en dos d'ane*, the Pl V. ridges and angles of its cover forming a kind of cross, whose top terminates in fig. 5. a trefoil, and the foot rests on a bull's head, or perhaps a ram's, referring to the holy lamb; and from the middle of the shaft issue two fleurets or leaves. This may be the monument of WILLIAM PLANTAGENET, fifth son of Henry III. who died in his infancy, and was buried here according to Weever⁴, about 1256⁵. His father intended to be buried there himself. See Dugd. Mon. Aug. II. 531.

PLXIX. The five figures in the north groupe of this church being absolutely unascertained, I can only presume them to be of the same century, and subjoin their descriptions.

Camden and Weever ascribe one of them to GILBERT MARSHALL, third son of the first William, who on the death of his brothers succeeded to the whole of the paternal inheritance. 19 Henry III. he took the cross with Richard earl of Cornwall, in order to go to the Holy Land⁶, which was delayed only by his difference with the king⁷. He was a firm adherent to Richard earl of Cornwall, who at length procured his reconciliation with the king. He married, 1235, Margaret⁸ sister of Alexander king of Scotland, and after her death Maud de Lanvaley, without the king's licence⁹. He lost his life at a tournament at Ware¹⁰, 1241, being run away with by a mettlesome Italian horse, whom he could not check,

¹ Rymer, I. 41.

² This record has given rise to the tradition of the vergers, that three silver images were affixed over the tomb by the irons now remaining.

³ Ann. de Dunstable, p. 507, where he is called son and heir. The Annals of Waverly, p. 238, call him "filius primogenitus" of Edward I.

⁴ P. 443.

⁵ Milles, p. 245. Sandford, p. 92, 93.

⁶ Powel's Hist. of Wales, p. 203.

⁷ M. Paris, p. 516.

⁸ *femina elegantissima*. Matth. Par.

⁹ Dugdale seems to date his two marriages wrong; for he quotes Rot. Fin. 14 Hen. III. for his second marriage; yet makes his first take place 1236, 19 Henry III. M. Paris, p. 661, mentions that with Margaret under the year 1236, but it is most probable, from the above circumstances, that it was the second match.

¹⁰ About a bowshot from Hertford. M. Paris, calls the sport *fortenium quod vulgariter appellatur*. It was a name given to disguise the sport, which the king had expressly forbidden. See lb. p. 572, and Du Cange in voce.



the reins breaking at the bit ; the heat, the dust, and a full stomach (for the combatants dined before the exercise) rendered him incapable of keeping his seat, and his foot hanging in the stirrup he was dragged a considerable way, and taken up for dead. He was conveyed to the friery at Hertford, where he expired in the evening 5 cal. Jul. Upon opening his body his liver was found mortified by the bruises he had received. His bowels were buried before the high altar of our Lady church there, and his corps conveyed next day to the Temple, and there deposited near his father and brother. Matthew Paris ascribes all the extraordinary parade which cost this unfortunate earl his life to an effort of figuring as a knight of great prowess ; a character he was never trained to, having been bred to the church, till, by the death of his brother, the succession devolved to him. He adds, that the earl assisted at this tournament without the king's leave, who made this a pretence to withhold his estate from his brother Walter for a while. This antient and noble family became extinct about ten years after, by the death of Walter and Anselm, the last surviving son of earl William.

In the present state of these monuments it is almost impossible to ascertain the property of more than one of the Mareschall family. If it be objected, that the figure assigned to the father may rather, on account of its youthful appearance, belong to one of the sons, I shall not contend for so controvertible an opinion. One conjecture however I may propose, which is, that the two figures whose belts have the same ornaments were of the same family.

Mr. Lethieullier*, who ascribes three of these figures to the earls of Pembroke, takes it for granted, "none of them were of the order of Templars." It is only a vulgar error to suppose every figure whose legs are crossed was actually of that order. But that two at least of the three Pembrokes were, or meant to be, Crusaders, and consequently had taken the vow, their history plainly shews ; and it is highly probable the infection of the times reached the other, as a person of a distinguished family. Yet to make up the eleven described here by Stowe, they must all be considered as cross-legged. I shall just observe, that Magnaville, William Marshall, jun. and the last figure in the other groupe have their legs crossed in an unusual manner. They lie on their backs, and yet cross their legs as if they lay on their sides. So were those of Henry Laci earl of Lincoln, 1312, in old St. Paul's.

The spurs of all are remarkably short, and seem rather straps without rowels. Not above two or three have the long pointed shoe, and two have their surcoats exactly reaching to the knee, whereas the other are of different lengths, and fall more easily.

I have dwelt only on those personages who are expressly pointed out by Camden, Stowe, and Weever, and by the more antient historians. Weever informs us, that sepulture in this church was much affected by Henry III. and his nobility. Stowe has determined that four of the cross-legged figures belong to the three earls of Pembroke and Robert Ros : "and these are all, says he, that I can remember to have read of." The later surveys of London content themselves with copying Stowe and Weever.

However deficient our notices are to whom these several antient monuments belong, we have at least light enough to pronounce that they do not belong either to "Dunwallo and other British kings," as tradition reports in Weever, nor to those "kings of Denmark who reigned in England," as Hentzner misunderstood.

* P. 572.

* Archæol. II. p. 294.

Feb. 25, 1718. It was unanimously agreed at the Society of Antiquaries to take a drawing of the Knights Templars, and the tomb of the patriarch in the Temple-church, and the inscription over the door, and Mr. Director (Talman) was ordered to employ Seignor Grifoni about that work, who was chosen by the Society when they shall have occasion for drawings¹. Mr. Lethieullier informed the Society, 1735², that he had, for his own private curiosity, caused drawings of these tombs to be taken, which were then in his hands.

I cannot conclude this article without recording an anecdote communicated to me on good authority, that application was made, by a Hertfordshire baronet, for some of these cross-legged knights to grace his new-erected parochial chapel: but the society of Benchers discovered their good sense, as well as regard to antiquity, by refusing their compliance.

Similar to these is the figure of Sir JAMES BEAUCHAMP in the north aisle of the choir at *Worcester*. It is in mail, with a round helmet and surcoat, drawing his sword with his right hand, his left under a long pointed shield: his legs crossed as those above noticed, and at his feet a lion. Thomas³ seems to give the left hand a glove of mail, and make the other bare.

1258. The tomb at *York* of Archbishop SEWAL, who died 1258, is the first instance of a table monument, without an altar tomb. It rests on twelve arches, and on the slab, which diminishes by five mouldings, is a cross florée in relief⁴.

1258. ISABEL countess of ATHOL, wife of David de Strabolgy earl of Athol, and second daughter of Richard de Dover, natural son of king John by Rohes his wife daughter of Robert de Dover, baron of Chilham⁵, has an altar tomb in the undercroft at *Canterbury*; the sides adorned with three shields in quatrefoils, two charged with three cinquefoils, the middlemost with a trivet. Her figure is very delicate, dressed in a mantle and petticoat, her head-dress finely plaited and veiled, supported by angels, her hands joined, a dog at her feet, the face of the arch annulated, in the centre above a rose⁶.

1258. CROCKESLEY or CROSSLEY, abbot of Westminster, who died 1258, and was buried, according to Flete, in the old chapel of St. Edmund, which he had himself built, near the north door, and on the taking that down being ruinous, removed to the adjoining chapel of St. Nicholas, under a little plain stone before the middle altar, was again disturbed in the reign of Henry VI. at which time the whole convent saw his corpse firm and fresh in the vestment in which he laid mafs in a stone coffin. This coffin Dart⁷ thinks was laid on Flaccet's tomb in St. John Baptist's chapel, and in it was said by Keepe to have been lately found a body, though Dart could find only the disjointed boards of an inward coffin, which he looks upon as a proof of its antiquity. It has been ascribed to Bohun earl of Hereford and Milling bishop of Hereford, but against this he alleges its form, and that stone coffins were rarely or never in use in the 14th century⁸. All that can be said is, it is the coffin of a religious, and it now lies on the tomb of abbot Flaccet.

His epitaph was only these two obscure lines,

Jam Wintona polis de Richardo

Mortis amara dedit, at locus iste capit.

¹ Strakeley's Copy of the Minutes.

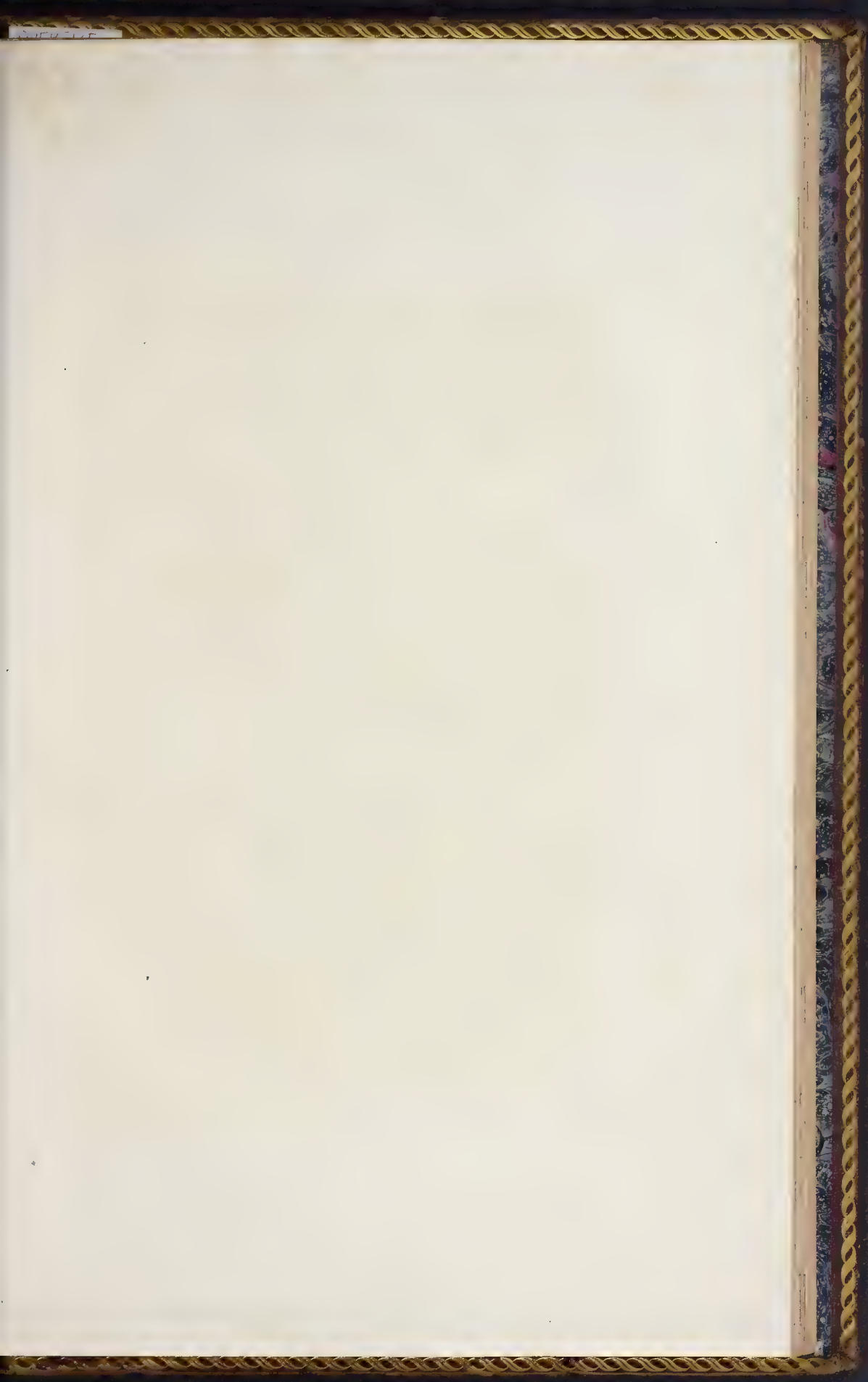
⁴ Sandf. p. 56.

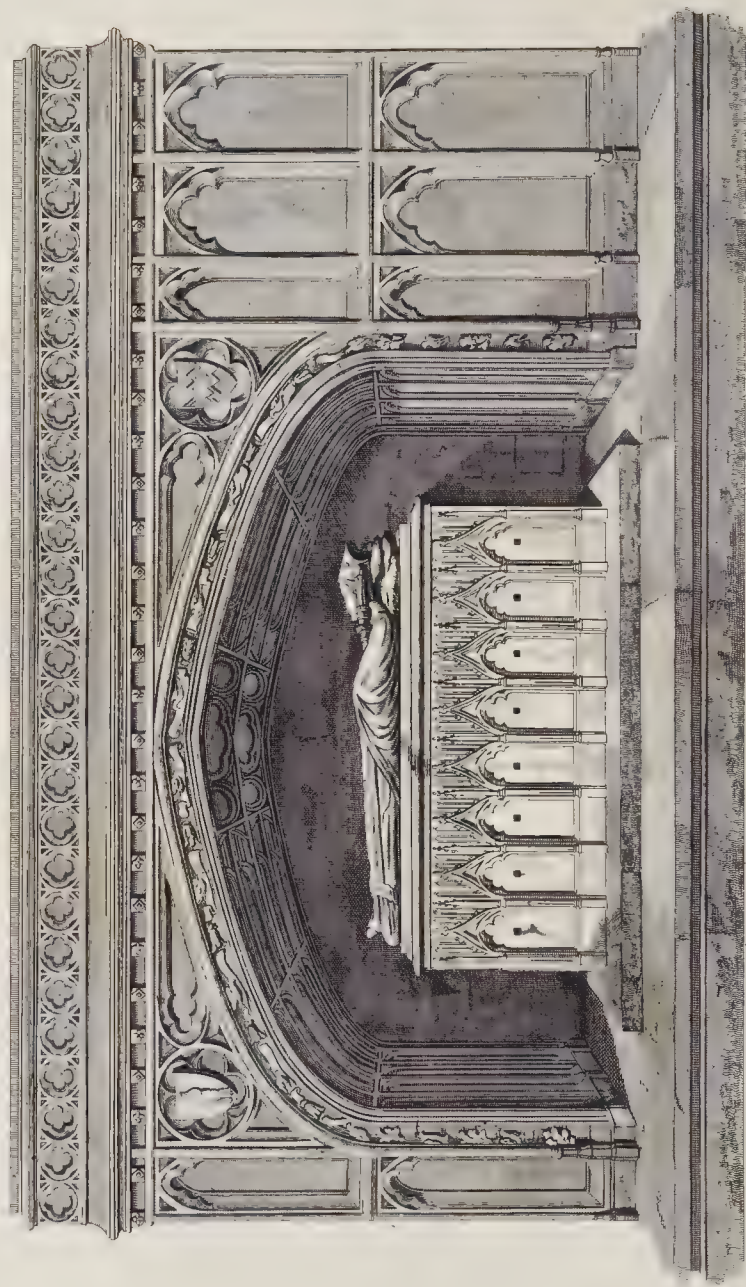
⁵ P. 422.

⁷ See the print in Dart, p. 90.

⁸ Drake, p. 429.

⁶ XXIV. 1. 191.





He was archdeacon of Westminster, and owed his advancement to the favour ¹²⁶¹ of Henry III. which he soon lost by his ill conduct in his monastery, and recovered it only by his concurrence with unpopular public measures. He died of poison at Winchester: and is characterized by Matthew Paris as a handsome man and good orator, who spared no pains or expence to serve the king, both at home and abroad.

"Under the stairs leading up to the organ in Winchester cathedral there is a bust (by tradition) of ETHELMARUS, the bishop, who died A. C. 1261, who nevertheless seems to have been interred in another place; for I find his heart was buried in the South wall of the presbytery, where this monument is still visible.

"Obiit anno Domini 1261

"Corpus ETHELMARI cujus cor nunc tenet istud

"Saxum Parisiis morte datur tumulo."

Godwin^a confirms this last destination. The only reason therefore for introducing this monument here is to refute the erroneous appropriation of this bust, which is in fact a mutilated figure of an old knight, under which is a shield charged with Barry of 18.

JOHN DE CALETO, abbot of *Peterborough*, who died 1262, was buried before 1262. the altar of St. Andrew, at the east end of the south aisle of the choir, near the shrine of St. Tibba, commonly called the Queen of Scots' tomb. He was elected abbot 1249, and appointed treasurer of England 1260^b. He built the Infirmary, and gave a great bell to the church, which was in being till 1711, inscribed, *Jon de Caux abbas Oswaldo consecrat hoc vas*. His grave was opened in February, 1742, for the interment of Mrs. Fuller, and his remains carefully re-entombed. On raising the earth where he was buried they found two pieces of brass: one an Ave Maria piece, with a cross flory in a square; the other a man sitting at a table, with a case of printing types, which he was setting: the 4 in the alphabet is Roman. The last piece could hardly be contemporary with John de Caleto^c. The monument or shrine before which he was buried was removed on the late repair of the cathedral, 1782, into the Dean's garden, where it is raised on pedestals, to serve as a summer-house.

Bishop BRIDPORT lies in St. Mary Magdalen's, or the first chapel in the south transept at *Salisbury*. His effigy is pontifically habited: his crozier a rich one; Pl. XVII angels supported his head; on the side of the tomb are eight niches^d. The arch over him is a furthest one: the outer moulding charged with birds holding scrolls, inscribed, *honor Deo et glia*, and lilies alternately. In the South spandrils the arms of the see, and two chevrons G. indented. See Pl. XVII. On the other France and England quarterly, and a cross flory between five martlets. This prelate died 1263, having filled this see seven years. The present church was dedicated under his administration by archbishop Boniface.

Among Daniel King's drawings of the Vere monuments before mentioned, p. 36, was one representing the fragment of a very antient figure, and the effigy of a lady. These are both said to have been of alabaster, and therefore

^a Gale's Winchester, p. 24, 25.

^b P. 221.

^c Dugd. Orig. Jurid. calls him J. de Craknale.

^d T. Neve, in the Spalding Society's minutes,

^e Price says this tomb "was wrought as a model of the outside of the tower by tradition." Additional Remarks at end of the second edition of his Observations in the Description of Salisbury, 1774, 4^{to}, p. 139. He must mean of the archwork.

Mr. Lethieullier imagines them to be later than those in wood (engraved Pl. IX. fig. 2, 3.) and appropriates them to HUGH DE VERE earl of OXFORD and his countess HAWISE, daughter of Saer, earl of Winchester, 46 Henry III. He was only son to earl Robert buried at Hatfield-Broad oak, and nephew to earl Alberic before-mentioned, and died 1263. The principal event in his life was, that he subscribed the barons' letter of complaint to the Pope, 30 Henry III'.

Weever¹ says the following inscription was on his tomb :

"Hic jacent Hugo de Vere, ejus nominis primus, comes Oxoniæ quartus, magnus camerarius Angliæ, filius & hæres Roberti comitis, & Hawisia uxor ejus, filia Sacri de Quinci comitis Wintonæ; qui quidem Hugo obiit 1263. Quorum animabus propitiatur altissimus."

These seem to be the alabaster figures described as lying 1746 in an old summer-house in the South East corner of Mr. Wale's garden at Colne priory: the lower part of one of which is in armour from waist to mid thigh, and as much of a female trunk. Many pieces of marble and alabaster lay scattered about, and others were cut into chimney pieces for every room in the house. The foundations were discernable in dry weather. In digging up the foundation of the old conventual church were found stone coffins, bones, and many coins: an old piece of lead, circular, with a loop, or hole, which seemed appendant to a parchment, and had a rose, circumscribed THOMAS ROTBYNG, probably from that person's coffin.

Mr. King made a drawing of three views of a colossal free-stone figure, called by tradition GRIMEVERY, the first of the family of the Veres. This Mr. Lethieullier apprehends to be a mistake, for the following reasons: ALBERICUS, the first of the family, settled indeed at Earl's Colne, where he died, and was buried, in the time of William the Conqueror, an age prior to the erecting any such monuments; and as he was the founder of their monastery, and himself shorn a monk therein, there is no reason to expect a representation of him in the habit and attitude of a soldier. He was therefore rather inclined to believe this monument was intended for ALBERICUS, the third of that family, but first earl of Oxford; from whence perhaps arose the tradition of his being the first of this family. This earl was an eminent soldier in the reigns of Stephen and Henry III. and dying 6 Richard I. 1194. was interred in this priory. Mr. Lethieullier adds, he had met with some other figures of like colossal proportions, which there is good reason to imagine were of that age. We have therefore subjoined the plate to the end of the preceding century. It was totally destroyed when Mr. Lethieullier visited the spot 1736.

These monuments, with that of earl Alberic and lady, were in the chapel at Colne priory in Essex, which had been founded by earl Alberic in the beginning of the reign of Henry I. but on its demolition were entirely destroyed. Others of the same family were removed into the parish church, where they are still preserved, and will be mentioned in their order.

1264. In digging a grave in the middle of the Lady chapel at *Walls*, 1727, was found about 20 inches under the pavement a free-stone coffin, containing the bones of a bishop, with a large gold ring set with a stone on his finger, and a small silver cup full of liquor, which was thrown in the dirt before any person of curiosity came; it was covered with a small silver paten somewhat rusty. All these things were preserved by archdeacon Archer. This was generally sup-

¹ Dugd. Bar. I. 191.

² P. 115.

posed the body of BUTTON, first bishop of that see of that name¹, who, according to Godwin², was buried in *tumulo marmoreo*, in this spot. The inattention of the labourers made them probably fancy there was liquor in the cup, which I believe is not usual, though chalices and patens are frequent in the graves of religious of rank, nor is it probable the vessels were of any better metal than latton, as those in bishop Grossthead's tomb. Nothing is more common than the mistake. Thus the prelatical rings, and the regal sceptres, buried with the respective parties are, with the highest degree of improbability, conceived to be of gold or silver, when, at most, they are only gilded or silvered over. This bishop died 1264. Thomas Button, one of his family, afterwards bishop of Exeter, gave to the church of Wells, for this bishop's soul, the bell which used to ring for service in bishop Godwin's time, as the inscription on it set forth³.

SIMON DE MONTFORT, earl of Leicester, being slain at the battle of Evesham, 1265, his head, hands, feet, and privities⁴ cut off on the field by Roger Mortimer⁵, and the former sent to Wigmore castle⁶, by leave of the King the trunk was carried away on a weak old ladder, covered with a torn cloth, to the abbey-church of Evesham, and, wrapt in a sheet, committed to the earth, before the lower step of the high altar there, with his eldest son Henry and Hugh lord Despencer, who fell with him⁷. But shortly after, some of the monks alleging that he died excommunicate and attainted of treason, and therefore did not deserve Christian burial, they took up his corps, and buried it in a remote place, known to few⁸.

One of his hands being carried into Cheshire by the servant of one of the king's party, was, at the elevation of the host in the parish church, miraculously lifted up higher than the heads of all the assistants, notwithstanding it had been sewed up in a bag, and kept in the bearer's bosom⁹. One of his feet was carried by John de Vescy, the founder, to Alnwick abbey, where continuing several months uncorrupted, the monks made for it a silver shoe¹⁰. It had a wound between the little and the third toe, made either by a knife or sword, in the mangling of the body. The distant sight of this foot wrought instant cures. A canon of Alnwick, who swore the earl was a traitor, lost first his eyes, and then his life. "Think," cries out the monk of Mailros, who relates this story, "what will be the glory of this foot at its rejunction to Simon's body after the general judgement, from the comparison of this foot before that great event, which displayed such healing powers through the silver shoe, out of which went invisible virtue to heal the sick." The other foot was sent, as a mark of contempt, by the victor to Llewellyn prince of Wales, who had formed an alliance with this earl, and married his daughter. Though it is not to be doubted that this also was endowed with a power of working miracles, they were not sufficiently authenticated to be recorded. His other hand was preserved with great reverence at Evesham, where it may fairly be presumed to have wrought miracles; "for God," continues my author, "does not so justify one part of a man by these powers as to leave another part without the same." This chronicler, in his

¹ Letter to Hearne, Pref. to Adam de Domerham, p. 27.

² P. 373.

³ *Testulus abbatis appendebat ex utraque parte hosti*. Lib. Guildhall, MS. The man who cut them off was discovered two years after in the river Tay, and his body being taken up, there were found two singular javanets, (q. crayfish) fastened to his back, from which he could scarce be pulled off. Chron. Mait. p. 259.

⁴ *Cont. a. d. p. m. a. Luit. in Luit. M. Parn.* Sir William Maltravers did this, according to Robert of Gloucester, p. 560.

⁵ On the point of a spear. Wikes, 71.

⁶ Ann. Waverley, 220. Matt. Paris says prince Edward assisted at the funeral of young Henry, whom his father shed goldschaker, try, and for whom he himself had a great regard. This misled Dr. Nash (p. 413) to say the king assisted at the earl's funeral.

⁷ D. 3d. Bar. I. 758. ex M. p. 11. B. Bod. "Simone earliver excommunicatus in loco remotissimo per seculum fuit." Cotton, Lib. A. IX. But discovered by miracles.

⁸ *Cont. a. d. p. m. a. Luit. in Luit. M. Parn.*

⁹ *Laticamentum de argento purissime.*

enthusiasm for the earl, compares him with his namesake Simon Peter, celebrates his exemplary vigilance and habit of rising at midnight, his abstinence, and his moderation in dress, always wearing haircloth next his skin, and over it at home a *russet* habit¹; and in public, *bleuet* or *burnet*²; and his constant language was, that he would not desert the just defence of England, which he had undertaken for God's sake, through the love of life, or the fear of death; but would die for it. Justly therefore did the religious prefer his shrine to the Holy Land: and his favourites the friars minors celebrated his life and miracles, and composed a service for him, which, during the life of Edward, could not be generally introduced into the church.

Matthew Paris³ and the author of the *Annals of Waverley*⁴ pretend, that at the instant of his death there happened extraordinary thunder and lightning, and general darkness. "Sicque labores finivit suos vir ille magnificus Simon comes, qui non solum sua sed se impendit pro oppressione pauperum, affectione justitiæ, & regni jure. Fuerat utique literarum scientia commendabilis, officiis divinis assidue interesse gaudens, frugalitati deditus, cui familiare fuit in noctibus vigilare amplius quam dormire: constans fuit in verbo, severus in vultu, maxime fidus in orationibus religionum, ecclesiasticis magnam semper impendens reverentiam." These are the words of Matthew Paris, who adds, that he had a high opinion of Bishop Grosseteste. "Ipsius consilio tractabat ardua, tentabat dubia, finivit inchoata, ea maxime per quæ meritum sibi succrescere aestimabat: that the bishop promised him the crown of martyrdom for his defence of the church, and foretold that both he and his son would die the same day in the cause of justice and truth. His professions of religion (for he and all his army received the sacrament before they took the field⁵) and his opposition to the king's oppressive measures made him the idol of the monks and the populace. Tyrrel says⁶ he had seen at the end of a MS. in the public library at Cambridge certain prayers directed to him as a saint, with many rhyming verses in his praise, and the pope was obliged to repress these extravagances. He certainly was possessed of noble qualities; but amid the prejudices of ancient writers in his favor, and the violent declamations of the moderns against him, it is not easy to decide whether ambition or the public good was the motive of his opposition to his sovereign, who had been his benefactor, and whose sister he had married. The Chronicler of Mailros appeals to heaven for the justice of his cause, and the miracles wrought at the tomb of his associate Hugh Despencer, who was chief justice of England; and the Chronicler of Waverley scruples not to call his death a glorious martyrdom for his country, and the good of the kingdom and the church; while Carte condemns him as a traitor⁷: and Tyrrel says, he and his family perished, and came to nought in a few years. Knighton⁸ says, he reproached his sons for having brought him to his end by their pride and presumption. Mr. Phillips, owner of the site of Evesham-abbey, digging a foundation for a wall between the church-yard and his garden, found the skeleton of a man in armour, probably one of the heroes that fell in this battle. He scrupulously left it untouched, and built the wall upon it⁹.

1268. In the north transept at *Hereford* is the monument of bishop PETER DE EQUEBLANK, who died 1268. His figure *in pontificalibus* lies on a low altar tomb under a canopy. At his head a flat canopy, resting on three heads,

¹ *Amictu Russeti.*

² P. 220.

³ Chron. de Mailros, p. 231.

⁴ Il. 1052.

⁵ *bleueti vel burnet.*

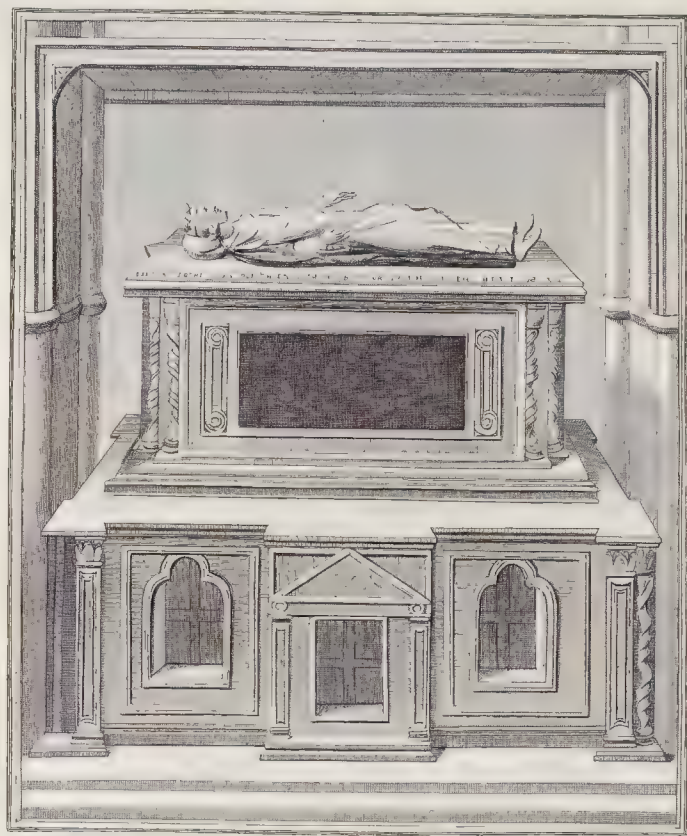
⁶ P. 998.

⁷ Il. 158.

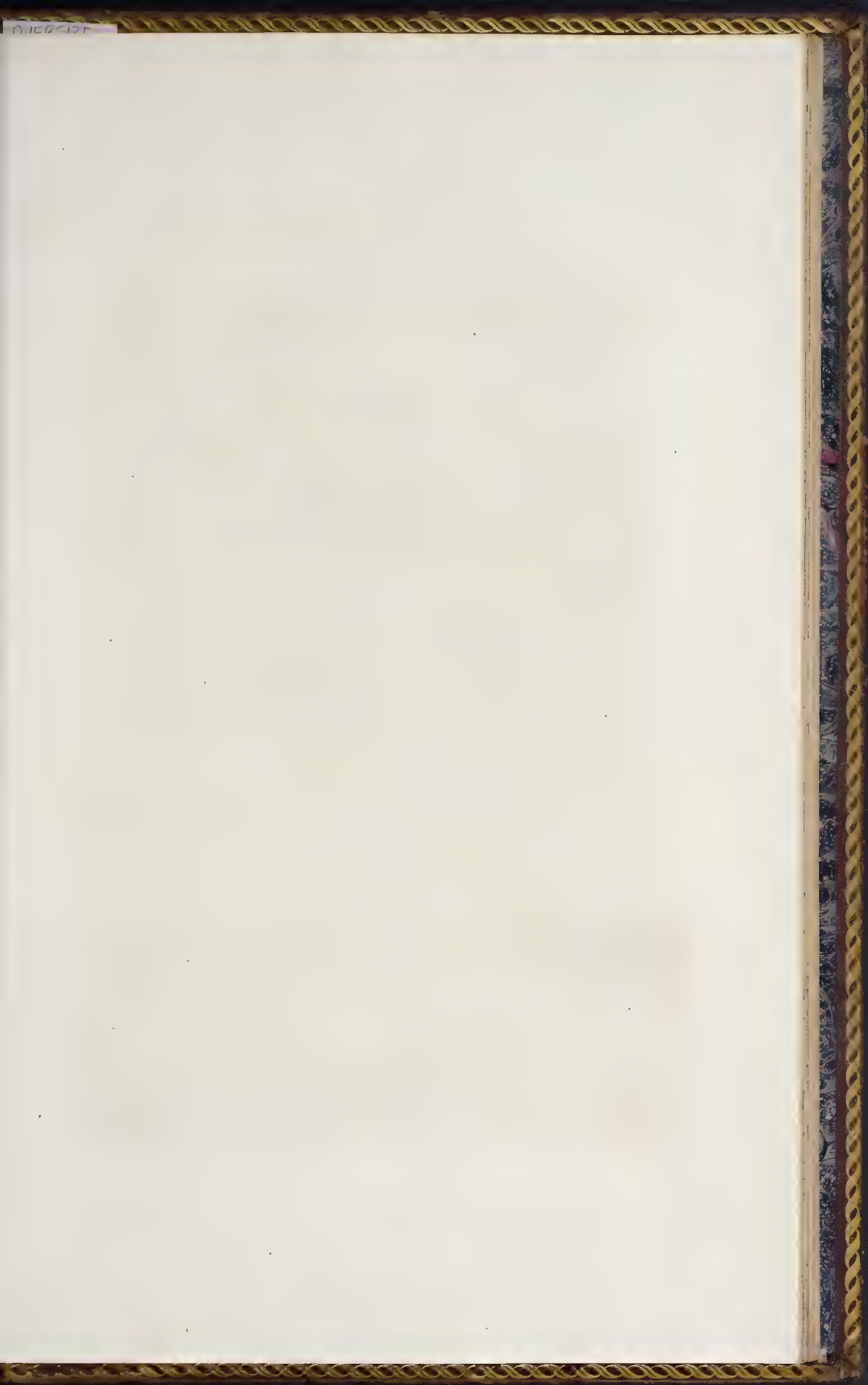
⁸ Col. 2473. Hollinsh. 270.

⁹ Nash, l. 410.

which

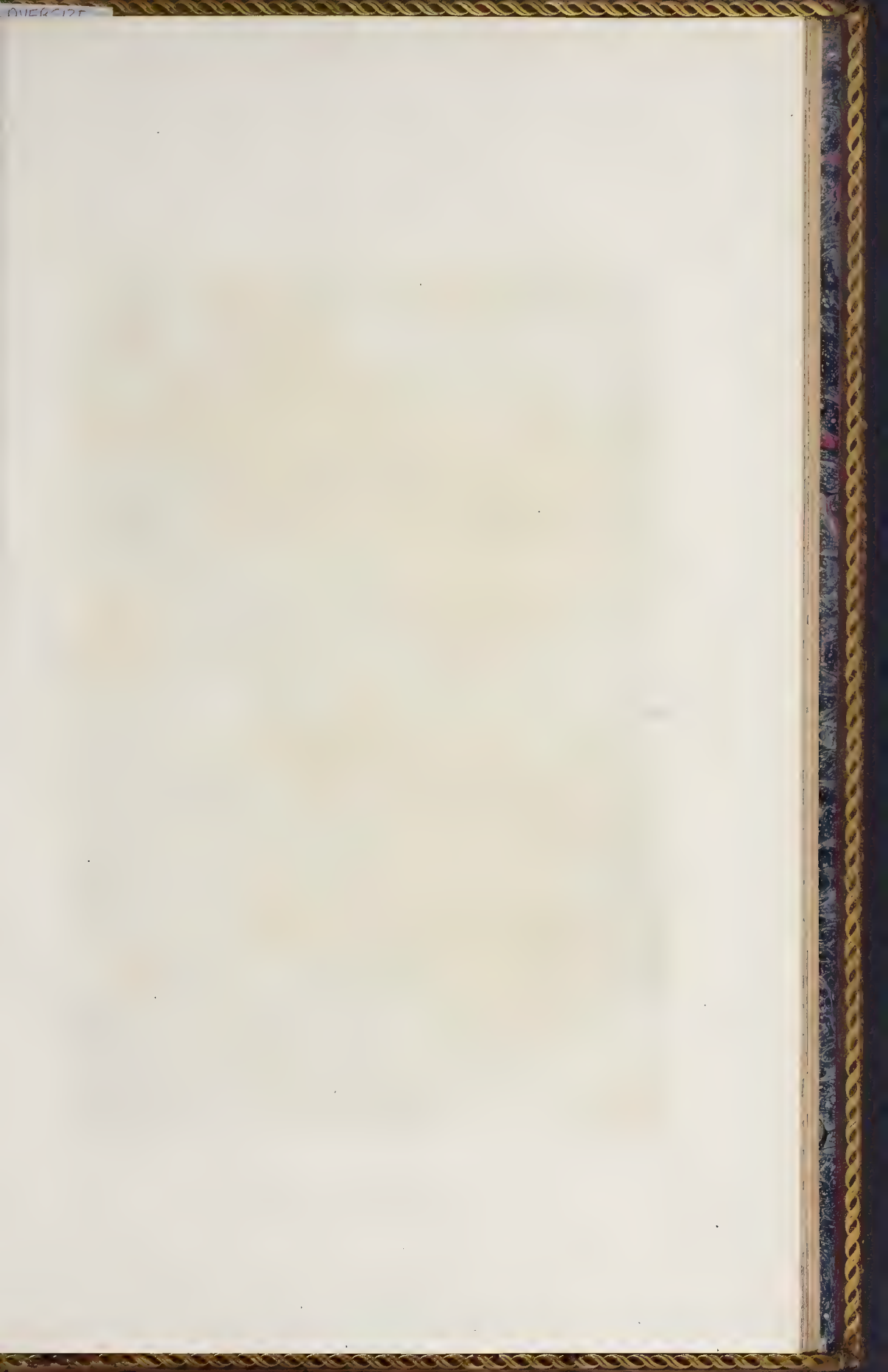


Monument of Henry III.





North view of the Tomb of Henry III.





Portrait of Henry VIII from his last years

which are also down the sides, and three under arches at his feet. Over his head is painted on the wall,

D'ns Petrus de Aquablanca epus Heref.
Obiit A. D. 1268.

His heart was buried in a monastery of his founding at Aigues belles in 'Savoy, whereof he seems to have been a native.

In the middlemost chapel of the north transept at *Salisbury*, on the fourth side 1270. of the chapel under a furthest arch, the spandrels open, lies a bishop in pontificalibus mitred: in his right hand a crozier piercing a beast; another beast at his left foot. This is the monument of WALTER DE LA WYLE, who died 1270.

"Under an enarched monument raised against the north wall of the chan-1270. cel at *Repeham* in the county of Norfolk lies a knight templar of the *Kerdeston* family, in armour, with his hands and legs crossed: on the basis of the monument are the effigies of six boys and four girls: on the side of the canopy work are the arms of Kerdeston, but no inscription remains. This knight lies on stone-work carved as a rock, with a lion at his feet; and probably represents Sir FULK DE KERDESTON, or, as some say, Sir THOMAS, who died in 1270."

We come now to the most magnificent and costly monument of this century, 1272. that of HENRY III. in *Westminster* abbey, which if not actually the work of Cavallini, Pl. XX. was probably executed from a design of his, and with materials brought from Rome, XXI. where Edward I. was the year after his father's death. * *Magnifico et sublimi sepulchro, quod rex Edwardus filius jaspidebus opphiticis, &c. quæ e Gallia attulerat plurimum ornavit*¹. Leland, or the chronicle cited by him², says it was erected in the 8th year of Edward I. which is 1280. The side and end pannels are of porphyry, highly polished in frames of gold and scarlet. It stands on an ascent of three steps, and under it are three ambries or lockers, lined with the same Mosaic³. We may observe a great conformity between this tomb and the Confessor's in the form of the wreathed pillars and their capitals, and the contour of some parts of the inlaid work; though the palm of elegance must be given to the *shrine*⁴. The monument of this king's children, before described, p. 49, is composed of the same materials. The table of the royal tomb is of copper, diapered, and enameled with flowers and 'lions' in lozenges. The king's figure is of cast brass, once gilt, laid exactly in the attitude in which the body of Edward I. was found on opening his tomb in 1774, and I think there can be little reason to doubt that his own body would be found in the same situation in the altar-tomb on which the figure lies. The drapery is the same in which Edward I. was found to be vested, except that the fibula is double on the effigy, which was single on the royal mantle. Time has robbed Henry's statue of his two sceptres, which were actually existing in the tomb of his son, and one of which, in proof of Mr. Dart's accuracy, he has restored in his draught, though wanting fifty years before when Sandford wrote. Since that time the lion at his feet, and the canopy over the king's head, reaching down to his feet, are also gone, and only the marks of the fastenings left. But I shall decline a further description of this monument, which is so faithfully represented with the effigies and portrait distinct by Mr. Basire. Dart says he had a cast with one eye, so as to hide part of the ball and pupil. An

¹ Blouf. Norf. IV. 405.

² Archæol. I. 34.

³ Camden's Westminster.

⁴ Colledge, II. 369. "Anno octavo sui regni Edwardus I. ex Gallia advenit porphyreticum marmor, ex quo fe. pulchrum patris ornavit." He adds, "Ex cruſis & reliquiis propheticis marmoris facta sunt ibidem pulcherrima pavimenta tessellata illa."

⁵ Dart. II. 34.

⁶ On viewing the shrine April 11, 1783, I found the pillar at the South East angle had been removed since I examined it April 14, 1781.

old MS. in prose, ascribed by Hearne to Robert of Gloucester, thus describes his person: "This kyng was but of mene stature, his other eyelede hangyd fo "myche adown yt hit heled [covered] half the blake of his eye". So Matt. Paris², and the Chronicle of Tinmouth, cited by Leland³, "Erat autem stature "mediocris, compacti corporis, alterius oculi palpebra dimissiore ita ut partem "nigredinis alterius oculi palpebra celaret." This circumstance is not expressed on the figure.

The inscriptions given by Mr. Camden on this tomb are as follow:

On the north side towards the area in gilt letters:

Tertius Henricus est templi conditor hujus.

DULCE BELLUM INEXPERTIS.

On a table sometime hanging by:

Tertius Henricus jacet hic pietatis amicus;
Ecclesiam stravit istam quam post renovavit.
Reddet ei munus qui regnat trinus et unus.

Thus translated by Fabian:

The friend of justice and alms-deed,
Henrie the Third whilome of England king,
Who this church brake⁴ & after his meed
Again renewed unto his fair building,
Now resteth here, which did so great a thing,
He yeeld his meed yt Lord of Deitie
That as one God raignes in persons three.

Mr. Vertue says, part of the last Latin inscription, which was written in gilt capitals, was legible 1741⁵. So it still is.

Round the verge of the table is this inscription emboss in Saxon capitals,

ICI : GIST : DENRI . IADIS : REY : 8E : ANGLETERE : SEYGNVR :
DE : BIRLAVNDE : E : DVC : DE : AQVITAYGNE : LE : FIZ : LI : REY : IOHAN :
IADIS : REY : 8E : ANGLETERE : A : KI : DEU : FACE : MERCI : AMEN.

This prince fell ill at St. Edmund's Bury, on his return from Norwich, and died at Westminster, 1272. 16 kal. Dec. aged 65; and the Sunday following, on the feast of St. Edmund the King, he was buried magnificently in this church, his body dressed in his royal robes, with his crown on his head, and all the nobility, the Templars (who Camden says wanted to have buried him in their church⁶) carrying the body; which show was so magnificent that he was shewn more magnificent (says Wykes⁷) when dead than he appeared when living. His body was buried *before the high altar*; but his heart he gave order should be buried at Fontevraud⁸, which accordingly was delivered to the abbess of that place by the abbot of Westminster, on the Monday next before the feast of St. Lucia the Virgin, in the presence of many of the nobility, 20 Edward I⁹.

1274. In the south aisle of the choir at *Wells*, on an altar-tomb, is the figure of Bishop BUTTON, second of that name, with a lion at his feet.

² P. 521.

⁴ i. e. pulled down.

⁶ Qui corpus regium sibi vendicabant. Ubi supra.

⁸ Mat. Westm.

⁵ P. 1009.

³ Archæol. I. 24.

⁷ Coll. I. 177. Hollinshed, I. 276.

⁹ Chron. p. 98. Ann. Waverl. p. 226. Walsingham. p. 1.

WALTER DE MERTON, chancellor of England under Henry III. and Edward I. 1277. bishop of Rochester from 1274 to 1279, the munificent founder of Merton-college at Oxford, which he began at Merton, in Surrey, 1264; but before his appointment to the see of Rochester transferred it to Oxford 1270; died 1277. The beautiful alabaster monument which we now see on the north side of St. William's chapel at the north end of the cross aisle in his cathedral, was erected to his memory at the procurement of Sir Henry Saville, knight, warden of Merton-college, who caused the old marble one to be pulled down. The figure of the bishop habited *in pontificalibus*, his hands elevated and joined, lies on an altar tomb, on the front of which is the following inscription in two tablets, in Roman capitals.

"Waltero de Merton, cancellario
Angliæ sub Henrico tertio; episcopo
Roffensi sub Edwardo primo: reg unius
Exemplo, omnium quotquot extant
Collegiorum fundatori; maximorum
Europæ totius ingeniorum foelicissimo
parenti; Custos & scholares domus
scholarium de Merton in universitate
Oxon. communibus collegii impensis,
Debitum pietatis monumentum posuere
Anno Domini 1598. Henrico
Savile custode."

Obiit in vigilia Simonis & Judæ anno
Domini 1277 Edwardi primo quinto.
Inchoaverat collegium Maldoniæ in agro
Surr. A° Domini 1264, Henrici tertii
Quadragesimo octavo, cui dein salubri
Consilio Oxonium 1270 translato
Extrema manus faelicissimis, ut credi
Par est, auspiciis accessit A° 1274 ipsis
Kalendis Augusti A° regni regis Edwardi
Primi secundo.

Magne fenex titulis, mufarum sede sacrata
Major Mertonidum maxime progenie;
Hæc tibi gratantes post secula fera nepotes
En votiva locant marmora, sancte parens.

On another tablet, under the arch, this inscription, expressing a later repair after the civil war:

Hunc tumulum fanaticorum rabie
(Quæ durante nupero plusquam civili
Bello prout in ipsa templa sic et in
Herorum sanctorumque reliquias ibidem
Pie reconditas immaniter sæviebat)
Deformatum atque fere deletum custos
Et scholares domus scholarium de
Merton in academia Oxoniensi pro
Sua ergo fundatorem pietate &
Gratitudine redintegrabant.
Anno Dom. 1662 custode
Dño Thoma Clayton equite.

This

This tomb was cleaned and repaired once more 1770, by the college, and the whitewashing all taken off.

At the back, over the figure, are these arms :

O. 3 chevronels G. *Walter de Merton* and his college.

Arg. on a faltire G. an escallop O. See of *Rocheſter*.

Between them hangs a purſe, denoting his office of Lord Chancellor.

This monument, which is a much better imitation of Gothic than that of Leofric biſhop of Exeter erected about the ſame time, was engraved very indifferently by John Bayley, at the expence of the warden and fellows of Merton, 1768. In the firſt impreſſions the biſhop's arms were debruied by a croſs patee fitche, and the ſame without the croſs given inſtead of the arms of the ſee. The tablet and inſcription between them was alſo omitted. This was afterwards corrected, and the tablet inſerted over the biſhop's head, and his arms over his feet: thoſe of his ſee omitted.

Adjoining to this monument is a large cheſt of Petworth marble much deſaced, the ſides and top decorated with antient ornaments, but no traces of an inſcription, which is all that remains of St. William's ſhrine, that brought ſuch conſiderable emolument to the monks of this priory. This charitable ſaint was a Scotch baker, who in his way to the Holy Land was murdered by his own ſervant between Canterbury and Rocheſter. Laurence de St. Martin, biſhop of Rocheſter, and predeceſſor of Merton, wanting a pretence to recover his church from the dilapidations committed by Simon de Montfort earl of Leiceſter and his party, obtained his canonization of the pope 1266, and a great reſort of votaries ſoon attended at his tomb.

Biſhop St. MARTIN died 1274. and was buried on the north ſide of the high altar, in his cathedral, where his effigy, *in pontificalibus*, remains on an altar-tomb.

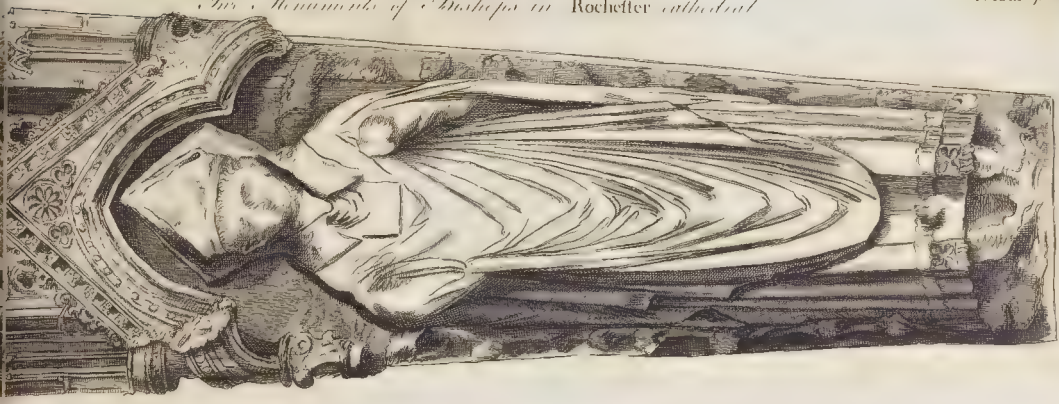
1279. Biſhop GRAVESEND, who died 1279, had his figure inlaid in braſs, now gone, on a ſtone in the upper leſſer tranſept of his cathedral, at *Lincoln*, under which is to be read this inſcription in old ſquare characters.

*Ego Richardus quondam episcopus Lincolnienſis credo quod redemptor meus vivit
et in noviffimo die de terra reſurrecturus ſum et ruſum circumdabor pelle
mea, et in carne mea videbo Deum ſalvatorem meum.*

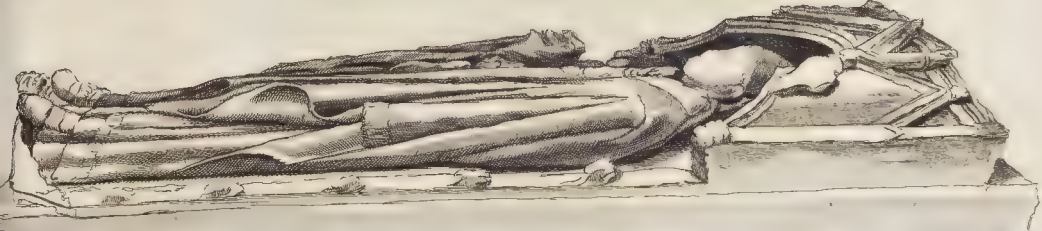
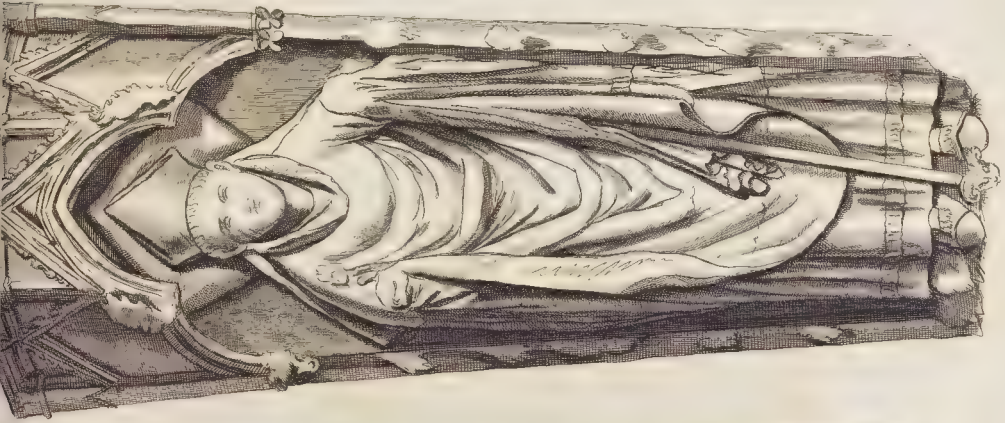
p. 60

REGO RICHARDVS QVONDAM EP
ISGOPVSLINCOLNIENORCRAD
OQVODREDEPTORMEVS VIV
ITATINNOVISSIMODIET
ERRASVRRACTVRVSSVMETR
VRSVMCIRQVMDABORPELL
AMEAETINDARRCMAVIDE
RODEVM SALVATOREM MEVM

Taney Del.



Lawrence des. S. Martin 1271



Thomas de Ingelthorpe 1291

1275

In the north wall of the chapel, at the end of the south aisle at *Exeter*, under a furthest arch, on an altar tomb lies bishop BROWNSCOMB, who died 1280. At his head a pointed-arch flowered canopy; at his feet a lion. On the ledge is painted this inscription, the words in Roman supplied from Izaacke, and Leland, It. III. 32.

Olim sincerus pater omni dignus amore
 Primus Walterus magno jacet hic in honore.
 Edidit hic plura dignissima laude statuta,
 Quæ tanquam jura servant hic nunc omnia tuta.
 Atque hoc collegium quod Glasney¹ plebs vocat omnis
 Condidit egregium pro voce data sibi sompnis.
 Quot loca construxit? pietatis quot bona fecit,
 Quam sanctam duxit vitam, vox dicere quæ sit.
 Laudibus immensis jubilat gens Exoniensis,
 Et chorus & turbæ, quod notus in hac fuit urbe.
 Plus si scire velis, festum statuit Gabrielis².
 Gaudeat in celis igitur pater iste fidelis.

O. on a chevron S. 3 cinquefoils O. between 2 keys erast in chief, and a sword of the second. *Browncomb*. Angels hold G. a chevron O. between 2 keys and sword; probably the same coat partly erast and indistinct.

Az. a cross patonce between 4 martlets O. *Saxon kings*.

O. a spread eagle with two heads, G.

. . . . a buck's head cabost, G.

Three Apostles painted, and under them texts from their epistles.

Jacob.
 Vita vestra
 vapor est ad
 modicum [parens]
 & exterminabitur.
 c. Jacob 4°.

Job's.
 Vitam habetis
 eternam qui
 creditis in
 nomine filii
 dei. i. canonica Jobis 5°.

Judas.
 Ecce ve-
 nit d'ns
 face . . .
 judicium

Of the same date was bishop CHISHULL's monument in Old St. Paul's, but 1280. much plainer, being only an unornamented stone chest, with pointed arches [O. of a chapel] reared upon it.

In *Gosberton* church in the county of Lincoln, in the North aisle of the chan-1282
 cel, now a school, is an alabaster figure of a knight in a pointed helmet, gorget, and coat of mail, a lion at his feet. On the side of the tomb three rows of ten quatrefoils in circles, in the centre a large quatrefoil in a lozenge sided by two blank shields. On the base remained, 1782, in old capitals, only—"us filius ejus. pro animabus propitiatur Deus. Amen. Hi"
 Mr. Ray, vicar of Surfleet, copied it in 1740.

HIC JACET NICOLAVS REY
 MILLES ET EDMONDVS FILIVS
 EIVS
 ANIMABVS PROPITIETVR DEVS. AMEN.

Maurice Johnson referred it to NICHOLAS DE RYE, Sheriff of the county 5 & 6 Edward I. 1278, who died 1279 or 1280, having obtained a weekly market for his manor of Gosberkirk³.

¹ Or *Penryn*, in Cornwall, which he was warned in a dream to found. Godwin, 405.

² He left an estate to support this festival. Ib.

³ Dugd. Bar. I. 110. ex Rot. Pip. de liſdem annis. Cart. 9 E. I. n. 17. Spalding Society's minutes.

1282. In the middle of the east end of the north transept at *Hereford*, stands the shrine or tomb of Bishop CANTILUPE, patron of that church, where he sat from 1275 to 1282. He died at Civita Vecchia, 1282, in his way to Rome, with a complaint against archbishop Peckham, concerning the rights of his church. His *hepb* was honourably buried at Rome in St. Severus' church¹. His heart at *Ashbridge*, and his *bones* here, where they wrought so many miracles that the register of the church makes them amount to 420 cures of various diseases². His tomb of red stone is altar-fashioned, with a large canopy of six pointed arches over it. His figure, and an inscription on the verge and at the feet, all in brass, have been torn off. In the six arches on each side the tomb are six knights in mail with swords and shields, treading on lions, griffins, and lions with double tails. Over these figures six more arches. The flowers and foliage in every spandril different.

1286. In the north transept at *Peterborough* was [1760] a raised coffin-formed stone, with a cross inscribed

*Hic jacet Willhelmus Parys, quondam prior Burgh cujus anime propitiatur Deus.
Amen. Pater noster. Amen.*

The Italics supplied from Browne Willis, 486. PARYS was prior 1286.

Round two others,

*Hic William natus Pigheste quiescit humatus.
Facta prioratus clauetro rexit monachatus.
Sit prece salvatus Petri, celoq. locatus.*

The second line I can only understand to mean that he governed the actions of his priorship by the severity of monkery.

Such has been the progress of improvement in this church within these few years, that I could find neither of these tombs 1782.

The next now turned out under the great West porch has a cross, and this inscription in Gothic capitals,

*Criftus Rogeri Clyff dignetur misereri
In Burgo natiq. prioris et hic tumulati.*

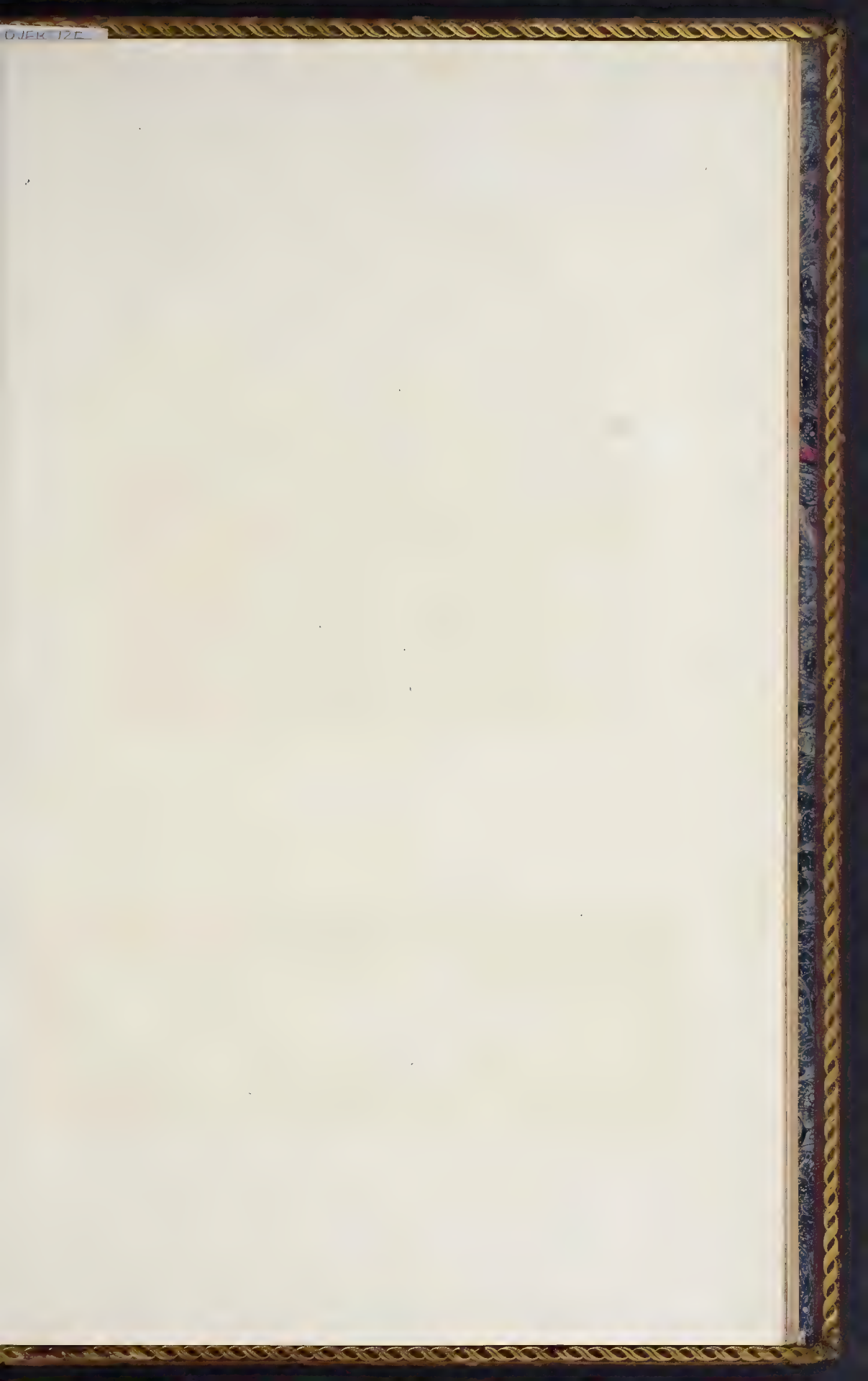
Clyff died

In the South transept of *Winchester* cathedral is a coffin-fashioned tomb of grey marble, having on the lid a cross florè of this shape and round the ledge in deep cut letters this inscription.

*Hic jacet Willielmus de Bafyng, quondam prior
istius ecclesiæ, cujus animæ propitiatur Deus.
& qui pro anima ejus oraverit tres annos &
quingenta dies indulgentiæ percipiet.*

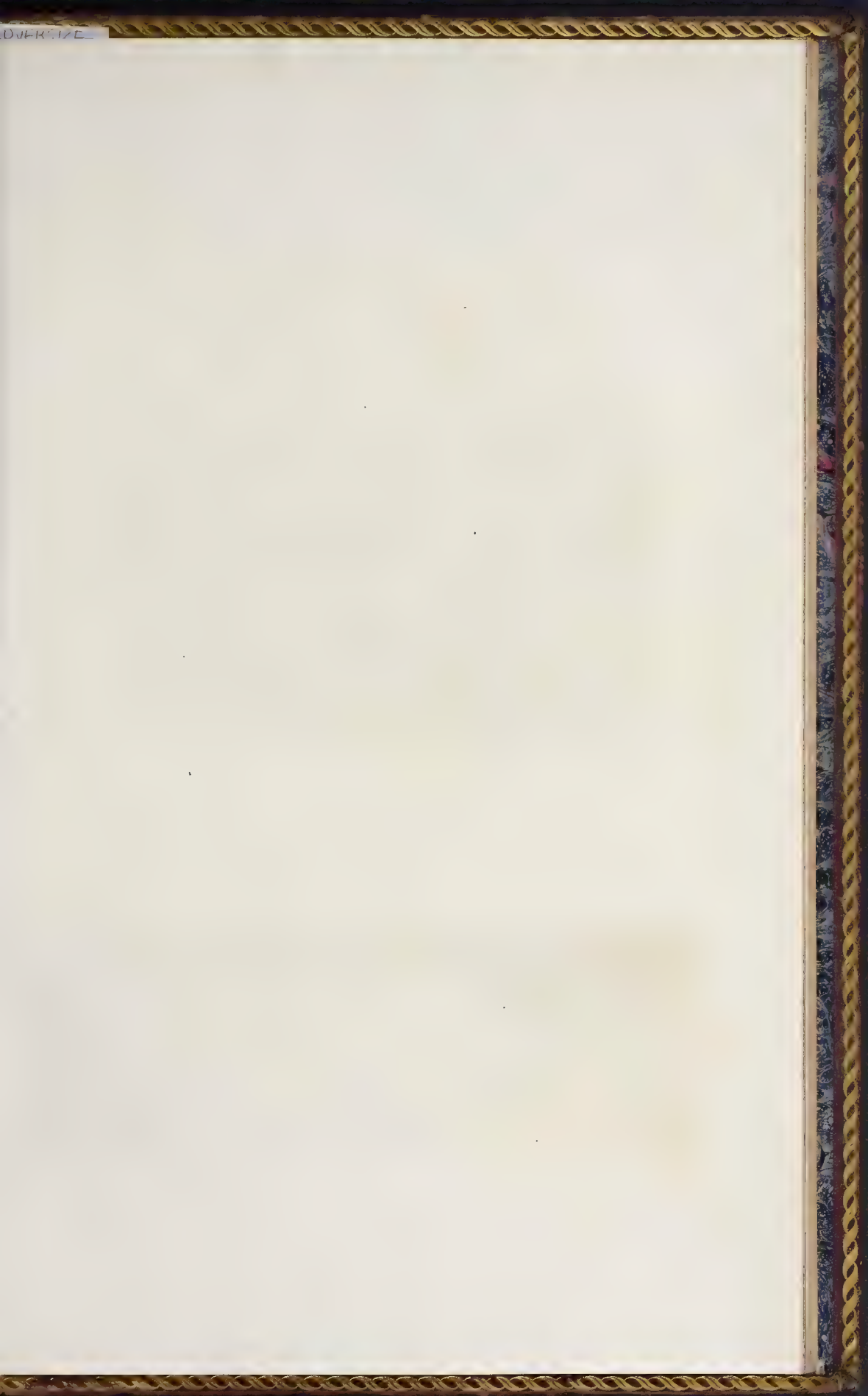
¹ Godwin. Lel. III. p. 89.

² Rudder's Gloucestershire, p. 747.



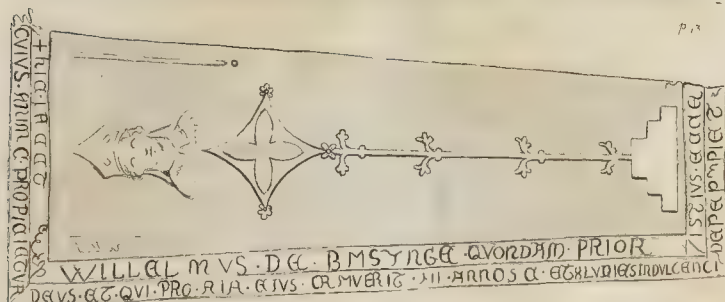


Monument of Eleanor, Queen of Edward I. 1290.





Portrait of a young woman, from the same collection.



Willis, and the Historians of Winchester, refer it to the second prior, of the name of WILLIAM DE BASING, who died 1295. His predecessor of both his names, who died 1284, is supposed to lie at his right hand in a plain tomb of the same materials without cross or inscription.

The plain altar-tomb in the south wall of the Lady-chapel, Salisbury, under 1284, an arch opening into Beauchamp's chapel, adorned with shields in quatrefoils, which some plans assign to bishop WIKHAMPTON, who died in 1289, is by Mr. Lethieullier more probably ascribed to some of bishop BEAUCHAMP's family, of whom hereafter. It is not unlikely that the mistake arose from Leland's placing bishop Wikehampton at the right hand of bishop Longespee. It is most probable he means that both Wikehampton and Brandeston (who died 1287) were covered by marble slabs.

The church of Westminster received additional embellishment 1290 from the tomb of queen ELEANOR, consort of Edward I. Her figure is of copper gilt, on a tablet of the same. Her left hand laid lightly on her breast holds her collar; while her right falls gracefully on her drapery, and perhaps held her sceptre. Her head is adorned with a coronet of fleurs-de-lis and trefoils, under which her hair falls in ringlets down her neck. Her drapery consists of a close mantle, the latter spreading from her shoulders, and meeting again about her gown and knees, overruns her feet. Under her head are two cushions enamelled with lions and castles, and at her feet two lions, one of which has been almost covered by the building of Henry V's chapel. Over her head a canopy nich of the same metal, the corner part of which has been torn away, as appears by two holes remaining in the table.

Sandford says, that her statue on her cross at Waltham resembled this. It is certainly a delicate figure of a beautiful lady.

The tomb is of Suffolk marble, charged with the arms of England, Castile and Leon quarterly, and Ponthieu¹, each twice repeated, hanging from oak leaves, in demiquatrefoil arches, whose pediments and fynials are lightly frosted and terminated with foliage. The same style of ornament appears to the shields on the tomb and the cross.

¹ Trin. III. 63.

² On the south side England, Castile and Leon, Ponthieu, each twice. At the head England. On the north side Ponthieu, Castile and Leon. England, Ponthieu, Castile and Leon. England.

On the edge of the copper table, which is enamelled with lions, and the arms of England and Castile in lozenges, is this inscription, in capitals of the time,

ICI GYST ALIANOR JADIS ROYNE DE ENGLETERE FEMME AL RE EDEWERD
FIZ LE R
OVNTIF. DEL ALME DE LI DEV PVR SA PITE EYT MERCI*.

Over all is a wooden canopy, the ceiling of 14 compartments. On the north side was painted a sepulchre, with two monks at the feet, and at the head an armed knight and the Virgin Mary; the tomb and figures in robes and armour at its head, two or three just visible; the figures at feet, one with a scroll, just visible; the rest hid by the monument of Esther de la Tour de Governet. Over it, on the lower ledge of the tomb, in modern black capitals, this line, now entirely defaced, except the words in Roman and the date.

Regina Alianora, conjors Edwardi primi fuit Alianora, 1298. Disce mori.

Camden and Weever add two long rhyming epitaphs, in Latin and English, which were probably painted or inscribed on appendant tablets.

This princess was only child to Ferdinand III. king of Castile, by his second wife daughter of John earl of Ponthieu, and paternal sister to Alphonso his successor in the crown of Castile. She was married to Edward I. when prince, and only fifteen years old, at Bures in Spain, 1254, 39 Henry III. was crowned with him, and lived 36 years the partner of his troubles and expeditions even into the Holy Land. The story of her saving his life by sucking the poison out of the wound given him by a Saracen assassin is first quoted by Camden², from Roderic archbishop of Toledo, who, as himself tells us, wrote his history in 1243, which was twenty years before this event happened; nor could bishop Tanner find it in that history.

Hemingford³ expressly says, that the grand master of the temple immediately sent the prince plenty of precious drugs to stop the progress of the poison; but a mortification being apprehended an English physician undertook to cut out the bad flesh, in the presence of the nobility and the princess, who, not being able to stand the operation, the prince ordered Edmund and John de Vesev to lead her out, who told her it was better she should weep than all England. Wikes⁴ only says he was healed *by the grace of Christ*. Edward's affection for his comfort wants no embellishment or inducement of this sort. The monuments erected by him to her memory, on the places where her corpse rested in its progress from Herdby in Lincolnshire to Westminster, no less than thirteen in number, of which only three now remain, are so many memorials of conjugal love unparalleled in any other kingdom⁵. He had by her seventeen children, five sons and twelve daughters. He remained a widower nine years, after which, in 1299, he took to his second wife Margaret sister of Philip Le Bel, and eldest daughter of Philip le Hardi king of France, with whom he lived eight years, and by whom he had three children. She survived him ten years, and dying 1317, was buried in the Grey Friars of her own foundation at London. This heroic prince is celebrated by all historians as a pattern of chastity; and it is remarkable that we find no natural children of his on record.

* Dart omits the last line.

² Britannia, Middlesex.

³ P. 591. dedit ei pretiosa quæque libere ne infusum venenum noceret, & ne in interiora ascenderet.

⁴ P. 97.

⁵ In the church of villa que fuit corpus præfærent justit rex crucem cum tabulatu erigi ad regine memoriam ut a transfunditur pro corpore suo accepto, et in qua cruce fecit imaginem regine depingi. Walsingham, Ypod. Neustria, p. 477.

Hill, p. 55. Hemingford, p. 21. mentions only those at Charing and Westminster. He adds, "that the king every Wednesday for a whole year 'ad quemcumque locumve diceretur,' gave a penny apiece to all the poor that came

for it: and at the end of the year settled a certain revenue on the abbey at Westminster, to celebrate her anniversary, and distribute the like dole therein."

The king returned back in great grief from his expedition into Scotland, to accompany the funeral of his beloved consort.

When the corpse reached St. Alban's it was met at the town's end by St. Michael's church by the whole convent, in their copes, who conducted it to the high altar, where they attended it the whole night, celebrating the proper offices. From thence it moved to town, where the king, nobles, and bishops met it, and after embalment it was deposited in the church of Westminster with all due reverence and honor.

Our old historians do not deal in characters; but Walsingham¹ says of this princess, "Fuerat hæc regina dicta Alienora, soror Aldefonsi regis Castilie, nobilis genere, sed *multo nobilior morum gravitate*." And elsewhere² he says, the king lamented her loss as long as he lived, ordaining perpetual masses and alms for her soul in divers parts of the kingdom; for she was a woman of great piety, moderation, and tenderness, fond of the English, and as it were the pillar of the realm. In her time foreigners did not pester England, nor were the subjects oppressed by the king's officers, if the least complaint came by any means to her ears. She administered comfort to the distressed every where, as her rank enabled, and reconciled to the best of her power all who were at variance.

The two epitaphs before mentioned celebrate the political advantages of her alliance with Edward, and conclude with saying that she was *consilio prudens, pia*.

It has been generally supposed that the place where she died, of a slow fever³, was in Lincolnshire. Wikes says at *Grantbam*. Bishop Gibson placed it near Bolingbroke, and at the head of the river Witham⁴. Walsingham⁵ expressly puts it at Herdeby *juxta Lincolniam*. It is in the parish of North Clifton, on the Trent, in Nottinghamshire, five miles from Lincoln, where was a villa⁶, and chapel of ease to that parish, which is one of the prebends of Lincoln. The king founded a chantry in Herdeby chapel, which her son afterwards removed into Lincoln cathedral⁷, where her bowels were buried under the East

¹ Ypod. Neutr. p. 477.

² "Fuerat nempe mulier pia, modesta, misericors, Anglicorum amatric omnium, & velut columna totius regni. Cujus temporibus alienigenæ Angliam non gravabant, incolæ nullatenus per regulas opprimebantur si ad aures ejus vel minima querela oppressiõis aliquoties pervenisset. Tristes ubique prout dignitas sua promittebat consolabatur, & discordes ad concordiam quantum potuit reducebat." Hist. Angl. p. 54.

³ *Medice febris ignivola contabescit.* Wikes, p. 121.

Corporis gravi infirmitate correpta. Trivet, p. 268.

She died 5 kal. Dec. 1290. M. Westm. 381. Weever 464. Sanford 129. 4 kal. Dec. Wikes, 121. Lel. Col. I. 461. Carte II. 208. Rymer II. 498.

⁴ Britannia in Lincolnshire.

⁵ Hist. Ang. p. 54. Ypod. Neutr. 477. In the latter place it is misprinted Herdeley.

⁶ Sandford, p. 29. says, "she died in the house of one William Weston, at Herdeby, c. Nott."

⁷ Pat. 19 E. I.

"Rex venerandæ religionis viro abbati Cluniacensi salutem & dilectionem in Christo sinceram. Deus omnium conditor & creator, qui celsissimi profunditate consilii ordinat, vocat, disponit, & revocat subiectas sue providentiæ creaturas, serenissimam confortem nostram Alienoram quondam reginam Angliæ ex regali ortu progenie 4 kal. Decembris de presenti seculo (quod vobis non sine multa mentis amaritudine aunciamus) sicut sibi placuit advocavit. Cum itaque dictam confortem nostram, quam vivam esse dileximus, mortuam non desinamus amare, ac opus sanctum & salubre juxta divine scripture sententiam censetur pro defunctis ut a peccatorum solvantur nexibus exorare, paternam carissimam vestram affectionem precibus duximus exorandam & instantius implorandam, quatenus ipsius confortis nostræ exequiis communi devotione solemniter provocantes animam ejus cum decantatione missarum & aliis ecclesiasticis sacramentis Deo vivo qui aures spirituum principum specialiter recommendatis; adjuvantes eandem, ac etiam facientes a prioribus, monachis, clericis, & aliis vestris subditis in sacramentorum suffragiis, elemosinis, ceterisque operibus caritatis salubriter adjuvari; ut si quid macule non purgate in ipsa forsan oblivioni defectu vel alio modo remanent per utilia orationum vestrarum præsidia juxta divine misericordie plenitudinem abstergatur. Quæsumus igitur ut de missarum & aliorum suffragiorum hujusmodi numero quæ pro præfata confortis nostræ decreveritis faciendi pro vestras literas nos curetis reddere certiores, ut ex hoc metire possimus ad quales quantasque grates & gratias ob præmissa devotioni vestræ teneri merito debeamus. Dat. ap. Atherugge 4 die Januarii."

"Cantaria pro anima Alienoræ quondam reginæ Angliæ confortis illustrissimi domini Edwardi regis Angliæ in capella de Herdeby in parochia prebende de Clifton com. Nott. et Ebor. dioc. ubi præfata d'na regina diem clausit extremum, de uno capellano prefatando quociens vacaverit per decanum & capitulum Lincoln D'no Archiep'o Ebor. vel ejus vicegerenti, qui quidem capellanus percipiet annis singulis centum solidos pro manus prebendarii de Clifton, qui recipiet de co'a annis singulis decem marcas, & inveniet eidem capellano panem, vinum, calicem, missale, luminaria, vestimenta, & cætera ornamenta altari necessaria, necnon & hospitium conveniens atque locum; & sustentabit suis sumptibus præmissa. Dat. 12 kal. Junii, A. D. 1293." Liber de ordinand. cantar. fol. 1, 2, a. and L. 148, a. "Postea vero, sc. die Martii 30 septimana Pasche A. D. 1300, hæc cantaria translatæ sunt et ordinatæ in ecclesiâ cathedrali Lincoln ad altare Cei Joannis ubi viscera præfate reginæ jacent humata." Ex antiquo reg'ro A. primus notato in archivis Dec. & Capit. Linc. F. 32, b.—N. B. Hæc cantaria ordinata fuit per Dec. & Cap. eo quod rex Edw' I. non solum dedit eis e marcas argentum ut prefatur, sed etiam concessit manerium de Navenby libere possidendum, statuto de terris in mortuum manum non ponendis non obliante." This payment of ten marks is to this day made by the Dean and Chapter to the curate of Herdeby chapel.

window under a sumptuous marble cenotaph, or altar monument, whereon was a queen's effigy, at full length, of gilded brass, according to bishop Sanderfon's account printed in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa* VIII. 1. "This tomb stood close with the feet to the wall, and North to the tomb of — On the marble on the South were 3 escutcheons." Mr. Peck rightly apprehended these escutcheons were, 1. England, 2. Castile and Leon quarterly, 3. Ponthieu. This inscription was on the edge, inlaid in brass:

✠ DIL: SVNT: SEPVLTA: VILERA: ALIANORE: QVONDAM: REINE:
VXORIS: RELIS: EDVARDI: FILII: RELIS: BENRILI: EVJVS: ANIQE: PRO-
PILICTVR: DEVS: AMEN: ✠ PATER: NOSTER.

So it remained 1641.

It shared the fate of many others in the civil war; but there still remains a beautiful fragment of the chapel in which it stood, at the East end of the choir. The position assigned it in the plan prefixed to Browne Willis' account of this cathedral is on the South side of what is there called Robert Lord Badlesmere's tomb. It is described there p. 6. as having "her effigies in brass, exactly like that on her monument in Westminster-abbey. See the draught of it in Sandford, and the inscription in the same author." There are no traces left in the pavement on this spot of any monument having stood here, except a sort of rise or foot pace in front of the Badlesmere tomb, which, from the tooling off of a corner, seems to have been carried higher there; but if it had been raised, it must have entirely hid the arms on that monument, which certainly must have been open, at least at its first putting up. Almost close adjoining to this projecting kind of foot-pace (not vastly unlike the bench kind of seat carried along the other monument, and indeed the church itself) are two recent grave-stones of 1757 and 1759. If the Queen's tomb had remained so late as bishop Reynolds's time, at whose expence Willis's ichnography is said to have been taken, it must have existed within the memory of some persons now living.

The king gave the dean and chapter 100 marks more to support this chantry, whereby they purchased the manor of Navenby, a market town near Lincoln; which maner is still enjoyed by the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln.

Her heart was buried in the church of the Friars Preachers at London.

The crosses erected to her memory were at *Herdby, Lincoln, Newark, Leicester, Geddington, Northampton, Stoney Stratford, Dunstable, St. Alban's, Waltham, Cheapside, Charing*, and by *Westminster*. Peck adds three more, at *Grantham, Stamford, and Woburne*. Of these now remain only those at *Northampton, Geddington, and Waltham*. How this latter place came to be a station between St. Alban's and London is not easy to conceive; but the cross actually existing puts it out of doubt that it was so.

ELEANOR, mother of Edward I. died the same year, on Midsummer-day, at Ambresbury, where she had lived a nun nineteen years. Her son being in Scotland, she was kept unburied till the Lady-day following, "*myrrba tamen et aromaticis pretiosis limba magnifice ut decuit et peruncta*." She was then buried with due pomp, her son affixing, in *Ambresbury* monastery church. Her heart in the church of the Friars minors, at London.

¹ Walsingham, Hist. Angl. 551. Wikes, 123.

² "Grantham and Stamford were stages. Mr. Howgrave says there was a Queen's cross at Stamford; and the like is affirmed of Grantham, and that it stood in the open place in the London road: and I saw a stone carved with foliage work, and said to be part of it, and I believe it, seeming of that sort of work. If so, then Newark and Leicester must be left out, and they travelled with the Queen's corpse by way of Oundle to Geddington from Stamford. I suppose the present London road from Stamford being unpassable, or not having at that time royal seats, manors, or abbeys, by the way sufficient to entertain the cavalcade. Mr. Peck, in his *Stamford Annals*, asserts Grantham and Stamford to be two of the stages, and where crosses were erected: no doubt that at Grantham stood in the open London road, before my neighbour Hacket's house, called Peterchurch-hill, and the people have some memory of it. Camden, who doubtless had seen them, in his *Remains*, p. 116, inserts Grantham and Stamford." Mr. Peck puts in Woburne, between Dunstable and St. Albans, on what authority I know not. Geddington was a manor of the king's. (V. Reg. hominis Richmond, p. 280.) Stukeley It. Cur. I. 34. 36. 2d edit.

³ Ann. Waverl. p. 242. Wikes, 123.

Tradition buries WILLIAM DE LA CORNER, bishop of *Salisbury*, who died 1296. 1290, in the middle of the choir, nearly under the eagle.

In the door-way of the Lady-chapel at *Salisbury*, and under its screen, is 1291. a monstrous blue slab of two stones 16 feet 8 inches long¹ by 7 feet 8 inches broad, full of traces of brass canopy work, which seems to have belonged to bishop NICHOLAS DE LONGESPEE, son of the earl before mentioned, p. 41, who died 1297. It is thus described by Godwin²: "Prope patrem jacet sepultus iuxta ingressum capellæ B. Mariæ saxo ingenti marmoreo contextus, laminis æreis & familiæ suæ insignibus affabrè ornato." Leland³, without fixing the spot where it is, gives the following inscription on it, or rather perhaps account of it.

"Sub hoc lapide marmoreo desuper insculpto humatum est corpus reverendi patris Nicolai Longespe, quondam Sarum episcopi, qui plurima huic consuli ecclesie, et obiit 18 mens. Maii, A. D. 1291⁴. ex cuius parte australi jacet Robertus Wicbamtan, ex parte boreali Henricus Brandeburn requiescit."

The monument of archbishop PECKHAM, who died 1292, and was buried 1292. in the north transept of the nave at *Canterbury*, is another instance of correspondence in style with those of Edmund Crouchback and Valence. The altar-tomb is adorned with the images of nine bishops, in their habits, with croziers and mitres, and the pillars of the arch with eight more; the arch is radiated like that of Valence, and the moulding both of arch and pediment foliaged, and in the pediment a rich rose in a sexfoil and circle. The figure of the archbishop is of oak, in pontificalibus, on a slab of oak, very sound, though almost 500 years old, if originally made for this tomb, which, says Mr. Gostling⁵, some have doubted. I know not on what authority, since other oak figures occur in churches, and those of simple knights would scarce be received.

In *Narburgh* church, Norfolk, is a half statue of a lady, a foot long, her 1293. head dress antique, and her hands holding a heart on her breast. Inscription

DOMINA: ALATDA: A: NARBOROVICH.

A MS. account temp. Eliz. mentions her 1293⁶.

Next follows the elegant monument of AVELINE countess of LANCASTER, wife of Edmund Crouchback, on the North side of the choir at Westminster. Mr. Dart, for reasons best known to himself, has thought fit to engrave only the altar part of it, which is the most inconsiderable part; and Sandford, with Hollar's assistance, has not done the rest justice. The figure of the Countess, worthy a Grecian sculptor, and the finishing of the arch above, with its foliage, and enamelled blazonry, were reserved for the hand of Mr. Bafire; and I congratulate the Society of Antiquaries on the fortunate opportunity of having this perfect model of monumental architecture taken before it was closed up again. It is with the utmost reluctance I cast this reflection on the members of the chapter at Westminster in 1776. It had been shut up from the area by the tomb of bishop Duppa, 1662; which gave place, 1772, to that of Lord Ligonier; where the chubby muse of modern history, surrounded with drum, blunderbus, and thunder, and leaning against a pyramid, hung round with

¹ Hearne describes a slab 9 feet long at Aldworth, Berks, which he refers to the time of Edward III. Roper's *Mores*, p. 248.

² Ed. Richards, p. 247.

³ It. III. 46.

⁴ A mistake for 1297. All after the date, though given in Hearne as part of the epitaph, seems rather to be the words of Leland.

⁵ P. 120.

⁶ Bloomf. *Norfol.* III. 470.

medallions of three Georges, his Lordship's masters, holds forth his victories on a scroll, and has his head in a rondeau at her feet.

1295. On the north side of the chancel at *Earl's Colne*, c. Essex, is an altar-tomb of freestone, embattled, the table of grey marble. In double compartments in front are the apostles; St. Peter only distinguishable at the head, the other defaced, perhaps St. Paul and St. Thomas. A freestone figure in armour, cross-legged, once, as well as the whole monument, richly painted and gilded, his arms broken, lies on the tomb; a round helmet on his head, under which are remains of angels: at his feet a boar, very well preserved. Between each pair of apostles a three-sided tabernacle, with purled frontons, and in the spandrels shields and birds.

This is the monument of ROBERT VERE, fifth earl of Oxford, who married Alice daughter of Gilbert de Samford, and died 24 Edward I.

The workmanship of the tomb far excels those of his predecessors. Monuments in many churches in England began about this to be made more splendid than those of the foregoing ages. That noble one erected by Edward I. to his father in Westminster-abbey might perhaps be one cause of introducing this taste.

The arms on this tomb ascertain the true owner. They are as follow:

At the head 3 lions. *England.*

O. a lion rampant G. *Isabella* heiress to Walter de Bolebec, grandmother to this earl.

At the feet *Vere*, fingle.

Arg. 3 fesses wavy. *Alice* daughter and heiress to Gilbert de Samford, and wife to this earl.

On the South side Q. *Samford.*

G. a lion rampant O. as at the head.

Vere.

Two fesses G. and 5 torteaux in chief.

Vere, with a label of five points, probably the bearing of his eldest son.

Vere, in a border engrailed S. This was the coat of *Hugh* his second son, as on his seal to the baron's letter to the pope.

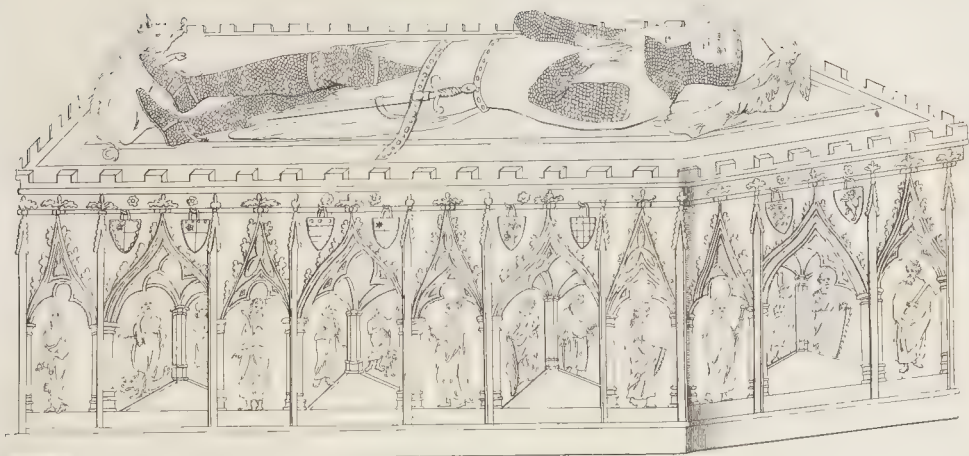
The arms on the North side, now fixed against the wall, were exactly the same as on the South. They are all taken from a MS. description, accompanying Daniel King's draught, made 1653, and now in Mr. Walpole's possession, by whose favour it is here exhibited, Pl. XXIV, and under it a sketch of the same monument, taken by Mr. Tyfon, 176.

This tomb was removed, at the dissolution, from the priory chapel, into the parish church, and placed in the middle of the chancel, but was a second time finally removed as it now stands against the North wall of the chancel.

1295. The monument of URIEN DE ST. PIERE, who died 1295, 23 Edward I. was discovered 1765, on removing some rubbish in the church-yard, near *St. Pere*, the seat of Morgan Lewis, Esq. in Monmouthshire, on the Severn, a little South of Chepstow. It is a coffin-fashioned stone, with a cross in relief and by its side a long sword. Round the ledge is cut this inscription in Saxon capitals.

ICI GIT LE CORS V DE SENE PERE
PREEZ PVR LI EN BONE MANERE
PE IESV PVR SA PAISVN
DE PDECEZ LI DONC PARDVN. AMEN. RP.

Pl XXIV, 60



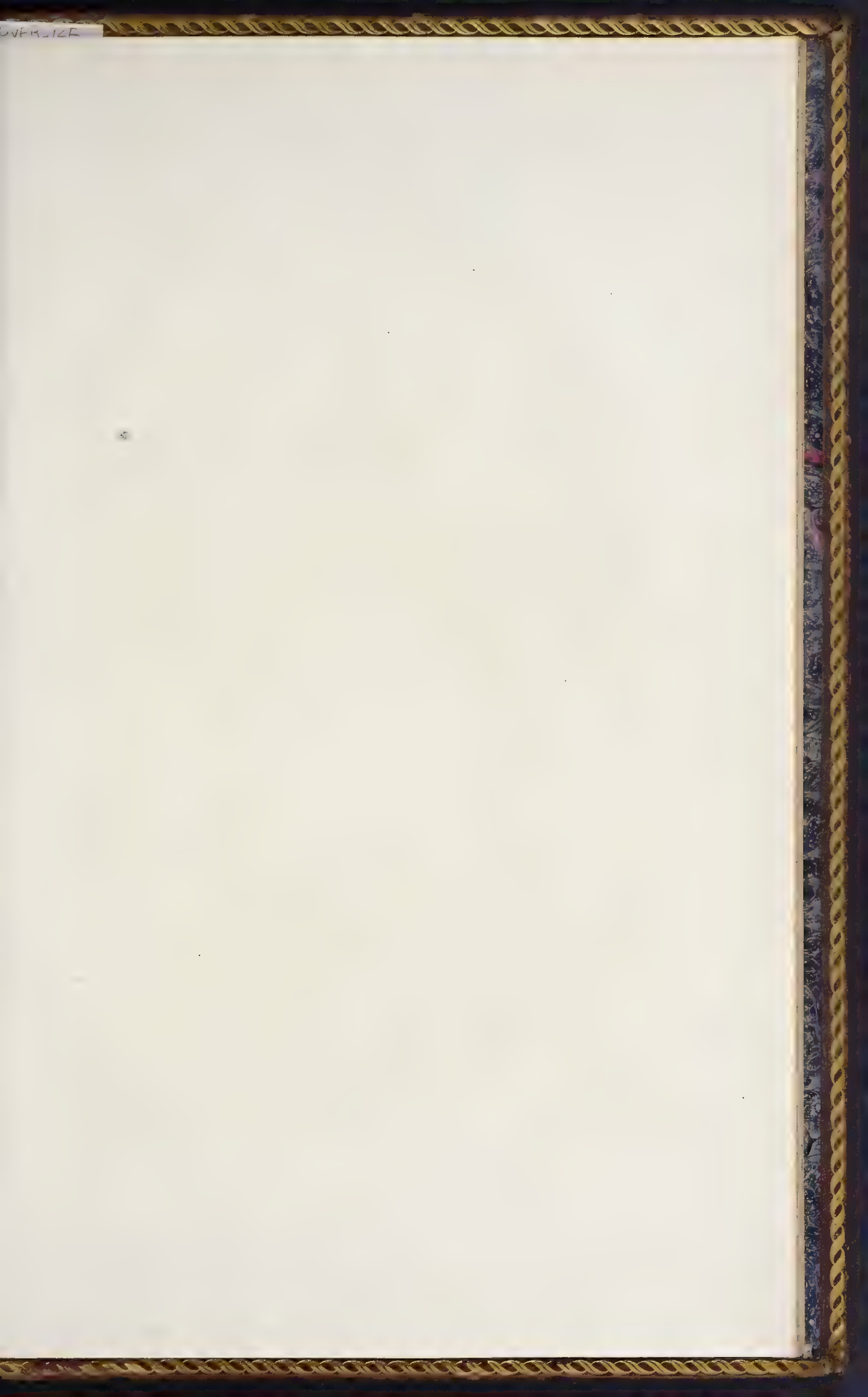
S.E. View

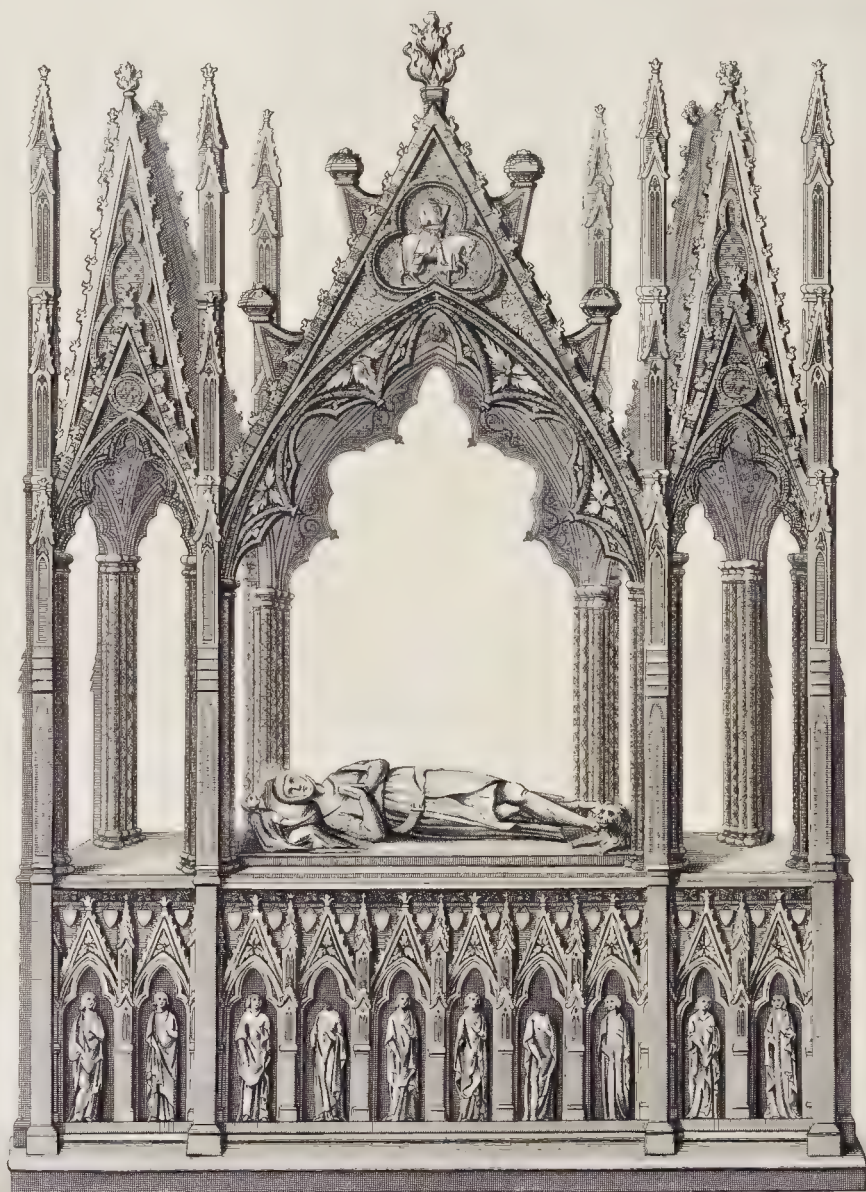
Pl XXV, 61

W. Side

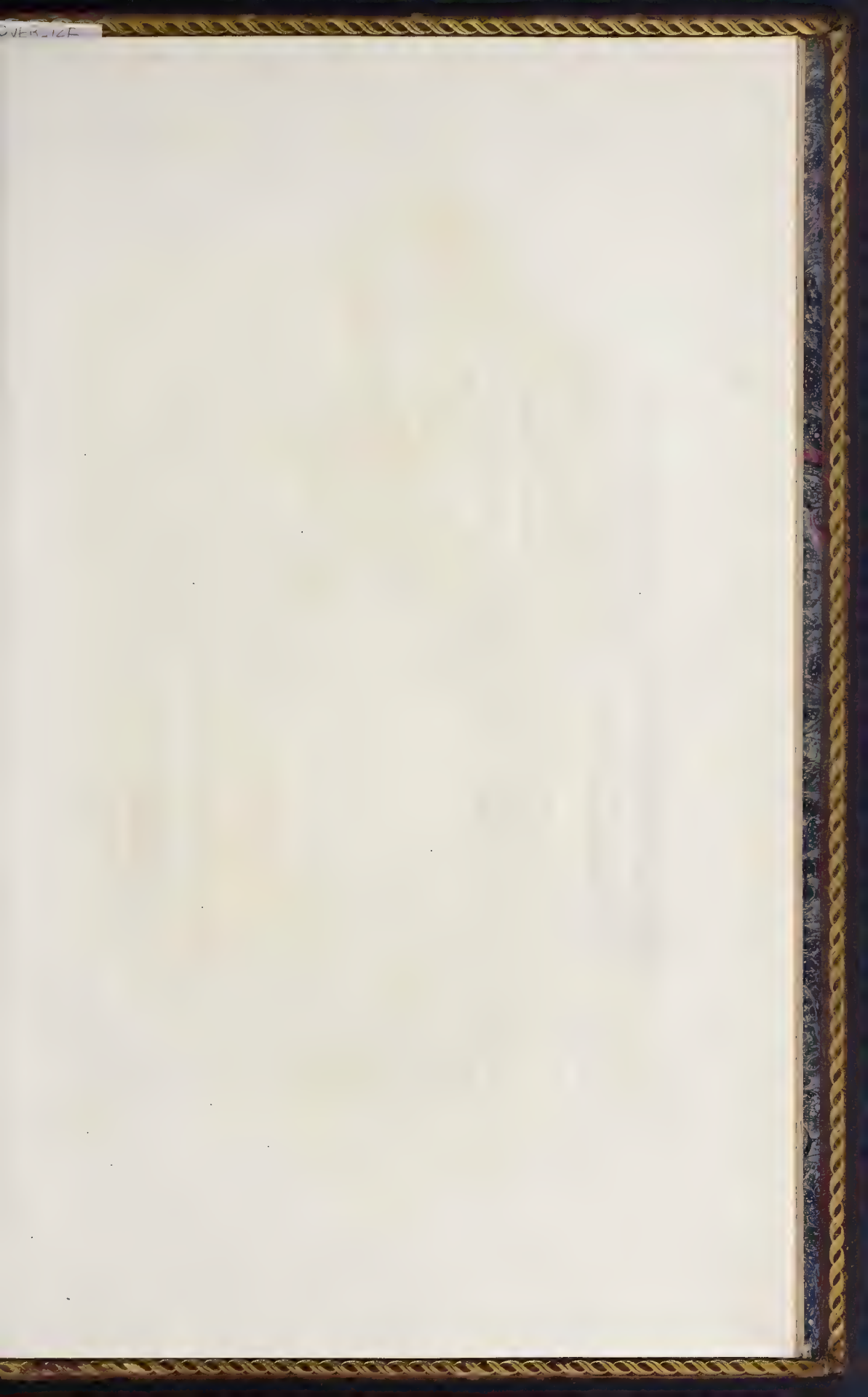


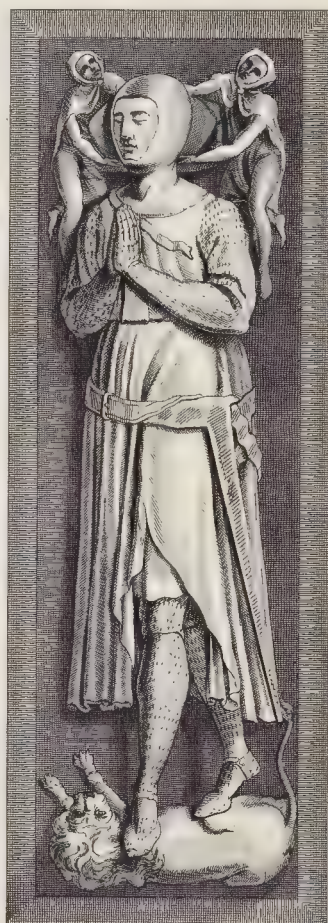
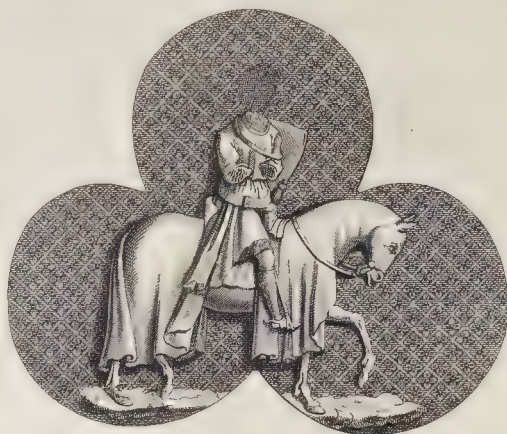
Monument of ROBERT VERE, 5th Earl of Oxford
1596





Monument of Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster 1296





Edmund Crouchback.

So it is given by Mr. Strange'. But the first word in the third line, PE, is probably miscopied for kE. In PpECCZ the h may be added by mistake, for some scratch or mark, or a mis-spelling of the stone-cutter, and in that line DONC is probably DONE. The two last letters, if intended for *Priez*, are much out of place. Q. If not rather miscopied for P. N. *Pater Noster*; which words alone, or with *Ave*, are no unusual conclusion of old epitaphs. The blank after the V seems to have afforded room for VR or VRIEN. SENE may rather be SENC.

The party whose remains were covered by this stone was a knight, who lived in the reign of king Henry III. and left behind him at his death by his wife Margaret a son of his own name 16 years of age. He also was a knight, and had issue John de St. Pere, who succeeded his father 8 Edward III. and was the last heir male of his family. His sister and heiress Isabel married Sir Walter de Cokesey, knight, who died 30 Edward III. and she died 6 Henry IV.

Mr. Pegge, to whom a neat drawing of this and another stone found with it was sent by Mr. Perry of Liverpoole, which he inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1765, Vol. XXXV. p. 72, supposed the other stone, adorned with a cross fleure held by a hand, and having birds and beasts at its sides, covered Margaret. There being no criteria to assist us in assigning it, it may as well have belonged to any other person; for the 10 pellets at the top, which my worthy friend supposed alluded to her husband's arms, are very doubtful.

The husband of Aveline, EDMUND earl of LANCASTER, second son of king 1296. Henry III. born, as Matthew Paris¹ 1245, as Wykes² 1244, vulgarly called *Crouchback*³, q. d. *Croftback*, from his having been signed with the cross for a crusade, 54 Henry III⁴, has a no less splendid tomb than that of his consort from which it is separated only by that of Aymer de Valence earl of Pembroke, who lies at her feet. In this monument I know not which most to admire; the free-stone figure of the earl in armour laid on one side towards the choir, with a round helmet, coat of mail, and surcoat, hands joined, long sword, hilt and shield gone, legs crossed, and butting against a lion⁵, his head supported by angels; the elegant little statues at the sides, ten on each, representing his alliances, or the airy triple canopy, with all its finials, frostings, statues, enamelling, emblazonry, and other elegant decorations, and above all, the bold beautiful relief in a trefoil in the larger pediment of the earl on horseback, habited as hereafter, holding his shield, his horse trapped armorially.

The canopy of stone over this tomb consists of three trefoil pointed arches, one in the centre, and one lesser on each side of it. Each of these arches is surmounted by a double pediment, separated from the arches by a pilaster, which slopes back in three several stories, and is painted white, chequered with double red lines, in every other square of which is a red cinquefoil (the

¹ Archæol. V. p. 76, 77.

² P. 635.

³ Not as Vincent contends from his figure, and that the epithet of *Gibbous* is given him in all records. The defect in his shape is expressly denied by Harding, c. 127, and one may justly doubt the insertion of sobriquets in public records. Sandford, p. 103, says he had this name from the *bowing of his back*; but presently adds, "Others say he was so denominated from his wearing a cross (antiently called a *crouch*) upon his back, which was usually worn by such as vowed voyages to Jerusalem, as he had done 54 Henry III. grounding their conceits upon the word *crouch* (the wooden supporter of impotent and lame men, made like a cross at the top) further confirming their opinion from the name of *Crouched-friars*, that wore a cross upon their garments, and bore the cross for the badge and arms of their house."

⁴ Pat. 54 Hen. III. m. 8. when Wykes (Chron. 86.) says, 107 persons *caractere crucis humeris fuit adornabatur*. See Dugd. I. 473. Knighton, 2438.

⁵ Not *two*, as in Dart's Print.

two uppermost slopes serving as a base to a pointed flowered niche) and terminates in a rich purfled finial. The mouldings at the four angles, or weatherings, of the lesser pediments, as well as the two of the greater, are decorated with bunches of oak leaves, and from among those of the centre pediment project four brackets, which originally supported as many angels, whole length, in a standing posture, as expressed in Sandford's print. Each pediment terminates in a bouquet of oak leaves. The ground of the large pediments is painted of a dark blue sprinkled with golden fleurs de lis. The spandrils and interstices have also been painted with plain grounds, or foliage, and the arch work of the pilasters inlaid with pieces of blue and red stained glass, set in so firm a cement that it is not easy to dislodge the smallest piece without cracking it. Within the point of the lesser pediments are carved in high relief a bunch of oak leaves issuing from a stalk, and a head of an animal surrounded by foliage, bearing some distant resemblance to the modern cherub with six wings. The inside or ceiling of the canopy was a sky with stars, in gold, on a blue ground, by time changed into a dull red; and within the leaves of the trefoil of the arch were painted the vine tendrils and elegant foliage as on Aveline's monument.

The inside of the weatherings of all the six pediments are painted and gilt in distemper, with coats of arms, in oblong squares, those on the centre or large pediment, which has nineteen on each side, being divided by a red square charged with a sixfoil. They seem to have been the arms principally of the royal houses to which the earl was allied, as those on the lesser pediments are of the principal nobility of the time when he lived, who were probably his particular friends, and accompanied him in the wars. On the West or right side of the centre pediment, beginning at the bottom, and going upwards to the finial, are the following coats.

1. G a fess between 6 crofs crofslets Or. *Beauchamp* earl of *Warwick*.
2. O. 3 bendlets Az. a bordure G. *Pontbieu*. The arms of the Countess of *Pontbieu*, mother of queen *Eleanor*, *Crouchback's* sister-in-law.
3. O. a lion rampant Az. *Redvers* earl of *Devon*, the family of the mother of *Aveline de Fortibus*, his first Countess.
4. A. a lion G. quartering S. a lion rampant O.
5. as 2. *Pontbieu*.
6. O. a spread eagle S. *Frederick II. Emperor of Germany*, who married *Isabel* daughter of king *John*, *Crouchback's* aunt.
7. O 4 palets G. *Eleanor of Provence*, *Crouchback's* mother.
8. 3 lions of England with a bendlet Az. *The arms used by John first son of Henry II. afterwards king*. Mr. Brooke rather takes this coat to be that of *Henry of Monmouth*, *Crouchback's* second son, afterwards earl of *Lancaster*, who probably might erect the monument.
9. Quarterly of 4, 1 & 4 G. a castle Or. 2 & 3 A. a lion rampant P. *Castile* quartering *Leon*.
10. 3 lions. *England*, with a label of 5 points, Az. each charged with 3 fleurs de lis Or. *Crouchback's* own arms.
11. O. a Lion rampant S.
12. *Crouchback*, as before.
13. *Germany*, as before.
14. *England*.
15. *Pontbieu*.
16. *Castile* and *Leon*.
17. Az. fessée of fleurs-de-lis Or. *Old France*.
18. *England*.
19. *Old France*.

On the East or left side, beginning at the bottom, and going upwards to the finial.

1. & 4. *Pontbieu*, as 5 on the West.
2. O. a lion rampant Az. *Redvers*.
3. The 4 lions rampant quarterly as 4 on the West.
5. *Germany*.
6. *Provence*.
7. *Henry of Monmouth*.
8. *Castile and Leon*.
9. *England* under a label of 5. *Crouchback*.
10. O. the lion rampant G. as before.
11. *England* with the label of 5. *Crouchback*.
12. *Germany*.
13. *England*.
14. O. 4 pallets in a border G. *Provence*; the bordure probably added on account of that family being a younger branch of the house of *Aragon*.
15. as 1. *Pontbieu*.
16. Quarterly, the 4 lions rampant, as before.
17. *England*.
18. *Old France*.
19. *England*.

On the innermost weatherings of the lesser Eastern pediment from the bottom to the finial, the oblong shields are divided by Sable squares charg'd with cinquefoils Or. peirc'd.

1. O. 2 bends G. Baron *Sudley*.
2. O. a lion rampant B. Baron *Percy*.
3. O. 2 bars G. in chief 3 torteaux. Baron *Wake*.
4. Quarterly A. & G. in 2d & 3d fretty O. over all a bendlett S. *Despencer*, earl of *Winchester*.
5. O. a lion rampant Az. *Redvers*.
6. Quarterly O. and G. *Mandeville* earl of *Essex*.
7. O. 3 chevrons G. *Clare* earl of *Gloucester*.
8. A. a lion rampant G. crowned Or, in a bordure S. bezantè. *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, *Crouchback's* uncle.
9. *England*.

Returning down the opposite weathering, from the finial.

1. *Mandeville*.
2. Chequé O. & Az. Earl *Warren*.
3. O. a lion rampant Az. *Redvers* earl of *Devon*.
4. G. a fess between 10 crofs crofslets O. *Beauchamp* earl of *Warwick*.
5. O. a crofs G. *Bigot* earl of *Norfolk*.
6. G. a lion rampant O. *Fitz-Alan* earl of *Arundel*.
7. Lord *Wake*.
8. G. a fess between 6 martlets O. *Beauchamp* baron of *Powick*.
9. O. a fess between 2 chevrons G. Baron *Fitz-Walter*.

On the outermost Eastern weatherings of this pediment, 8 on a side.

1. *Germany*.
2. Or, a maunch G. *Hastings* earl of *Pembroke*.

3. O.

3. O. lion rampant, Az. *Redvers*.
4. A. a bend between 6 martlets G. Lord *Furnival*.
5. Quarterly, per fess indented A. and G. Baron *Fitz-Warine*.
6. O. 3 bars G. The coat of *Alice de Romely*, Lady of *Skipton castle*, &c. co. *Ebor*. See Dugd. Bar. vol. I. p. 89. *Aveline de Fortibus*, the earl's first wife, was coheir-general to this lady, and as such inherited that castle, and other fair possessions.
7. *Furnival*.
8. Broken, but apparently has been a faltire between 12 crofs crofslets G.

Returning down on the correspondent or outermost western weathering from the finial.

1. *Aragon*, or *Provence*, as before.
2. G. a fess dancettè between 6 billets O. Lord *Beauchamp* of *Holt*.
3. Barry Nebulè O. & G. Lord *Lovell*.
4. Bendy of 6 O. & S.
5. *Redvers*.
6. *Hastings* earl of *Pembroke*.
7. *Fitzwalter*.
8. Lord *Sudley*.

The innermost weathering of the western lesser pediment is painted with the same arms exactly, placed in the same order as those in the eastern lesser pediment; but those on the outermost differ, and are as follow, beginning at the bottom on the right-hand, and going up to the finial.

1. Lord *Lovell*.
2. *Redvers*.
3. *Fitz-Walter*.
4. Gironny of 12 O. & S. *Roan* or *Raan*.
5. *Hastings*, earl of *Pembroke*.
6. *Sudley*.
7. O. a cheveron G. Lord *Stafford*.
8. *Germany*.

On the same weathering, going down the western side of this pediment.

1. *Mandeville* earl of *Effex*.
2. *Beauchamp* of *Holt*.
3. Barry of 8 O. & G. *Alice de Romely*, as before.
4. A. fretty &c on a chief S. 3 bezants. Baron *St. Amand*.
5. *Wake*.
6. *Hastings*.
7. *Sudley*.
8. Barry nebulè Or. & S. *Blount*.

All these shields appear to have been repeated on the South side.

The figure of the earl on the front of the pediment is a most beautiful and high finished relief, and represents him on horseback, armed in mail, and a furcoat, on the front and back of which are painted his arms; his helmet round and close up to his chin: his face animated and eyes open, expressing devotion, perhaps alluding to the Crusade he had just undertaken, his hands covered with mail elevated, his shield adorned with his arms hung round his neck, his scabbord also richly ornamented. His horse in a standing posture,

beautifully

beautifully dappled with brown and white spots under the belly, his face turned outwards, has the bridle on his neck, and is completely covered from head to foot, having the earl's arms on his caparison and on the back part of the saddle.

The southern side of the tomb given by Sandford is now closed up with the waincot of the choir, but the figures, arms over them, those on the weatherings, and the relief of the earl on horseback, appear just the same as those on the north side, except that when they were viewed by Mr. Brooke, May 19th, 1783, the whole had much more the appearance of damage and decay than the north side. This side is here engraved, Pl. XXV. XXVI.

The shields over the little figures on the south face of the tomb preserved in Hollar's print of it in Sandford will assist in ascertaining the persons they represent. They are, beginning from the West, and two over each figure, in the spandrels of its arch, as follow.

- { 1. *England* single. King *Henry III.*
- { 2. *England* under a label of 5 points. *Crouchback.*
- { 3. Quarterly, *Castile* and *Leon.* } Queen *Eleanor.*
- { 4. *Leon* single.
- { 5. Senè of fleurs de lis, under a label of 3 points, G. charged with as many castles. *Artois*; for *Blanch*, *Crouchback's* second wife, queen of *Navarre*, countess palatine of *Compeigne* and *Brie.*
- { 6. *England.*
- { 7. A lion rampant in a bordure bezantè. Earl of *Cornwall.*
- { 8. 4 pallets. *Provence.*
- { 9. A cross patonce vairè. *Aveline* daughter of *William de Forzibus*, *Crouchback's* first wife.
- { 10. *England* under a label of 5 points, Az. each charged with three fleurs de lis, Or. *Crouchback.*
- { 11. Paly of 6 a bend vairè.
- { 12. A spread eagle. *Frederick II.* emperor of *Germany.*
- { 13. Barry of 8, A & G. 10 martlets, S. *Chaworth.*
- { 14. *England*, under the former label.
- { 15. *England* debruised by a bend. *Henry of Monmouth*, the earl's second son.
- { 16. *Castile* and *Leon.*
- { 17. Three bendlets within a bordure. *Pontbieu.*
- { 18. *Leon.*
- { 19. *Provence.*
- { 20. Paly of 6, a bend vairè as 10. In Hollar's plate the bend appears charged with 3 eaglets.

The shields on the North side are as follows, 20 by pairs over images.

- { 1. Paly of 6 A. and G. a bend } a King; sceptre in right hand, left on breast.
- { 2. 2 O. 4 pallets G. *Provence.* }
- { 3. O. A lion rampant. Az. a Queen, holding a sceptre in her left hand, her right on her breast. Probably *Joan* Queen of *Castile*, Countess of *Pontbieu*, mother of Queen *Eleanor*, wife of *Edward I.*
- { 4. O. 3 bendlets Az. within a bordure G. *Pontbieu.*
- { 5. Quarterly *Castile* & *Leon.* }
- { 6. *England*, 3 Lions passant guardant, O. } a Queen, holding a sceptre in her left hand, her right on her breast. Queen *Eleanor*, wife of *Edward I.*
- { 7. *England*, with a label of 5. *Crouchback.* } an old King; in his right hand
- { 8. Barrè A. and G. 8 Martlets S. *Chaworth.* } gloves; in left a sceptre.

Henry of Monmouth earl of *Lancaster*, and *Maud Chaworth* his wife.

- { 9. G. a spread Eagle O. } a Queen, holding a sceptre in her right hand,
 { 10. As 1. } her left on her breast.
 Query, if not *Beatrix*, Queen of *Sicily*, wife of *Charles* King of *Sicily*,
 daughter of *Raymond*, Earl of *Provence*, father of *Henry III's* Queen.
 { 11. *England*, with a label of 5 points. } an old King bearded, his right hand
 { 12. A cross patonce vair. *Fortibus*. } gloved, lifted up; in his left a sceptre.
Crouchback and his first wife *Aveline de Fortibus*.
 { 13. O 4 pallets G. *Provence*. } a Queen, holding a
 { 14. A a lion rampant G. within a border S. be- } sceptre in right hand,
 zantée. } left on cordon.
Sanchia of *Provence* wife of *Richard* King of the *Romans*, Earl of
Cornwall.
 { 15. G. 3 lions passant guardant O. a label of 5. *Crouchback*. } a Queen, with a sceptre
 { 16. *Old France* under a label of 5 O. } in her right hand,
 her left pointing to
 the former figure.

Blanch Queen of *Navarre*, second wife of *Crouchback*.

- { 17. O. a lion rampant Az. *Redvers* earl of *Devon*. } a Queen as the last. *Eleanor*
 { 18. Quarterly *Castile* and *Leon*. } wife of *Edward I*.
 { 19. *England*, under a label. } a King; sceptre in his left hand, his right
 { 20. *England*, plain. } on his breast.

The figures by the arms appear the same on both sides of the tomb, only the arms are inverted in their order, and probably were designed to represent the various crowned heads to whom the Earl was related. But the arms over some of them do not seem to bear relation to the figures underneath, who appear by their crowns, sceptres, and robes of gold, to have been all intended for royal personages.

On the belt of the earl's sword were various arms enamelled.

On the base of this tomb next the area are the remains of paintings much defaced, exhibiting ten knights in surcoats of arms and crosses belted, with banners, representing perhaps his expedition into the Holy land, the number suiting Matthew Paris's account, that there went the Earl, his brother Edward, afterwards king, four earls, and four barons; of which may be discovered, *Roger* lord *Clifford*, in a surcoat chequé, O and Az. charged with a fess G. The *Annals* of *Waverley*, 1270, mention *William de Valence* and *Thomas de Clare*, but the colors on the surcoats are lost, and it is with difficulty one can trace any remains of their figures, which before the last coronation were visible. Such havoc does the public use of this venerable pile make of its monuments in modern times.

These knights Mr. Brooke and myself just brought to light by the sponge, July 3, 1777. All hold banners; the first from the East has on his breast a saltire Argent, the fourth chequé, the fifth a lion rampant; the 6th chequé O. and Az. over all a fess. Their helmets of mail are all visible, and some swords and feet.

These figures have been engraved by Mr. Carter in his 5th number of *Antiquities*, illustrated with a verbose detail by Mr. Hawkins, who supposes that the first and third figures, bearing crosses on their breasts, represent the princes Edward and Edmund, denoting the service they were engaged in, and that the second bore the arms of the earls of *Provence*; but unfortunately Mr. Hawkins forgets that these bearings were arms, not badges; and that the arms of *Vesey*, are O a cross S. We need not seek for the bearers of these coats out of our own country. Knighton (col. 2438) names among the associates of prince Edward in this expedition John de Bretagne, John de Vesey, Thomas de Clare, Roger de





William de Valence Earl of Pembroke 1296

Clyfford, Thomas de Grantfon, Robert le Brus, John de Verdon, and many others. Mr. Brooke takes the second figure, with the arms paley and a bend, to be *Grandison*. We have the arms of *Veley, Clifford*, (Chequè O. and Az. a fefs G.) *Bruce*, O. a saltire and chief G. on a canton a Lion rampant.

The ridiculous grant of the kingdom of Sicily to this prince by pope Innocent IV. produced the greatest events, in their consequence, that ever appeared in our annals. Amongst others, the association of the barons against Henry III. the appointing conservators of the peace in the several counties, and the settling the democratical part of our constitution on a permanent basis, by Simon Montfort earl of Leicester, whilst the king was his prisoner. Three popes practised on the weakness of our Henry to extort immense sums of money from his subjects for ten years together, from 1253, when Innocent IV. made the grant which Urban IV. revoked 1263, at which time the king, prisoner to Leicester, renounced it in form. But he made ample amends to his son for the loss of that kingdom, conferring on him the forfeited titles of Leicester and Derby, with that of Compeigne, and the stewardship of England, as well as by procuring the rich inheritance of William de Fortibus earl of Albemarle and Holderness, and his second wife Isabel daughter of Baldwin de Redvers earl of Devon, by the marriage of their only daughter and heiress Aveline, 1269. These vast possessions laid the foundation of the greatness of the house of Lancaster, which afterwards ascended the throne of England; and thus, in the person of prince Edmund, were originally founded the great contentions which long subsisted between the houses of York and Lancaster.

Edmund died in his 51st year, of vexation at the desertion of his troops for want of pay*, at Bayonne, 1296, on an expedition into Gascoigne. He married, 4 Edward I. to his second wife Blanche† queen of Navarre, countess of Compeigne and Brie, daughter of Robert earl of Artois, brother to St. Lewis, king of France, and widow of Henry king of Navarre, who died 1274, and by her had three sons‡. No epitaph is given for him.

The arms on this tomb are much the same as those on Aveline's, and from the style of the ornaments and paintings it may be concluded they were both executed by the same artist.

In *St. Edmund's chapel, Westminster*, is an altar-tomb of free stone for 1296. WILLIAM DE VALENCE, earl of Pembroke, so named from the place of his birth, Pl. son of Hugh le Brune earl of March, by Isabel widow of king John, father of^{XXVII.} Aymer de Valence, and half-brother of Henry III. who died 1296, having married Joan daughter of Warine de Montchency. His mother was Isabel, daughter of Aymer earl of Angoulesme, third wife of king John, and her arms Lozengè O and G are on this tomb. The two fronts of the lower altar, in which, from the expression in the second line of the epitaph, one may conclude the body lies, are adorned with quatrefoils in squares, and in four larger starred quatrefoils are these shields; *England* twice, and twice *Valence* impaling *Claremont*, viz. Barry A. and Az. 12 martlets G. impaling G fesse of trefoils 2 fishes indorsed Or. These

* The original gold matrix of the seal, or *aurea bulla*, which Innocent gave Edmund licence to make and use, and which is expressly referred to in the prince's letter to his new subjects, dated 1261, printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, 1. 720. is in the possession of Mr. Asle, who has illustrated it in a dissertation inserted in *Archæol.* IV. 195—211. Whether the piece of gold with the same impression treated of by Mr. Pegge in the same vol. p. 190—194. was a coin or a seal remains still open to discussion.

† Wallingham, *Ypod. Neutr.* p. 483. Murth. *Westm.* p. 428.

‡ Dugd. *Bar.* I. 779. Tillet, p. 107. She is miscalled by some historians *Joan*.

§ Sandford, p. 105. *Lit. Collect.* I. 739. Clauf. 26 Edward I. no. 7. His eldest son and successor Thomas was beheaded at Pontefract in the reign of Edward II. and his second son Henry, successor to his brother, died 1345, and was buried in his collegiate church at Leicester, which, with his monument, was destroyed at the dissolution.

two coats being dimidiated, as was antiently usual, make but one fifth, and 6 martlets; and the coat is otherwise confused. It was this earl's son that married to his first wife Beatrix daughter of Raoul de Claremont seigneur de Nesle, and constable of France; but it was usual formerly for the erecter of a tomb to place his own arms thereon.

On a waistcot chest above lies the wooden figure, covered with gilt copper, in a round helmet with a studded fillet, and complete mail, the surcoat sprinkled with six small metal enamelled shields, four loft and one left on the breast, and another on the shoulder, all charged with the arms of Valence, as is the large shield on his left arm, the coat on which is barry A. and Az. curiously diapered; over all an orle of martlets G. The helmet had a flowered fillet fet with stones, now pickt out. The belt is finely enamelled with the coat of arms. A lion lies at his feet. His hands are joined and elevated. The wrist and elbow bands have flowerings; the sword and shield are at the left side, the hilt of the former gone, the edges of the latter ferrated and enamelled. The fascia of the chest is an enamelled plate, as is the cushion under the head, which is richly ornamented with rows of quatrefoils and escutcheons alternately, charged with the single coats of England, G. 3 lions passant guardant Or. and Valence. The chest was formerly plated with copper, of which only a little now remains on the edge, and had round it thirty small images, twelve on a side and three at each end¹, now all gone, under the niches. The inscription in Saxon capitals² was as follows, on the inner edge of the tomb:

*Anglia tota doles moritur quia regia proles,
Qua florere soles, quem continet infima moles.
Guilielmus nomen insigne Valentia prebet,
Celsum cognomen nam tale dari sibi debet;
Qui valuit validus, vincens virtute, valore,
Et placuit placidus, sensu morumque vigore,
Dapsilis et habilis, immotus prælia sectans,
Utile ac humilis, devotus premia spectans.
Milleque trecentis cum quatuor inde retentis
In Maii mense hunc mors proprio ferit ense.
Quique legis hic repetere quam sit vita plena timore,
Meque lege te moriturum & nescius bore.
O clemens Christe, celos intret precor iste,
Nil videat triste, quia pertulit omnibus bisce.*

This person, with his brother and sister, being much oppressed by the king of France, was sent for to England 1247 by Henry III. who procured for him an advantageous match, and knighted him publicly at Westminster, and four years after granted to him the castle and town of Hertford. Having, by these and many other expressions of royal favour, drawn on himself the jealousy of the English, and a contest ensuing between the king and his barons, he withdrew to France 42 Henry III. from whence the king brought him back about three years after, and created him earl of Pembroke, for so he is stiled by Matthew Paris³, in his account of the battle of Lewes, from which Valence being a principal commander on the king's side, after his master and his son was taken prisoner, escaped into France. Prince Edward getting out of Windsor castle, he sent him a supply of troops, and was instrumental to the victory of Evesham. He

¹ So Dart. I. 119. But there were 12 on each side, and four at each end.

² Dart. ib. He had another, and much more memorable epitaph, in prose, St. Lo Kniveton, MS. note on Vincent on Brooke, pen. inc. p. 418.

³ P. 995.

had now considerable grants of property in Wales, and laboured hard to bastardize his wife's brother's only daughter, that he might enjoy her estate. He died, according to Matthew of Westminster¹, Stowe², Hardyng³, Dugdale⁴, and Carte⁵, May 13, 1296; the latter author says he was slain by the French at Bayonne. Knighton⁶ puts the fight at Bayonne between the English under John Lacy earl of Lincoln and the French the following year. His epitaph as given both by Camden and Weever⁷ expressly dates his death 1296. For the prayers of all devout people offered up for his soul at his tomb was granted indulgence for the term of 100 days⁸.

WILLIAM DE LUDA, bishop of Ely, died 1298, and his monument in the 1298. south side of the presbytery, near the antient high altar of his own church, though of smaller proportions in breadth, bears great resemblance to that of Edmund Crouchback. In the niches at the sides are two figures of Matthew and Luke, with the lion and bull, to which corresponded two on the other side, now hid by the stalls of the new altar. In the pediment the Virgin and Christ. A brassless slab lies level on the floor, on which are traces of the brass inscription, which escaped Mr. Bentham⁹.

.... DE LVDA: QVOND.
.... IVS: ECCLESIE: CIVIS: ANIMO: PRO.

This slab and bishop Gray's are plainly taken off their altar tombs, and laid flat.

Sir ROBERT SHURLAND, who was lord warden of the cinque ports, and with Edward I. in the 28th year of his reign at the siege of Caerlavaroc, where he received the honour of knighthood, has in the South wall of the South or high chancel of *Minsire* church, *Shepey*, a monument, under an arch enriched with quatrefoil work, with his figure in armour, in alabaster, cross-legged, a round helmet, and another under his head, his shield on his left arm, and sword on same side; an armed page and lion at his feet, and a horse's head, as if rising out of the waves, at his right side below. This head (which Mr. Hafted¹⁰ says *seems either part of the marble on which it lies, or at least to have been firmly fixed to it when the tomb was put up*; or, as Mr. Grose¹¹, "emerging out of the waves " of the sea, as in the action of swimming,") being also on the weathercock of the tower, is probably the family crest. Various traditions, not worth repeating, are told of it: "the vulgar," as Philipot¹² quaintly expresses it, "having digged " out of his vault many wild legends and romances;" for which he thus accounts; that Sir Robert had from his sovereign a grant of liberties among which was wreck of sea for his manor at Eastchurch adjoining. The extent of this royalty is esteemed to reach as far into the sea at ebb-tide as a man could ride in and touch any thing with the point of his lance. But this superstructure built on the horse's head is as little capable of support as the vulgar tradition derived from it.

Sir Robert's only daughter and heiress Margaret married William Cheney, whose lineal descendant Sir John Cheney, adhering to the earl of Richmond before his accession to the crown, had summons to parliament among the barons of this realm 3, 7, and 11 of Henry VII. and dying some time after was buried under a handsome monument in Beauchamp's chapel on the South side of Lady-chapel at Salisbury. Thither the same vulgar tradition has followed this heir

¹ P. 405.

² P. 207.

³ Ch. 151.

⁴ Bar. II. 776.

⁵ Carte, II. 261.

⁶ P. 2509.

⁷ P. 476.

⁸ Dart. I. 120.

⁹ Hist. of Ely, p. 112. II. 17.

¹⁰ Hist. of Kent, II. 653. 661.

¹¹ Account under his view of Minsire Church.

¹² Kent, p. 482.

of the Shurland possessions. The vergers pretend that it being foretold to Sir John that his horse would be his death, he caused him to be killed, and standing by as the animal was in the agonies of death, he received from it a blow on his leg or foot, which occasioned his death; and they attempt to illustrate their error by the leaves carved under the soles of the knight's feet.

A stone in the nave at *Botteham*, c. Cambridge, has this inscription for ELIAS DE BEKINGHAM, one of the justices itinerant, who died after 27 Edward I.

HIE : JACET : ELIAS : DE : BEKINGHAM : QVONDAM :
JVSTILIARIVS : DOMINI : REGIS : ANLLIE : CIVIVS : ANIOME :
IROPHEIVR : DEVS.

The brass figure is torn off¹.

It is not improbable that he was of the family of Bekingham of Bekingham, c. Nottingham, where they had lands from 12 Edward I. to 18 Richard II². Elias de Beckingham was party to a fine for lands in Stoke by Newark in the same country 27 Edward I³. He and John de Mettingham alone escaped being included in the severe punishment inflicted on Ralph de Hengham and his brethren for corruption, 16 Edward I. 1288⁴. Whether he died in this or the succeeding century is not known.

RALPH DE HENGHAM had, in the North wall of the choir in Old *St. Paul's*, a tomb, with his figure on it, habited in a gown and coif, under a canopy standing on a lion; the table adorned with lambs and mullets. Whether this figure was inlaid in brass, or cut in, Dugdale⁵ does not say; probably the former. The inscription round the ledge, in Gothic capitals, was as follows:

PER VERSVS PATET DOS ANGLORVM QVOD JACET DIC FLOS
LEGVM QVI TVTA DICTAVIT VERA STATVTA
EX BENGHAM DICTVS RADVLPHVS VIR BENEDICTVS.

In the chancel at *Much Hadham*, c. Herts, is a large fair grey slab, whereon was once inlaid in brass a cross floré erected on a dog or lion, and on the ledge round it this inscription in Gothic capitals:

DIC JACET : SIMON : FLAMBARD : QVON
DAM : RECTOR : DVIVS : ECCLESIE.

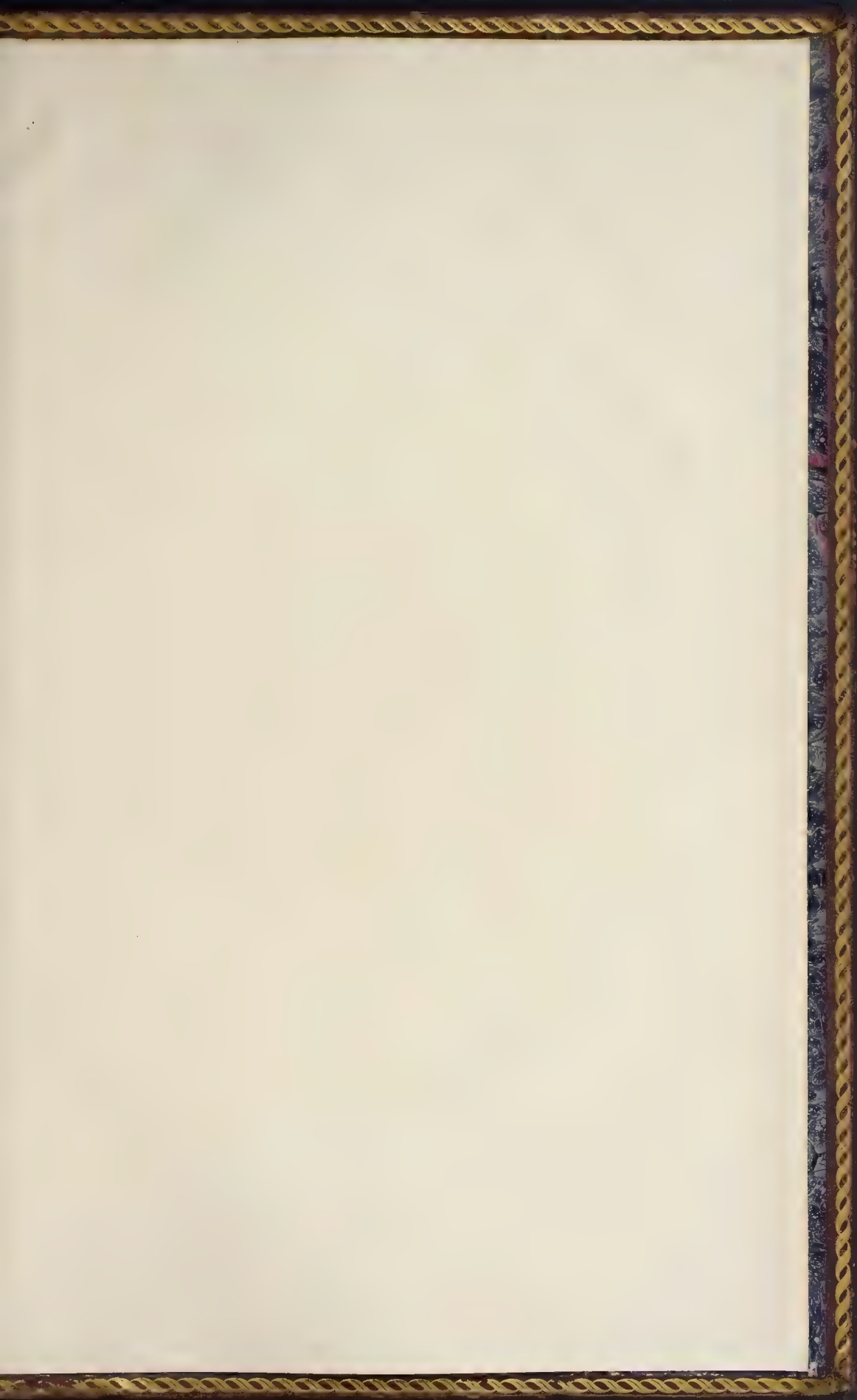
The first rector in Newcourt⁶ is Robert de Ros, in the time of Bishop Gravescend, between 1280 and 1303; the next Henry de Iddesworth, 1332. Whether FLAMBARD was rector before or after Ros is uncertain. There was one Simon Flambard, knight of the shire, 3 Edward III. who Dr. Salmon⁷ thinks was probably father of this rector.

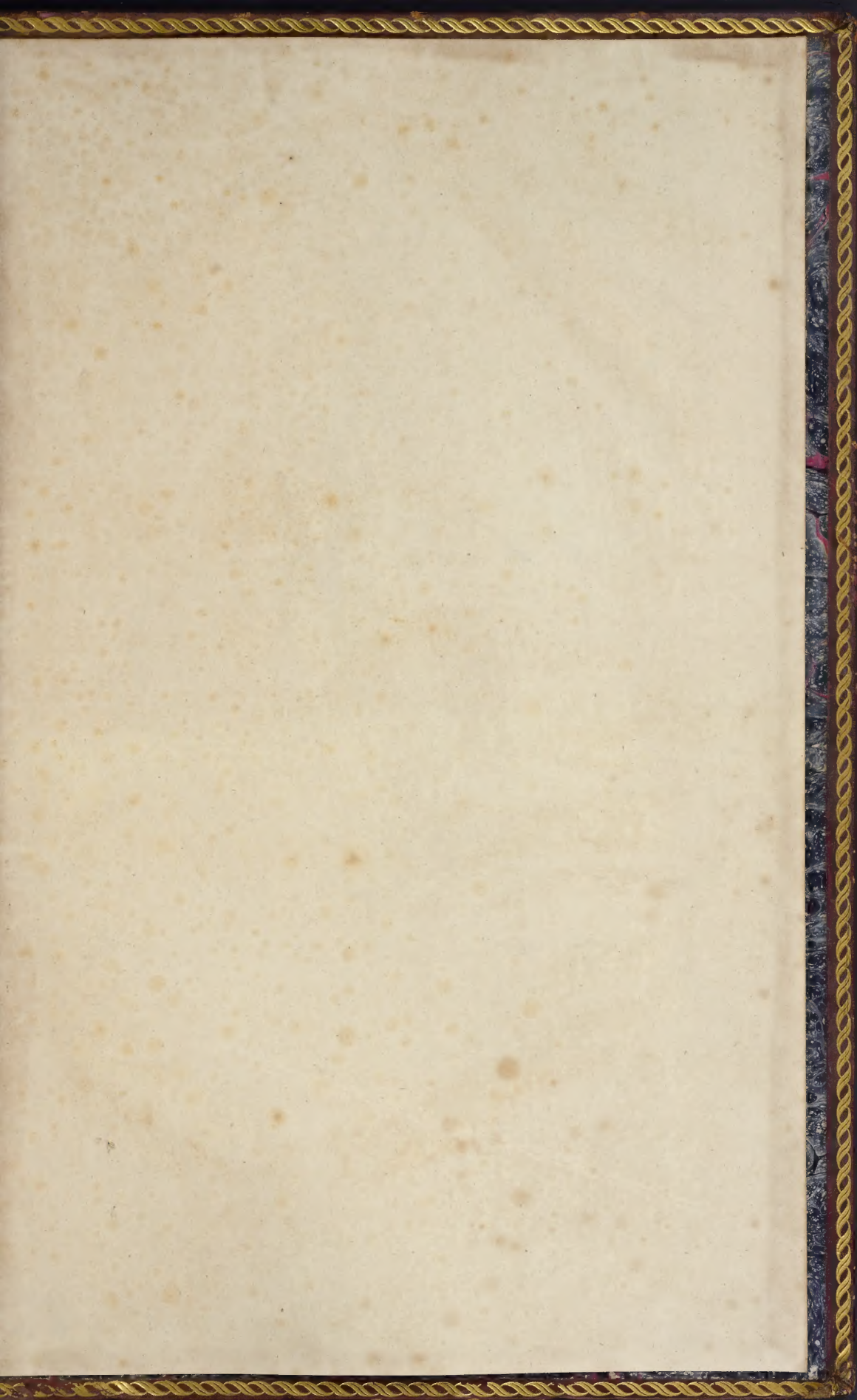
ALBAN, who is commemorated in the following inscription on a brass in a blue slab, to the North of the foregoing, may fill up the vacancies in Newcourt's history⁸.

Priez pur l'alme Alban p'sone de hadhm.

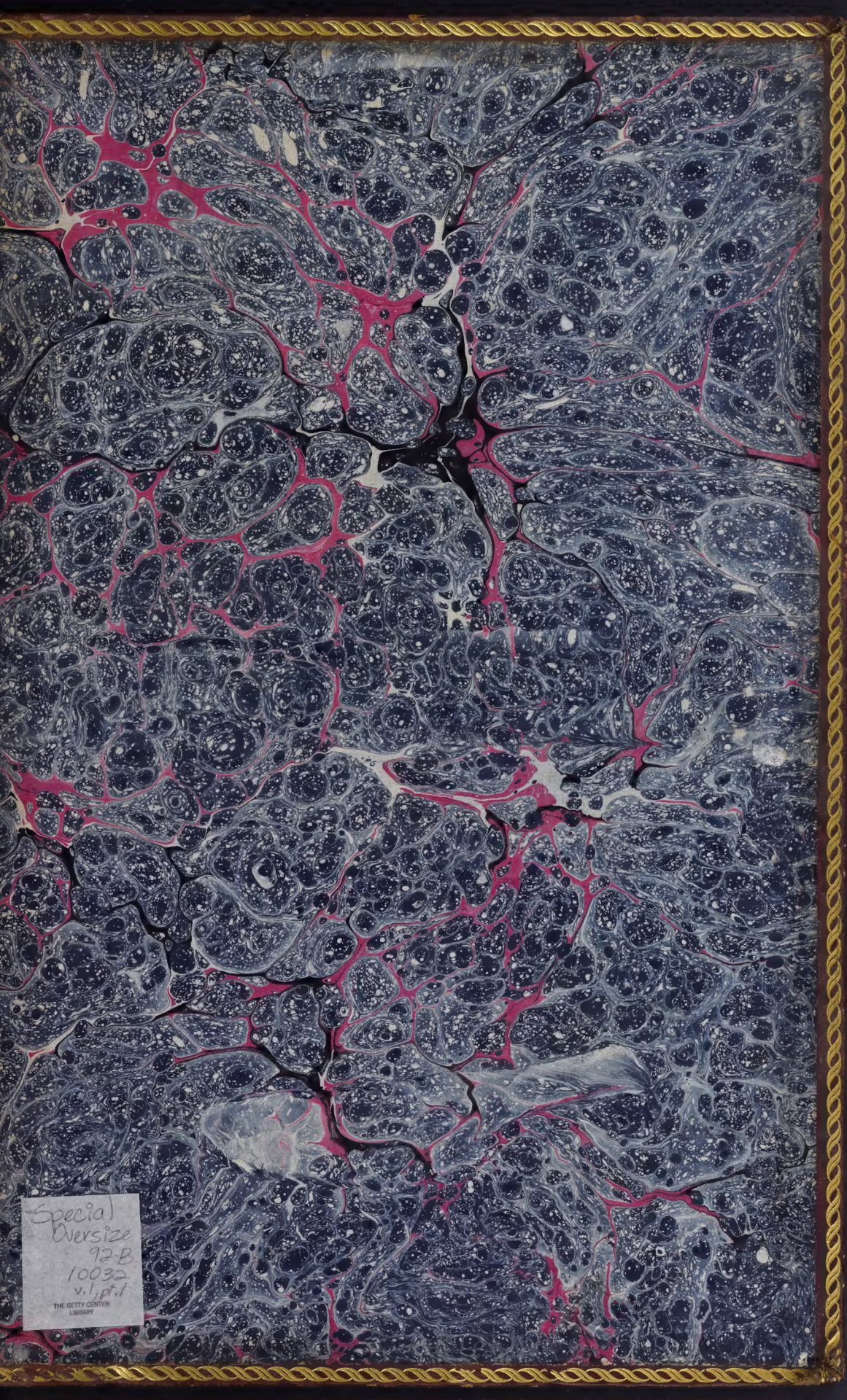
Of these two, Dr. Salmon observes Flambard's must be the oldest, by the way of writing; and both are elder than the register, which has in the first place Robert de Ros, and next Henry de Iddesworth, 1332.

¹ Blomf. Coll. Cantab. p. 32. Rymer's Fœd. 20 Edw. I. Dugdale's Orig. Judic. Chron. Ser. p. 28, 29. Records, &c. Chron. Donn. p. p. 552, 563, 564, 565, 566, 577, 578, 581.
² Thornton, p. 422, 423. ³ Ib. 175. ⁴ Blomf. Nort. I. 660. ⁵ St. Paul's, p. 101.
⁶ Repert. I. 831. ⁷ Hist. 3, 278. ⁸ Bl.









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